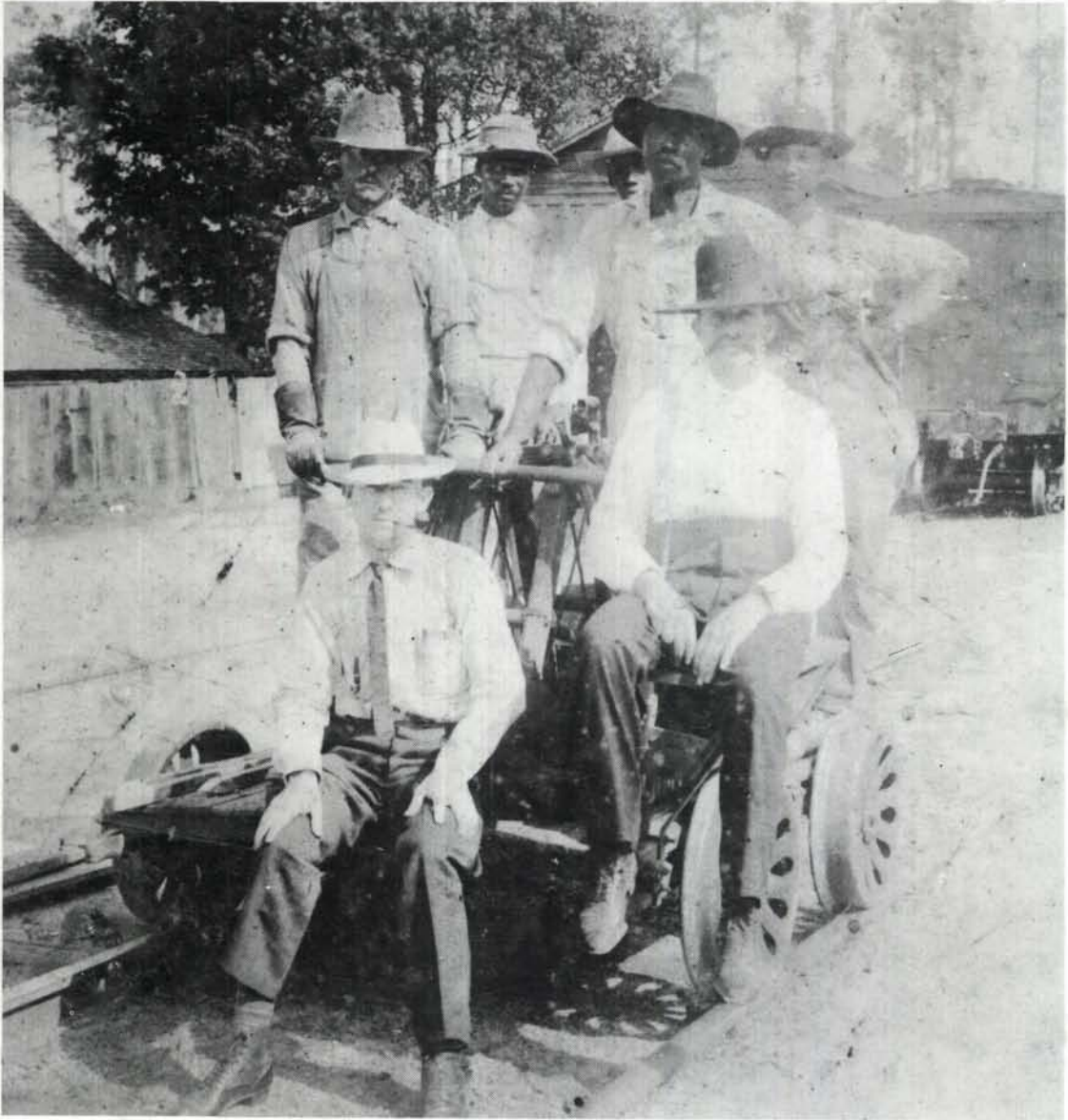


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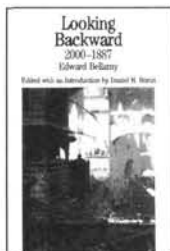
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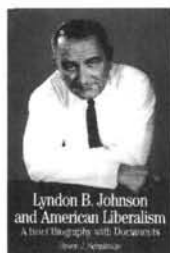
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In This Issue

For several years, we have been wanting to mount an *AHR Forum* on the work of the Subaltern Studies Group and thus to reclaim for history a discussion of postcolonial societies that has been taken over more and more by specialists in literary criticism. The impediment to doing the *Forum* sooner was our wish to include more of postcolonial society than the Indian subcontinent, which is the focus of the Subaltern Studies Group itself. Attention to the specific approach of this group (if not to the basic questions of consciousness and identity with which they wrestle) emerged in other postcolonial regions only in the past couple of years in the work of the authors featured here, Florencia E. Mallon and Frederick Cooper, and others. The three authors for our *Forum*—Cooper, Mallon, and Gyan Prakash—were asked to circulate their essays among themselves and to include, where appropriate, remarks on the contributions of the other participants.

Thanks are due our two most recent associate editors, Thomas Prasch and Peter Guardino, for assisting in the preparation of the *Forum* and for providing critical comment on individual papers.

The *Forum* begins with the essay by **Gyan Prakash**, who maps the principal lines of inquiry pursued by the Subaltern Studies Group and their evolution. The group started with Antonio Gramsci's concept of the subaltern and sought to rewrite South Asian historiography from the perspective of this subordinated and inarticulate actor. But the project soon moved away from the "history-from-below" approach, as it became clear that if subalterns had been denied autonomy and agency in history, any after-the-fact restoration contradicted their historical subordination. The work of the group therefore turned to the functioning of dominant discourses of colonialism, nationalism, and modernity and their effects in subordinating other forms of knowledge and agency. These scholars argued that, though suppressed, subaltern agency could be read in the acts of containment and repression exerted against it in the dominant discourses. This concept of subalternity yields a critique of the modern West, which, through colonialism, the nation-state, and the ideology of modernity, has marginalized the "other" as a source of knowledge and agency. The Subaltern Studies scholars accordingly urge revision of the discipline of history to allow the story to be told from a postcolonial, subaltern perspective. At the same time, they mount a critique of their native elite's discourse on nationalism in India.

Florencia E. Mallon continues the discussion with a focus on Latin America. She stresses the importance of maintaining the fertile tension in Subaltern Studies between the original Gramscian project of studying popular culture and politics and the subsequent turn to postmodernist readings of texts in the spirit of Foucault and Derrida. This productive contradiction has much to offer in its analytical application to the Third World more broadly. Mallon fears that in the work of Latin Americanists who have used the Subaltern Studies perspective, the Gramscian and Foucauldian orientations have been collapsed into a single, flattened postmodern analysis. In discussing some of the innovative work of Latin Americanists generally and Mexicanist historians and anthropologists more specifically, Mallon calls for a more thorough development of archival and field work in combination with a nuanced treatment of popular political culture. The object should be a union of postmodernist sensitivity to language and a Gramscian commitment to emancipatory politics.

Although the work of the Subaltern Studies Group has just begun to touch the work of historians of Africa, **Frederick Cooper** notes that Africanists have long been examining the particular paths that Africa followed out of colonial rule. Just as the concerns of the Subaltern Studies Group reflect the course of independence and its discontents in South Asia, the work of Africanists has been confronting in new and fruitful ways the specific problems of colonialism and its aftermath in its own sphere. Using insights from the Subaltern Studies Group, Cooper notes that some of the valuable new work on Africa nevertheless remains caught in the dichotomies of colonizer/colonized, Western/non-Western, domination/resistance that it sets out to criticize. He argues for an approach that recognizes both the power and limitations of colonial discourses and capitalist involvement in Africa and that moves beyond the concept of resistance to an examination of the ways in which Africans engaged, appropriated, and reformulated the cultural categories that the colonial situation bequeathed them.

In addition to the *AHR Forum*, this issue features three research articles. We start in Europe with an essay on honor among French journalists, then expand to the transatlantic world to follow the emergence of women's international organizations, and finally arrive in America for a discussion of race and class relations in the railway industry.

William M. Reddy challenges the accepted notion that journalists in postrevolutionary France were driven primarily by a desire for money and power. Their behavior, characterized by a vicious partisanship much at odds with the ideal of rational debate articulated by Immanuel Kant and referenced in recent work about the public sphere by Jürgen Habermas, is better explained, according to Reddy, by the conflict writers had to confront between their duty as citizens and their obligation as employees. Journalists spoke of the conflict in terms of the prevailing code of honor, but this code did not provide clear answers about which duty came first: reasoned debate or the fierce partisanship required for employment. Reddy explores the journalists' efforts to shape personal identities that would allow them to live with these conflicting demands.

Leila J. Rupp looks for the construction of an international collective identity among women in three transnational organizations before 1945: the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She finds that the process of forging bonds across national boundaries was far from easy in an age of global conflict and colonialism, with its deep divisions between women of different classes and different colors. The increasing movement of women into public life in some countries and their total exclusion in others caused conflicts about programs and goals. The expansion of women's international organizations beyond Europe and the United States in the interwar period demonstrated the limitations of cooperation in conditions of colonial domination and cultural imperialism. Rupp's descriptions of the varied reactions of women of different nations, races, and classes to issues such as war and imperialism provide food for thought about the risks of essentializing women's difference from men.

The American railroad industry since its inception was segmented along racial lines. Blacks were excluded from the top positions of conductor and engineer, and only in the South could they work in the second-level jobs of locomotive firemen and brakemen. **Eric Arnesen** examines the practices by which white members of the

brotherhoods of locomotive firemen and brakemen excluded African Americans from their unions and sought to drive them out of the craft altogether. To eliminate competition from black workers, the whites during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era resorted to strikes, terrorism, political influence, and discriminatory contracts. Arnesen looks into the content, sources, and function of the white workers' racial prejudices and links them to the economics of the railroad industry, the character of skilled labor in railroading, the larger world of skilled white labor, and conflicts between labor and capital.

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AHR Forum
Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism

GYAN PRAKASH

TO NOTE THE FERMENT CREATED BY Subaltern Studies in disciplines as diverse as history, anthropology, and literature is to recognize the force of recent postcolonial criticism. This criticism has compelled a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination. Of course, colonialism and its legacies have faced challenges before. One has only to think of nationalist rebellions against imperialist domination and Marxism's unrelenting critiques of capitalism and colonialism. But neither nationalism nor Marxism broke free from Eurocentric discourses.¹ As nationalism reversed Orientalist thought, and attributed agency and history to the subjected nation, it staked a claim to the order of Reason and Progress instituted by colonialism. When Marxists turned the spotlight on colonial exploitation, their criticism was framed by a historicist scheme that universalized Europe's historical experience. The emergent postcolonial critique, by contrast, seeks to undo the Eurocentrism produced by the institution of the West's trajectory, its appropriation of the other as History. It does so, however, with the acute realization that its own critical apparatus does not enjoy a panoptic distance from colonial history but exists as an aftermath, as an after—after being worked over by colonialism.² Criticism

I am grateful to Frederick Cooper and Florencia Mallon for their comments and suggestions. Although I have not followed their advice in every instance, their careful and critical readings were helpful in rethinking and rewriting the essay.

¹ In calling these accounts Eurocentric, I do not mean that they followed the lead of Western authors and thinkers. Eurocentricity here refers to the historicism that projected the West as History.

² Elsewhere, I elaborate and offer examples of this notion of the postcolonial. See my forthcoming "Introduction: After Colonialism," in Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak speaks of postcoloniality in similar terms. "We are always *after* the empire of reason, our claims to it always short of adequate." Spivak, "Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value," in *Literary Theory Today*, Peter Collier and Helga Geyer-Ryan, eds. (London, 1990), 228. While literary theorists have been prominent in forcing postcolonial criticism onto the scholarly agenda, it is by no means confined to them; the work of Subaltern Studies historians must be considered an important part of the postcolonial critique. For other examples of historians' contribution to this criticism, see *Colonialism and Culture*, Nicholas B. Dirks, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*, Frederick Cooper, Allen F. Isaacman, Florencia E. Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern, eds. (Madison, Wis., 1993); Gyan Prakash, *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1990); and Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). The essays by Frederick Cooper and Florencia Mallon in this issue of the *AHR* also mention a number of historical works that have contributed to the current postcolonial criticism.

formed as an aftermath acknowledges that it inhabits the structures of Western domination that it seeks to undo. In this sense, postcolonial criticism is deliberately interdisciplinary, arising in the interstices of disciplines of power/knowledge that it critiques. This is what Homi Bhabha calls an in-between, hybrid position of practice and negotiation, or what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak terms catachresis: "reversing, displacing, and seizing the apparatus of value-coding."³

The dissemination of Subaltern Studies, beginning in 1982 as an intervention in South Asian historiography and developing into a vigorous postcolonial critique, must be placed in such a complex, catachrestic reworking of knowledge. The challenge it poses to the existing historical scholarship has been felt not only in South Asian studies but also in the historiography of other regions and in disciplines other than history. The term "subaltern" now appears with growing frequency in studies on Africa, Latin America, and Europe, and subalternist analysis has become a recognizable mode of critical scholarship in history, literature, and anthropology.

THE FORMATION OF SUBALTERN STUDIES as an intervention in South Asian historiography occurred in the wake of the growing crisis of the Indian state in the 1970s. The dominance of the nation-state, cobbled together through compromises and coercion during the nationalist struggle against British rule, became precarious as its program of capitalist modernity sharpened social and political inequalities and conflicts. Faced with the outbreak of powerful movements of different ideological hues that challenged its claim to represent the people, the state resorted increasingly to repression to preserve its dominance. But repression was not the only means adopted. The state combined coercive measures with the powers of patronage and money, on the one hand, and the appeal of populist slogans and programs, on the other, to make a fresh bid for its legitimacy. These measures, pioneered by the Indira Gandhi government, secured the dominance of the state but corroded the authority of its institutions. The key components of the modern nation-state—political parties, the electoral process, parliamentary bodies, the bureaucracy, law, and the ideology of development—survived, but their claim to represent the culture and politics of the masses suffered crippling blows.

In the field of historical scholarship, the perilous position of the nation-state in the 1970s became evident in the increasingly embattled nationalist historiography. Attacked relentlessly by the "Cambridge School," which represented India's colonial history as nothing but a chronicle of competition among its elites, nationalism's fabric of legitimacy was torn apart.⁴ This school exposed the

³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 22–26; Spivak, "Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value," 228.

⁴ The classic statement of the "Cambridge School" is to be found in Anil Seal's study *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1968), which contended that Indian nationalism was produced by the educated elites in their competition for "loaves and fishes" of office. This was modified in *Locality, Province and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics, 1870–1940*, J. Gallagher, G. Jognson, and Anil Seal, eds. (Cambridge, 1973), which advanced the view that nationalism emerged from the involvement of local and regional elites in colonial

nationalist hagiography, but its elite-based analysis turned the common people into dupes of their superiors. Marxists contested both nationalist historiography and the "Cambridge School" interpretation, but their mode-of-production narratives merged imperceptibly with the nation-state's ideology of modernity and progress. This congruence meant that while championing the history of the oppressed classes and their emancipation through modern progress, the Marxists found it difficult to deal with the hold of "backward" ideologies of caste and religion. Unable to take into account the oppressed's "lived experience" of religion and social customs, Marxist accounts of peasant rebellions either overlooked the religious idiom of the rebels or viewed it as a mere form and a stage in the development of revolutionary consciousness. Thus, although Marxist historians produced impressive and pioneering studies, their claim to represent the history of the masses remained debatable.

Subaltern Studies plunged into this historiographical contest over the representation of the culture and politics of the people. Accusing colonialist, nationalist, and Marxist interpretations of robbing the common people of their agency, it announced a new approach to restore history to the subordinated. Started by an editorial collective consisting of six scholars of South Asia spread across Britain, India, and Australia, Subaltern Studies was inspired by Ranajit Guha. A distinguished historian whose most notable previous work was *A Rule of Property for Bengal* (1963), Guha edited the first six Subaltern Studies volumes.⁵ After he relinquished the editorship, Subaltern Studies was published by a rotating two-member editorial team drawn from the collective. Guha continues, however, to publish in Subaltern Studies, now under an expanded and reconstituted editorial collective.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUBALTERN STUDIES was aimed to promote, as the preface by Guha to the first volume declared, the study and discussion of subalternist themes in South Asian studies.⁶ The term "subaltern," drawn from Antonio Gramsci's writings, refers to subordination in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture and was used to signify the centrality of dominant/dominated relationships in history. Guha suggested that while Subaltern Studies would not ignore the dominant, because the subalterns are always subject to their activity, its aim was to "rectify the elitist bias characteristic of much research and academic work" in South Asian studies.⁷ The act of rectification sprang from the conviction that the elites had exercised dominance, not hegemony, in Gramsci's sense, over the subalterns. A reflection of this belief was Guha's argument that

institutions. As the official institutions reached down to the locality and the province, the elites reached up to the central level to secure their local and regional dominance, finding nationalism a useful instrument for the articulation of their interests.

⁵ Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal* (Paris, 1963). I should also mention his important article, "Neel Darpan: The Image of a Peasant Revolt in a Liberal Mirror," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2 (1974): 1-46, which anticipates his fuller critique of elite historiography.

⁶ Ranajit Guha, *Subaltern Studies I* (Delhi, 1982), vii.

⁷ Guha, *Subaltern Studies I*, vii.

the subalterns had acted in history “on their own, that is, *independently of the elite*”; their politics constituted “an *autonomous domain*, for it neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter.”⁸

While the focus on subordination has remained central to Subaltern Studies, the conception of subalternity has witnessed shifts and varied uses. Individual contributors to the volumes have also differed, not surprisingly, in their orientation. A shift in interests, focus, and theoretical grounds is also evident through the eight volumes of essays produced so far and several monographs by individual subalternists.⁹ Yet what has remained consistent is the effort to rethink history from the perspective of the subaltern.

How the adoption of the subaltern’s perspective aimed to undo the “spurious primacy assigned to them [the elites]” was not entirely clear in the first volume. The essays, ranging from agrarian history to the analysis of the relationship between peasants and nationalists, represented excellent though not novel scholarship. Although all the contributions attempted to highlight the lives and the historical presence of subaltern classes, neither the thorough and insightful research in social and economic history nor the critique of the Indian nationalist appropriation of peasant movements was new; Marxist historians, in particular, had done both.¹⁰ It was with the second volume that the novelty and insurgency of Subaltern Studies became clear.

The second volume made forthright claims about the subaltern subject and set about demonstrating how the agency of the subaltern in history had been denied by elite perspectives anchored in colonialist, nationalist, and or Marxist narratives. Arguing that these narratives had sought to represent the subaltern’s consciousness and activity according to schemes that encoded elite dominance, Guha asserted that historiography had dealt with “the peasant rebel merely as an empirical person or member of a class, but not as an entity whose will and reason constituted the praxis called rebellion.”¹¹ Historians were apt to depict peasant rebellions as spontaneous eruptions that “break out like thunder storms, heave like earthquakes, spread like wildfires”; alternatively, they attributed rebellions as a reflex action to economic and political oppression. “Either way insurgency is regarded as *external* to the peasant’s consciousness and Cause is made to stand in as a phantom surrogate for Reason, the logic of consciousness.”¹²

How did historiography develop this blind spot? Guha asked. In answering this

⁸ Ranajit Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” *Subaltern Studies I*, 3–4.

⁹ *Subaltern Studies I–VI*, Ranajit Guha, ed. (Delhi, 1982–89); vol. VII, Gyanendra Pandey and Partha Chatterjee, eds. (Delhi, 1992); vol. VIII, David Arnold and David Hardiman, eds. (Delhi, 1993); Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1983); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986); and Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890–1940* (Princeton, 1989); David Hardiman, *The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India* (Delhi, 1987); and Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, 1990).

¹⁰ See, for example, Majid Siddiqi, *Agrarian Unrest in North India: The United Provinces, 1918–22* (Delhi, 1978); and Jairus Banaji, “Capitalist Domination and Small Peasantry: Deccan Districts in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 12, no. 33 (1977): 1375–44.

¹¹ Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” *Subaltern Studies II* (Delhi, 1983), 2.

¹² Guha, “Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 2–3.

question, his "Prose of Counter-Insurgency" offers a methodological *tour de force* and a perceptive reading of the historical writings on peasant insurgency in colonial India. Describing these writings as counter-insurgent texts, Guha begins by distinguishing three types of discourses—primary, secondary, and tertiary. These differ from one another in terms of the order of their appearance in time and the degree of their acknowledged or unacknowledged identification with the official point of view. Analyzing each in turn, Guha shows the presence, transformation, and redistribution of a "counter-insurgent code." This code, present in the immediate accounts of insurgency produced by officials (primary discourse), is processed into another time and narrative by official reports and memoirs (secondary discourse) and is then incorporated and redistributed by historians who have no official affiliation and are farthest removed from the time of the event (tertiary discourse). The "code of pacification," written into the "raw" data of primary texts and the narratives of secondary discourses, survives, and it shapes the tertiary discourse of historians when they fail to read in it the presence of the excluded other, the insurgent. Consequently, while historians produce accounts that differ from secondary discourses, their tertiary discourse also ends up appropriating the insurgent. Consider, for example, the treatment of peasant rebellions. When colonial officials, using on-the-spot accounts containing "the code of pacification," blamed wicked landlords and wily moneylenders for the occurrence of these events, they used causality as a counter-insurgent instrument: to identify the cause of the revolt was a step in the direction of control over it and constituted a denial of the insurgent's agency. In nationalist historiography, this denial took a different form, as British rule, rather than local oppression, became the cause of revolts and turned peasant rebellions into nationalist struggles. Radical historians, too, ended up incorporating the counter-insurgent code of the secondary discourse as they explained peasant revolts in relation to a revolutionary continuum leading to socialism. Each tertiary account failed to step outside the counter-insurgent paradigm, Guha argues, by refusing to acknowledge the subjectivity and agency of the insurgent.¹³

Clearly, the project to restore the insurgent's agency involved, as Rosalind O'Hanlon pointed out in a thoughtful review essay, the notion of the "recovery of the subject."¹⁴ Thus, while reading records against their grain, these scholars have sought to uncover the subaltern's myths, cults, ideologies, and revolts that colonial and nationalist elites sought to appropriate and that conventional historiography has laid waste by the deadly weapon of cause and effect. Ranajit Guha's *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (1983) is a powerful example of scholarship that seeks to recover the peasant from elite projects and positivist historiography. In this wide-ranging study full of brilliant insights and methodological innovation, Guha returns to nineteenth-century peasant insurrections in colonial India. Reading colonial records and historiographical representations with an uncanny eye, he offers a fascinating account of the peasant's insurgent consciousness, rumors, mythic visions, religiosity, and bonds of community. From

¹³ Guha, "Prose of Counter-Insurgency," 26–33.

¹⁴ Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject: *Subaltern Studies* and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies*, 22 (1988): 189–224.

Guha's account, the subaltern emerges with forms of sociality and political community at odds with nation and class, defying the models of rationality and social action that conventional historiography uses. Guha argues persuasively that such models are elitist insofar as they deny the subaltern's autonomous consciousness and that they are drawn from colonial and liberal-nationalist projects of appropriating the subaltern.

It is true that the effort to retrieve the autonomy of the subaltern subject resembled the "history from below" approach developed by social history in the West. But the subalternist search for a humanist subject-agent frequently ended up with the discovery of the failure of subaltern agency: the moment of rebellion always contained within it the moment of failure. The desire to recover the subaltern's autonomy was repeatedly frustrated because subalternity, by definition, signified the impossibility of autonomy: subaltern rebellions only offered fleeting moments of defiance, "a night-time of love," not "a life-time of love."¹⁵ While these scholars failed to recognize fully that the subalterns' resistance did not simply oppose power but was also constituted by it, their own work showed this to be the case. Further complicating the urge to recover the subject was the fact that, unlike British and U.S. social history, Subaltern Studies drew on anti-humanist structuralist and poststructuralist writings. Ranajit Guha's deft readings of colonial records, in particular, drew explicitly from Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roman Jakobson, Roland Barthes, and Michel Foucault. Partly, the reliance on such theorists and the emphasis on "textual" readings arose from, as Dipesh Chakrabarty points out, the absence of workers' diaries and other such sources available to British historians.¹⁶ Indian peasants had left no sources, no documents from which their own "voice" could be retrieved. But the emphasis on "readings" of texts and the recourse to theorists such as Foucault, whose writings cast a shroud of doubt over the idea of the autonomous subject, contained an awareness that the colonial subaltern was not just a form of "general" subalternity. While the operation of power relations in colonial and metropolitan theaters had parallels, the conditions of subalternity were also irreducibly different. Subaltern Studies, therefore, could not just be the Indian version of the "history from below" approach; it had to conceive the subaltern differently and write different histories.

THIS DIFFERENCE HAS GROWN in subsequent Subaltern Studies volumes as the desire to recover the subaltern subject became increasingly entangled in the analysis of how subalternity was constituted by dominant discourses. Of course, the tension between the recovery of the subaltern as a subject outside the elite discourse and the analysis of subalternity as an effect of discursive systems was present from the very beginning.¹⁷ It also continues to characterize Subaltern

¹⁵ Veena Das, "Subaltern as Perspective," *Subaltern Studies VI* (Delhi, 1989), 315.

¹⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Trafficking in History and Theory: Subaltern Studies," *Beyond the Disciplines: The New Humanities*, K. K. Ruthven, ed. (Canberra, 1992), 102.

¹⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's essay in *Subaltern Studies IV* pointed out this tension. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *Subaltern Studies IV* (Delhi, 1985), 337–38.

Studies scholarship today, as Florencia Mallon notes in her essay in this issue of the *AHR*. Recent volumes, however, pay greater attention to developing the emergence of subalternity as a discursive effect without abandoning the notion of the subaltern as a subject and agent. This perspective, amplified since *Subaltern Studies III*, identifies subalternity as a position of critique, as a recalcitrant difference that arises not outside but inside elite discourses to exert pressure on forces and forms that subordinate it.

The attention paid to discourse in locating the process and effects of subordination can be seen in Partha Chatterjee's influential *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (1986). A study of how Indian nationalism achieved dominance, this book traces critical shifts in nationalist thought, leading to a "passive revolution"—a concept that he draws from Gramsci to interpret the achievement of Indian independence in 1947 as a mass revolution that appropriated the agency of the common people. In interpreting the shifts in nationalist thought, Chatterjee stresses the pressure exerted on the dominant discourse by the problem of representing the masses. The nationalists dealt with this problem by marginalizing certain forms of mass action and expression that run counter to the modernity-driven goals that they derived from the colonial discourse. Such a strategy secures elite dominance but not hegemony over subaltern culture and politics. His recent *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1993) returns once again to this theme of appropriation of subalternity, sketching how the nation was first imagined in the cultural domain and then readied for political contest by an elite that "normalized" various subaltern aspirations for community and agency in the drive to create a modern nation-state.

Investigating the process of "normalization" means a complex and deep engagement with elite and canonical texts. This, of course, is not new to Subaltern Studies. Earlier essays, most notably Guha's "Prose of Counter-Insurgency," engaged and interrogated elite writings with enviable skill and imagination. But these analyses of elite texts sought to establish the presence of the subalterns as subjects of their own history. The engagement with elite themes and writings, by contrast, emphasizes the analysis of the operation of dominance as it confronted, constituted, and subordinated certain forms of culture and politics. This approach is visible in the treatment of the writings of authoritative political figures such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and in the analyses of the activities of the Indian National Congress—the dominant nationalist party. These strive to outline how elite nationalism rewrote history and how its rewriting was directed at both contesting colonial rule and protecting its flanks from the subalterns.¹⁸ Another theme explored with a similar aim is the intertwined functioning of colonialism, nationalism, and "communalism" in the partition of British India into India and Pakistan—a theme that has taken on added importance with the recent resurgence of Hindu supremacists and outbreaks of Hindu-Muslim riots.¹⁹

¹⁸ Fine examples in this respect are Shahid Amin's "Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921–2," *Subaltern Studies III* (Delhi, 1984), 1–61; and "Approver's Testimony, Judicial Discourse: The Case of Chauri Chaura," *Subaltern Studies V* (Delhi, 1987), 166–202.

¹⁹ See Pandey, *Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*; and Gyanendra Pandey, "In

The importance of such topics is self-evident, but the real significance of the shift to the analysis of discourses is the reformulation of the notion of the subaltern. It is tempting to characterize this shift as an abandonment of the search for subaltern groups in favor of the discovery of discourses and texts. But this would be inaccurate. Although some scholars have rejected the positivistic retrieval of the subalterns, the notion of the subalterns' radical heterogeneity with, though not autonomy from, the dominant remains crucial. It is true, however, that scholars locate this heterogeneity in discourses, woven into the fabric of dominant structures and manifesting itself in the very operation of power. In other words, subalterns and subalternity do not disappear into discourse but appear in its interstices, subordinated by structures over which they exert pressure. Thus Shahid Amin shows that Indian nationalists in 1921–1922, confronted with the millennial and deeply subversive language of peasant politics, were quick to claim peasant actions as their own and Gandhian. Unable to acknowledge the peasants' insurgent appropriation of Gandhi, Indian nationalists represented it in the stereotypical saint-devotee relationship.²⁰ Amin develops this point further in his innovative monograph on the peasant violence in 1922 that resulted in the death of several policemen and led Gandhi to suspend the noncooperation campaign against British rule. Returning to this emotive date in Indian nationalist history, Amin shows that this violent event, "criminalized" in the colonial judicial discourse, was "nationalized" by the elite nationalists, first by an "obligatory amnesia" and then by selective remembrance and reappropriation.²¹ To take another example, Gyanendra Pandey suggests that the discourse of the Indian nation-state, which had to imagine India as a national community, could not recognize community (religious, cultural, social, and local) as a political form; thus it pitted nationalism (termed good because it "stood above" difference) against communalism (termed evil because it did not "rise above" difference).²²

Such reexaminations of South Asian history do not invoke "real" subalterns, prior to discourse, in framing their critique. Placing subalterns in the labyrinth of discourse, they cannot claim an unmediated access to their reality. The actual subalterns and subalternity emerge between the folds of the discourse, in its silences and blindness, and in its overdetermined pronouncements. Interpreting the 1922 peasant violence, Amin identifies the subaltern presence as an effect in the discourse. This effect manifests itself in a telling dilemma the nationalists faced. On the one hand, they could not endorse peasant violence as nationalist activity, but, on the other, they had to acknowledge the peasant "criminals" as part of the nation. They sought to resolve this dilemma by admitting the event in the narrative of the nation while denying it agency: the peasants were shown to act the way they did because they were provoked, or because they were insufficiently trained in the methods of nonviolence.

Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today," *Representations*, 37 (Winter 1992): 27–55.

²⁰ Amin, "Gandhi as Mahatma," 2–7.

²¹ See Pandey's forthcoming *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922–1992* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995).

²² See Pandey, *Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, 235–43, 254–61.

Subalternity thus emerges in the paradoxes of the functioning of power, in the functioning of the dominant discourse as it represents and domesticates peasant agency as a spontaneous and "pre-political" response to colonial violence. No longer does it appear outside the elite discourse as a separate domain, embodied in a figure endowed with a will that the dominant suppress and overpower but do not constitute. Instead, it refers to that impossible thought, figure, or action without which the dominant discourse cannot exist and which is acknowledged in its subterfuges and stereotypes.

This portrait of subalternity is certainly different from the image of the autonomous subject, and it has emerged in the confrontation with the systematic fragmentation of the record of subalternity. Such records register both the necessary failure of subalterns to come into their own and the pressure they exerted on discursive systems that, in turn, provoked their suppression and fragmentation. The representation of this discontinuous mode of subalternity demands a strategy that recognizes both the emergence and displacement of subaltern agency in dominant discourses. It is by adopting such a strategy that the Subaltern Studies scholars have redeployed and redefined the concept of the subaltern, enhancing, not diminishing, its recalcitrance.

THE SUBALTERN STUDIES' RELOCATION OF SUBALTERNITY in the operation of dominant discourses leads it necessarily to the critique of the modern West. For if the marginalization of "other" sources of knowledge and agency occurred in the functioning of colonialism and its derivative, nationalism, then the weapon of critique must turn against Europe and the modes of knowledge it instituted. It is in this context that there emerges a certain convergence between Subaltern Studies and postcolonial critiques originating in literary and cultural studies. To cite only one example, not only did Edward Said's *Orientalism* provide the grounds for Partha Chatterjee's critique of Indian nationalism, Said also wrote an appreciative foreword to a collection of Subaltern Studies essays.²³ It is important to recognize that the critique of the West is not confined to the colonial record of exploitation and profiteering but extends to the disciplinary knowledge and procedures it authorized—above all, the discipline of history.

In a recent essay, Dipesh Chakrabarty offers a forceful critique of the academic discipline of history as a theoretical category laden with power. Finding premature the celebration of Subaltern Studies as a case of successful decolonization of knowledge, Chakrabarty writes that,

insofar as the academic discourse of history—that is, "history" as a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university—is concerned, "Europe" remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call "Indian," "Chinese," "Kenyan," and so on. There is a peculiar way in which all these other histories tend to become variations on a master narrative that could be called "the history of Europe." In

²³ Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 36–39; Edward Said, "Foreword," *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds. (New York, 1988), v–x.

this sense, "Indian" history itself is in a position of subalternity; one can only articulate subaltern subject positions in the name of this history.²⁴

The place of Europe as a silent referent works in many ways. First, there is the matter of "asymmetric ignorance": non-Westerners must read "great" Western historians (E. P. Thompson or Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie or Carlo Ginzburg) to produce the good histories, while the Western scholars are not expected to know non-Western works. Indeed, non-Western scholars are recognized for their innovation and imagination when they put into practice genres of inquiry developed for European history; a "total history" of China, the history of *mentalité* in Mexico, the making of the working class in India are likely to be applauded as fine studies.

Even more important, Chakrabarty suggests, is the installation of Europe as the theoretical subject of all histories. This universalization of Europe works through the representation of histories as History; even "Marx's methodological/epistemological statements have not always successfully resisted historicist readings."²⁵ Chakrabarty's study of jute workers in Bengal runs up against precisely the same Eurocentrism that undergirds Marx's analysis of capital and class struggle.²⁶ In his study, Chakrabarty finds that deeply hierarchical notions of caste and religion, drawn from India's traditions, animated working-class organization and politics in Bengal. This posed a problem for Marxist historiography. If India's traditions lacked the "Liberty Tree" that had nourished, according to E. P. Thompson, the consciousness of the English working class, were Indian workers condemned to "low classness"? The alternative was to envision that, sooner or later, the Indian working class would reach the desired state of emancipatory consciousness. This vision, of course, assumes the universality of such notions as the rights of "free-born Englishmen" and "equality before the law," and it posits that "workers all over the world, irrespective of their specific cultural pasts, *experience* 'capitalist production' in the same way."²⁷ This possibility can only arise if it is assumed that there is a universal subject endowed with an emancipatory narrative. Such an assumption, Chakrabarty suggests, is present in Marx's analysis, which, while carefully contrasting the proletariat from the citizen, falls back nonetheless on Enlightenment notions of freedom and democracy to define the emancipatory narrative. As a result, the jute workers, who resisted the bourgeois ideals of equality before the law with their hierarchical vision of a pre-capitalist community, are condemned to "backwardness" in Marxist accounts. Furthermore, it allows the nation-state to step onto the stage as the instrument of liberal transformation of the hierarchy-ridden masses.

It is not surprising, therefore, that themes of historical transition occupy a prominent place in the writing of non-Western histories. Historians ask if these societies achieved a successful transition to development, modernization, and capitalism and frequently answer in the negative. A sense of failure overwhelms

²⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations*, 37 (Winter 1992): 1.

²⁵ Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 4.

²⁶ See Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*.

²⁷ Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*, 223.

the representation of the history of these societies. So much so that even contestatory projects, including Subaltern Studies, Chakrabarty acknowledges, write of non-Western histories in terms of failed transitions. Such images of aborted transitions reinforce the subalternity of non-Western histories and the dominance of Europe as History.²⁸

The dominance of Europe as history not only subalternizes non-Western societies but also serves the aims of their nation-states. Indeed, Subaltern Studies developed its critique of history in the course of its examination of Indian nationalism and the nation-state. Guha's reconstruction of the language of peasant politics in his *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* is premised on the argument that nationalist historiography engaged in a systematic appropriation of peasants in the service of elite nationalism. Chatterjee's work contains an extended analysis of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*, a foundational nationalist text, showing the use of History, Reason, and Progress in the normalization of peasant "irrationality."²⁹ The inescapable conclusion from such analyses is that "history," authorized by European imperialism and the Indian nation-state, functions as a discipline, empowering certain forms of knowledge while disempowering others.

If history functions as a discipline that renders certain forms of thought and action "irrational" and subaltern, then should not the critique extend to the techniques and procedures it utilizes? Addressing this question, Chakrabarty turns to "one of the most elementary rules of evidence in academic history-writing: that your sources must be verifiable."³⁰ Pointing out that this rule assumes the existence of a "public sphere," which public archives and history writing are expected to reproduce, he suggests that the canons of historical research cannot help but live a problematic life in societies such as India. The idea of "public life" and "free access to information" must contend with the fact that knowledge is privileged and "belongs and circulates in the numerous and particularistic networks of kinship, community, gendered spaces, [and] ageing structures." If this is the case, then, Chakrabarty asks, how can we assume the universality of the canons of history writings: "Whose universals are they?"³¹

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT "Europe" or "the West" in Subaltern Studies refers to an imaginary though powerful entity created by a historical process that authorized it as the home of Reason, Progress, and Modernity. To undo the authority of such an entity, distributed and universalized by imperialism and nationalism, requires, in Chakrabarty's words, the "provincialization of Europe." But neither nativism nor cultural relativism animates this project of provincializ-

²⁸ Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 4–5. In this essay, Chakrabarty includes the initial orientation of Subaltern Studies toward the question of transition, as reflected in Guha's programmatic statements in "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India" and Chakrabarty's own *Rethinking Working-Class History*.

²⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (New York, 1946); Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*.

³⁰ Chakrabarty, "Trafficking in History and Theory," 106.

³¹ Chakrabarty, "Trafficking in History and Theory," 107.

ing Europe; there are no calls for reversing the Europe/India hierarchy and no attempts to represent India through an "Indian," not Western, perspective. Instead, the recognition that the "third-world historian is condemned to knowing 'Europe' as the original home of the 'modern,' whereas the 'European' historian does not share a comparable predicament with regard to the pasts of the majority of humankind," serves as the condition for a deconstructive rethinking of history.³² Such a strategy seeks to find in the functioning of history as a discipline (in Foucault's sense) the source for another history.

This move is a familiar one for postcolonial criticism and should not be confused with approaches that insist simply on the social construction of knowledge and identities. It delves into the history of colonialism not only to document its record of domination but also to identify its failures, silences, and impasses; not only to chronicle the career of dominant discourses but to track those (subaltern) positions that could not be properly recognized and named, only "normalized." The aim of such a strategy is not to unmask dominant discourses but to explore their fault lines in order to provide different accounts, to describe histories revealed in the cracks of the colonial archaeology of knowledge.³³

This perspective draws on critiques of binary oppositions that, as Frederick Cooper notes in his essay in this *Forum*, historians of former empires look upon with suspicion. It is true, as Cooper points out, that binary oppositions conceal intertwined histories and engagements across dichotomies, but the critique must go further. Oppositions such as East/West and colonizer/colonized are suspect not only because these distort the history of engagements but also because they edit, suppress, and marginalize everything that upsets founding values. It is in this respect that Jacques Derrida's strategy to undo the implacable oppositions of Western dominance is of some relevance.

Metaphysics—the white mythology which reassembles and reflects the culture of the West: the white man takes his own mythology, Indo-European mythology, his own *logos*, that is, the *mythos* of his idiom, for the universal form that he must still wish to call Reason . . . White mythology—metaphysics has erased within itself the fabulous scene that has produced it, the scene that nevertheless remains active and stirring, inscribed in white ink, an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest.³⁴

If the production of white mythology has nevertheless left "an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest," Derrida suggests that the structure of signification, of "différance," can be rearticulated differently than that which produced the West as Reason. Further, the source of the rearticulation of structures that produce foundational myths (History as the march of Man, of Reason, Progress) lies inside, not outside, their ambivalent functioning. From this point of view, critical work seeks its basis not without but within the fissures of dominant

³² Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 19.

³³ See, in this connection, Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 85–92.

³⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, Alan Bass, trans. (Chicago, 1982), 213.

structures. Or, as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak puts it, the deconstructive philosophical position (or postcolonial criticism) consists in saying an "impossible 'no' to a structure, which one critiques, yet inhabits intimately."³⁵

The potential of this deconstructive position has been explored effectively in the recent readings of the archival documents on the abolition of *sati*, the Hindu widow sacrifice in the early nineteenth century. The historian encounters these records, as I have suggested elsewhere, as evidence of the contests between the British "civilizing mission" and Hindu heathenism, between modernity and tradition, and as a story of the beginning of the emancipation of Hindu women and about the birth of modern India.³⁶ This is so because, Lata Mani shows, the very existence of these documents has a history that entails the use of women as the site for both the colonial and the indigenous male elite's constructions of authoritative Hindu traditions.³⁷ The questions asked of accumulated sources on *sati*—whether or not the burning of widows was sanctioned by Hindu codes, did women go willingly to the funeral pyre, on what grounds could the immolation of women be abolished—come to us marked by their early nineteenth-century history. The historian's confrontation today with sources on *sati*, therefore, cannot escape the echo of that previous rendezvous. In repeating that encounter, how does the historian today not replicate the early nineteenth-century staging of the issue as a contest between tradition and modernity, between the slavery of women and efforts toward their emancipation, between barbaric Hindu practices and the British "civilizing mission"? Mani tackles this dilemma by examining how such questions were asked and with what consequences. She shows that the opposing arguments assumed the authority of the law-giving scriptural tradition as the origin of Hindu customs: both those who supported and those who opposed *sati* sought the authority of textual origins for their beliefs. In other words, the nineteenth-century debate fabricated the authority of texts as Hinduism without acknowledging its work of authorization; indigenous patriarchy and colonial power colluded in constructing the origins for and against *sati* while concealing their collusion. Consequently, as Spivak states starkly, the debate left no room for the widow's enunciatory position. Caught in the contest over whether traditions did or did not sanction *sati* and over whether or not the widow self-immolated willingly, the colonized subaltern woman disappeared: she was literally extinguished for her dead husband in the indigenous patriarchal discourse, or offered the choice to speak in the voice of a sovereign individual authenticated by colonialism.³⁸ The problem here is not one of sources (the absence of the woman's testimony) but of the staging of the debate: it left no position from which the widow could speak.

The silencing of subaltern women, Spivak argues, marks the limit of historical

³⁵ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Making of Americans, the Teaching of English, the Future of Colonial Studies," *New Literary History*, 21 (1990): 28.

³⁶ This discussion of *sati* draws heavily on my "Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography," *Social Text*, 31–32 (1992): 11.

³⁷ Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India," *Cultural Critique*, 7 (Fall 1987): 119–56.

³⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. (Urbana, Ill., 1988), 271–313, esp. 299–307.

knowledge.³⁹ It is impossible to retrieve the woman's voice when she was not given a subject-position from which to speak. This argument appears to run counter to the historiographical convention of retrieval to recover the histories of the traditionally ignored—women, workers, peasants, and minorities. Spivak's point, however, is not that such retrievals should not be undertaken but that the very project of recovery depends on the historical erasure of the subaltern "voice." The possibility of retrieval, therefore, is also a sign of its impossibility. Recognition of the aporetic condition of the subaltern's silence is necessary in order to subject the intervention of the historian-critic to persistent interrogation, to prevent the refraction of "what might have been the absolutely Other into a domesticated Other."⁴⁰

These directions of postcolonial criticism make it an ambivalent practice, perched between traditional historiography and its failures, within the folds of dominant discourses and seeking to rearticulate their pregnant silence—sketching "an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest." This should not be mistaken for the postmodern pastiche, although the present currency of concepts such as decentered subjects and parodic texts may provide a receptive and appropriative frame for postcolonial criticism. Postcolonial criticism seizes on discourse's silences and aporetic moments neither to celebrate the polyphony of native voices nor to privilege multiplicity. Rather, its point is that the *functioning* of colonial power was heterogeneous with its founding oppositions. The "native" was at once an other and entirely knowable; the Hindu widow was a silenced subaltern who was nonetheless sought as a sovereign subject asked to declare whether or not her immolation was voluntary. Clearly, colonial discourses operated as the structure of *writing*, with the structure of their enunciation remaining heterogeneous with the binary oppositions they instituted.

This perspective on history and the position within it that the postcolonial critic occupies keeps an eye on both the conditions of historical knowledge and the possibility of its reinscription. It is precisely this double vision that allows Shahid Amin to use the limits of historical knowledge for its reinscription. His monograph on the 1922 peasant violence in Chauri Chaura is at once scrupulously "local" and "general." It offers a "thick description" of a local event set on a larger stage by nationalism and historiographical practice. Amin seizes on this general (national) staging of the local not only to show that the Indian nation emerged in its narration but also to mark the tension between the two as the point at which the subaltern memory of 1922 can enter history. This memory, recalled for the author during his field work, is not invoked either to present a more "complete" account of the event or to recover the subaltern. In fact, treating gaps, contradictions, and ambivalences as constitutive, necessary components of the nationalist narrative, Amin inserts memory as a device that both dislocates and reinscribes the historical record. The result is not an archaeology of nationalism that yields

³⁹ For more on this argument about the colonized woman caught between indigenous patriarchy and the politics of archival production, see Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory*, 24 (1985): 247–72.

⁴⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985): 253.

lifeless layers of suppressed evidence and episodes. Instead, we get a stage on which several different but interrelated dramas are performed, jostling for attention and prominence; curtains are abruptly drawn on some, and often the voices of the peasant actors can only be heard in the din of the other, more powerful, voices.

To read Amin's work in this way shows, I hope, that his deconstructive strategy does not "flatten" the tension that has existed, as Florencia Mallon notes correctly, in this scholarship from the very beginning. To be sure, Amin's account is not animated by the urge to recover the subaltern as an autonomous subject. But he places his inquiry in the tension between nationalism's claim to know the peasant and its representation of the subalterns as the "criminals" of Chauri Chaura. The subaltern remains a recalcitrant presence in discourse, at once part of the nation and outside it. Amin trafficks between these two positions, demonstrating that subaltern insurgency left its mark, however disfigured, on the discourse—"an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest."

Neither Amin's retelling of the 1922 event nor Chakrabarty's project of "provincializing Europe" can be separated from postcolonial critiques of disciplines, including the discipline of history. Thus, even as Subaltern Studies has shifted from its original goal of recovering the subaltern autonomy, the subaltern has emerged as a position from which the discipline of history can be rethought. This rethinking does not entail the rejection of the discipline and its procedures of research. Far from it. As Chakrabarty writes, "it is not possible to simply walk out of the deep collusion between 'history' and the modernizing narrative(s)."⁴¹ Nor is it possible to abandon historical research so long as it is pursued as an academic discipline in universities and functions to universalize capitalism and the nation-state. There is no alternative but to inhabit the discipline, delve into archives, and push at the limits of historical knowledge to turn its contradictions, ambivalences, and gaps into grounds for its rewriting.

IF SUBALTERN STUDIES' POWERFUL INTERVENTION in South Asian historiography has turned into a sharp critique of the discipline of history, this is because South Asia is not an isolated arena but is woven into the web of historical discourse centered, as Chakrabarty argues, in the modern West. Through the long histories of colonialism and nationalism, the discourse of modernity, capitalism, and citizenship has acquired a strong though peculiar presence in the history of the region. The institutions of higher education in South Asia, relatively large and thriving, have functioned since the mid-nineteenth century in relation to the metropolitan academy, including centers for South Asian studies in the West. For all these reasons, India's historical scholarship has been uniquely placed to both experience and formulate searching critiques of metropolitan discourses even as its object remains the field of South Asia. To its credit, Subaltern Studies turned South Asia's entanglement with the modern West as the basis for rendering its

⁴¹ Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 19.

intervention in South Asian history into a critique of discourses authorized by Western domination.

Subaltern Studies has arrived at its critique by engaging both Marxism and poststructuralism. But the nature of these engagements is complex. If the influence of Gramsci's Marxism is palpable in the concept of the subaltern and in treatments of such themes as hegemony and dominance, Marxism is also subjected to the poststructuralist critique of European humanism. It should be noted, however, as Spivak points out, that while "there is an affinity between the imperialist subject and the subject of humanism," the European critique of humanism does not provide the primary motive force for the Subaltern Studies project.⁴² Thus, even as this project utilizes Foucault's genealogical analysis to unravel the discourse of modernity, it relies on the subaltern as the vantage point of critique. The recalcitrant presence of the subaltern, marking the limits of the dominant discourse and the disciplines of representation, enables Subaltern Studies to identify the European provenance of Marx's account of capital, to disclose Enlightenment thought as the unthought of his analysis. It is outside Europe, in subaltern locations, that Marx's emancipatory narrative is disclosed as a *telos* deeply implicated in a discourse that was once part of colonialism and now serves to legitimate the nation-state.⁴³ Such a critical and complex engagement with Marxism and poststructuralism, deriving its force from the concept of the subaltern, defines the Subaltern Studies project.

Clearly, Subaltern Studies obtains its force as postcolonial criticism from a catachrestic combination of Marxism, poststructuralism, Gramsci and Foucault, the modern West and India, archival research and textual criticism. As this project is translated into other regions and disciplines, the discrepant histories of colonialism, capitalism, and subalternity in different areas would have to be recognized. It is up to the scholars of these fields, including Europeanists, to determine how to use Subaltern Studies' insights on subalternity and its critique of the colonial genealogy of the discourse of modernity. But it is worth bearing in mind that Subaltern Studies itself is an act of translation. Representing a negotiation between South Asian historiography and the discipline of history centered in the West, its insights can be neither limited to South Asia nor globalized. Trafficking between the two, and originating as an ambivalent colonial aftermath, Subaltern Studies demands that its own translation also occur between the lines.

⁴² Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," 337.

⁴³ Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*, 224–29.

The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies:
Perspectives from Latin American History

FLORENCIA E. MALLON

THIS IS NOT AN EASY TIME for scholars who work on Latin America. Over the past five years or so, many of our most important and inspirational historical narratives have come undone. The Cuban Revolution is dying a slow death after the collapse of the Soviet Union, dragged down by the morass of global capitalism, the internal erosion of social gains, and a leadership grown old in the holding of centralized power. The Sandinistas lost control of the state in 1990 and face the future internally divided, needing to make broad coalitions if they are to regain a place in the executive branch. (Where is their stunning political majority of 1979–1981?) In Chile, the post-Pinochet Christian Democrats have hailed the dictatorship's radical privatization and free market reforms as "modernization," tarnishing the memory of Chilean aspirations for social justice under Salvador Allende and the Chilean statist model of economic development that emerged from the first "popular unity" government of the late 1930s. In Peru, Sendero Luminoso has confused and confounded those of us accustomed to supporting people's struggles, first by killing an astounding number of the people they were supposedly struggling for, then because their "maximum leader" reached an agreement with an authoritarian, free market-oriented president after only a few weeks in captivity.

One could go on and on. But the main question, simply put, is, what is a progressive scholar to do? If we continue to commit to emancipatory, bottom-up analysis and yet can no longer simply ride one of our various Marxist or Marxian horses into the sunset, what are the alternatives? Are there other horses to ride, or must we eschew the enterprise entirely?

It is in this context that, for a few of us, the Subaltern Studies Group—organized around their series of collected essays, occasional conferences, and additional monographic publications on India and colonialism—has provided inspiration. A handful of Latin Americanists, from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, are beginning to pepper their citations with references to the series and perhaps more often to some of its individual luminaries, such as Ranajit

I wish to thank my co-participants in the *Forum*, Frederick Cooper and Gyan Prakash, who shared early drafts of their essays and helped me improve mine through dialogue with theirs. Steve J. Stern read several versions of the essay and, as usual, offered insightful criticism and collegial support.

Guha, Partha Chatterjee, or Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.¹ Latin Americanists, often Eurocentric in our borrowing from other historical or theoretical traditions, have in this instance taken as a model a school born and bred in another part of the so-called Third World. What is afoot?²

One partial explanation might lie in the nature of the intellectual and political crisis we presently face. It is precisely the models earlier imported from Europe—Marxisms, a belief in progress and modernity, a commitment to revolution as forward-looking, linear, developmentalist transformation—that are now in doubt. Many of us have thus been reluctant simply to pick up the most recent Eurocentric remedy to earlier Eurocentric ills and have hesitated before embracing the trends offered by postmodernism or poststructuralism. Some Latin American intellectuals, for example, have questioned the applicability of postmodernism to an area of the world not yet modern—at least not in the European or U.S. sense of the word. Others have doubted the ability of postmodernism to facilitate political engagement and commitment. And, in reading the work of those who have embraced the postmodern turn, some of us have been surprised by ahistorical claims that this approach has created a “new sense of modernity as paradoxical and contradictory” or that “[n]ew, ‘horizontal’ relations between intellectuals and

¹ As I will discuss in more detail below, the theoretical positions of the different scholars associated with Subaltern Studies—as well as the uses to which their work is being put among Latin Americanists—are conflictual and contradictory and have changed over time. Although I will analyze many of the Latin Americanist scholars citing Subaltern Studies more extensively below, the main authors I am referring to here are: Gilbert Joseph, “On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance,” *Latin American Research Review* (hereafter, *LARR*), 25 (1990): 7–53; Patricia Seed, “Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse,” *LARR*, 26 (1991): 181–200; Latin American Subaltern Studies Group, “Founding Statement,” *boundary 2*, 20 (Fall 1993), special issue on the Postmodern Debate in Latin America, 110–21; Florencia E. Mallon, “Dialogues among the Fragments: Retrospect and Prospect,” in Frederick Cooper, Allen F. Isaacman, Florencia E. Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison, Wis., 1993), 371–401; Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1994); Fernando Coronil, “Listening to the Subaltern: The Poetics of Neocolonial States,” forthcoming, *Poetics Today*, 15 (1994); Julie Skurski and Fernando Coronil, “Country and City in a Postcolonial Landscape: Double Discourse and the Geo-Politics of Truth in Latin America,” in *Views beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics*, Dennis L. Dworkin and Leslie G. Roman, eds. (New York, 1993), 231–59; Skurski and Coronil, “Dismembering and Remembering the Nation: The Semantics of Political Violence in Venezuela,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33 (April 1991): 288–337; Joanne Rappaport, “Fictive Foundations: National Romances and Subaltern Ethnicity in Latin America,” *History Workshop Journal*, 34 (Autumn 1992): 119–31.

² This is not to say that “South-South” dialogue has not occurred before. Examples include the work of James C. Scott on Southeast Asia, especially *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 1976); and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985), and the field of peasant studies of which it formed a part; the field of slavery and African diaspora studies, which has connected the histories and cultures of Afro-America to African and especially West African cultures and histories; and the various literatures debating concepts such as dependency, world systems, and articulation of modes of production. Other examples of such “South-South” dialogue are discussed and modeled in *Confronting Historical Paradigms*. But the main point continues to be that Latin American history, as a field, has tended to connect more readily to historical and theoretical traditions based in Europe. In this sense, of course, it is quite similar to other historical fields, including those based in Europe or the United States, which are indeed a great deal less conversant across the “South-North” divide than are scholars who work on so-called Third World areas.

both new and traditional social movements are emerging with the redefinition of political agency suggested by postmodernist perspectives.”³

So doesn't Subaltern Studies offer us the perfect compromise? Formulated by a group of intellectuals based in the “Third World,” anticolonial and politically radical yet conversant with the latest in textual analysis and postmodern methods: what more could a cautious, progressive scholar hope for? It is in this context that I reflect on the relevance of Subaltern Studies for the case of Latin America.

I begin by providing some background on and analysis of the Subaltern Studies Group as a whole, situating its project and its internal tensions and contradictions in the Gramscian tradition the group claimed at its inception. Next, I discuss how Subaltern approaches have been received and consumed so far in the Latin American literature, providing as well the historical, political, and historiographical context that might help us to extend and enrich the future application of Subaltern methods to the Latin American case. Finally, I use my reflections from Latin America to rethink the internal conflicts of Subaltern Studies as such, offering some suggestions for future work and dialogue that might contribute to extending the applicability of the project beyond its present reach.

These three goals, taken together, constitute the essence of non-hierarchical cross-regional dialogue, where neither of the two cases is taken as the paradigm against which the other is pronounced inadequate. Such an approach is a welcome corrective to the many instances in which European theories had been placed next to Third World cases and the latter have been found wanting. The Subaltern project itself has been involved, to some extent, in this kind of dialogue, especially in its attempts to extend and rethink, from the perspective of the colonial and postcolonial world, the messages of Antonio Gramsci, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault. In Latin America, too, scholars have participated in more effective forms of mutual dialogue, especially on issues such as economic dependency, liberation theology, and indigenous movements. But it bears repeating that non-hierarchical cross-regional dialogue is not the application of a concept, part and parcel, without contextualization, to another area. Nor can it be framed in the assumption that one side of the exchange has little to learn from the other. It is my hope that in these kinds of dialogues and exchanges, perhaps not

³ The various sources for hesitancy in using poststructuralism and postmodernism in Latin America are summarized by John Beverley and José Oviedo in their “Introduction,” *boundary 2*, special issue on the Postmodernism Debate in Latin America, 1–17, quotations on 7 and 7–8, respectively. With regard to the second quotation, it is especially interesting to note that, directly following, Beverley and Oviedo point out that Xavier Albó, a contributor to the issue, models these “new” relationships in his work with the Aymara people, which, among other things, involves “writing radio soap opera scripts in Aymara for them” (emphasis added). See also, in the same issue, Martín Hopenhayn, “Postmodernism and Neoliberalism in Latin America,” 93–109; Aníbal Quijano, “Modernity, Identity, and Utopia in Latin America,” 140–55; Hernán Vidal, “Postmodernism, Postleftism, Neo-Avant-Gardism: The Case of Chile’s *Revista de Crítica Cultural*,” 203–27.

Pointed reflections around the limitations of “post” perspectives, whether postmodernism or postcolonialism, can be found in Mallon, “Dialogues among the Fragments”; Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Is the Post- in Poststructuralism the Post- in Post-Colonial?” *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (Winter 1991): 336–57; Fernando Coronil, “Can Postcoloniality Be Decolonized? Imperial Banality and Postcolonial Power,” *Public Culture: Bulletin of the Project for Transnational Cultural Studies*, 5 (Fall 1992): 89–108; Jorge Klor de Alva, “Colonialism and Post Colonialism as (Latin) American Mirages,” *Colonial Latin American Review*, 1 (1992): 3–23. For a further discussion of postcolonial as applied to Latin America, see below, this essay.

accidentally among so-called Third World regions, we can find the seeds for a method of post-orientalist comparison.⁴

IN THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME of *Subaltern Studies*, dated in Canberra in August 1981, Ranajit Guha defined the subaltern very broadly as anyone who is subordinated "in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way." He declared all aspects of subaltern life—historical, social, cultural, political, or economic—to be relevant to the Subaltern Studies Group's efforts to recover subaltern contributions to Indian history. He further stated that, because subordination is a two-way relationship involving both dominated and dominant, elite groups would also receive consideration in the work of the Subaltern Studies scholars. In a disclaimer tucked away among the various purposes that have constituted the group project as a whole, he firmly set its Gramscian genealogy: "It will be idle of us, of course, to hope that the range of contributions to this series may even remotely match the six-point project envisaged by Antonio Gramsci in his 'Notes on Italian History.'"⁵

It seems worthwhile to reflect briefly on Guha's choice in citing "Notes on Italian History." Gramsci's six-point project for the study of the subaltern was ambitious, indeed. He devoted only one point to research on "the objective formation of the subaltern social groups" in the economic transformations of a particular society and "their origins in pre-existing social groups, whose mentality, ideology and aims they conserve for a time." The five remaining points address the political formation of both dominant and subaltern social forces, which he saw as mutually interdependent. Gramsci asserted that subaltern groups attempt to influence "dominant political formations" from the start and that this critical engagement was crucial to the transformation of both dominant and subaltern political organizations. In response to pressure from below, dominant groups attempt to enlist the cooperation of subalterns through the formation of new reformist political parties. At the same time, when subalterns struggle politically to create their own increasingly autonomous organizations, they do so in dialogue with, and struggle against, dominant political forms.⁶ This was precisely the purpose of the Subaltern Studies Group's proposed revision of Indian history: to demonstrate how, in the political transformations occurring in colonial and postcolonial Indian society, subalterns not only developed their own strategies of resistance but actually helped define and refine elite options.

But there was more to Guha's choice. "Notes on Italian History" is one of

⁴ For a discussion of post-orientalist history, see Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (1990): 383–408; Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," *CSSH*, 34 (1992): 141–67; Prakash, "Can the 'Subaltern' Ride? A Reply to O'Hanlon and Washbrook," *CSSH*, 34 (1992): 168–84. The original inspiration here belongs to Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

⁵ Ranajit Guha, "Preface," *Subaltern Studies I*, as reprinted in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds. (New York, 1988), 35–36; quotations on 35.

⁶ Antonio Gramsci, "Notes on Italian History," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, ed. and trans. (New York, 1971), 44–120. The six-point research project appears on 52.

Gramsci's most detailed and historically dynamic writings, in which he pondered the question of why Italy did not develop into a strong nation-state in the nineteenth century, a question linked in his mind to the rise of fascism in the twentieth century. The constant shadow presence in his analysis, against which he defined the Italian "passive revolution" that led to state formation without the effective creation of a nation, is the French Revolution of 1789, and the Jacobin party as the political mediator channeling popular energy into an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Italy, as "not-France," does not have an active, transformative bourgeois revolution and thus emerges as a weak nation, in which dominant social groups "have the function of 'domination' without that of 'leadership': dictatorship without hegemony."⁷ This is also the central problematic that Guha defines in the first volume of *Subaltern Studies*:

It is the study of this *historic failure of the nation to come to its own*, a failure due to the inadequacy of the bourgeoisie as well as of the working class to lead it into a decisive victory over colonialism and a bourgeois-democratic revolution of either the classic nineteenth-century type under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie or a more modern type under the hegemony of workers and peasants, that is, a 'new democracy'—*it is the study of this failure which constitutes the central problematic of the historiography of colonial India*.⁸

The compelling parallels between India and Italy, both "not-France," are bounded by the existence of colonialism. The "historic failure of the nation to come to its own," "the inadequacy of the bourgeoisie as well as of the working class," these, according to Guha, are "the central problematic of the historiography of colonial India." Not simply pre-capitalist or underdeveloped India but colonial India. This put a particular spin on the concept of subalternity and on the role of peasants in subaltern politics. In the case of a European "not-France," Gramsci had envisioned the need for a broad class alliance that, by uniting workers and peasants, would radicalize both groups and make them, along with their organic intellectuals, the leaders of a social revolution. But in the case of a colonial "not-France," the obstacles to overcome were even steeper. A smaller working class was even more isolated from a larger peasantry, and questions of social justice were inextricably intertwined with issues of national self-determination. Since nationalist elites had often benefited from the social arrangements reproduced under colonialism, subaltern movements and political visions had to attain an even larger and more militant presence in nationalist coalitions if the nation was ever to come into its own. Given the smaller size of the proletariat, peasants and rural communities had to take the lead in the forging of an Indian people-nation.⁹

⁷ Gramsci, "Notes on Italian History," esp. 55–106; quotation on 106. I am grateful for discussions with William Roseberry on the question of Gramsci and "Notes on Italian History," as well as on hegemony more broadly, that helped to focus and inspire my analysis. For a summary of Roseberry's views, see William Roseberry, "Hegemony and the Language of Contention," in Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, 355–66.

⁸ Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," in *Subaltern Studies I*, reprinted in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 37–44; quotation on 43, emphasis in the original.

⁹ On the ways in which the Indian case helped modify and expand Gramscian understandings of subalternity and peasant politics, see especially David Arnold, "Gramsci and Peasant Subalternity in India," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 11 (July 1984): 155–77.

As is the case in Gramsci's work, then, the Subaltern Studies commitment to the recovery of subaltern politics, culture, and traditions of resistance is not simply empirical but also political. Gramsci hoped to discover, in an understanding of subaltern practices and histories, a potential for building the Jacobin party of the left: the hegemonic party that truly led, rather than simply dominated, by channeling, understanding, and incorporating popular energies and beliefs. The Subaltern Studies Group also leaves open the possibility for a future reconstruction of an emancipatory and hegemonic postcolonial political order: if subaltern traditions and practices are better understood, they can still serve as the basis for building alternative political communities that will truly liberate "the people."

In fact, as Guha himself laid out in "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," the Subaltern Studies Group was united first and foremost in its critique of neo-colonialist, nationalist, and traditional Marxist approaches to the study of "the people." What unified these historiographies, according to Guha, was their inability to see and hear subaltern insurgents as they really were. "Blinded by the glare of a perfect and immaculate consciousness," Guha concluded, historians of all political persuasions had yet to investigate subaltern politics in all its contradictory complexity.¹⁰ Because all schools of Indian historiography were complicit in their failure to investigate the potential countertraditions in Indian popular politics, the potential for constructing a Gramscian Jacobin party of the left in India was close to zero. Indeed, according to C. A. Bayly, during the decade preceding the founding of Subaltern Studies,

Indian intellectuals found comfort, amidst all the signs of embourgeoisement, in the Maoist violence of the Naxalites. Later in the 1970s many who were not on the pro-Chinese left sniffed danger in the hegemonic ideology of the Indian National Congress, elevating 'national unity' into an icon which could keep it permanently in power (the subaltern group, it must be remembered, came together not long after Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency). There was concern that, in official discourse, tribal resistance movements, poor peasant protest and working class rising could be bundled into the category of archaic disturbance, communalism, or 'Naxalism'. The ease with which many elements of the old left, particularly in Bengal, compromised with the authoritarian claims of the Congress, and the way in which their orthodox Marxist-Leninist theorists were able to accommodate this to economistic developmental theories of class-struggle set alarm bells ringing.¹¹

Beyond all this complicity with official nationalist narratives, there was also the Gramscian critique of orthodox Marxist activists and intellectuals who continued to believe that politics was the direct translation of class—defined as position in or relation to the means of production—to the arenas of political action and consciousness. The necessity of such a critique was demonstrated by some of the answers appearing in Indian academic journals. "[T]here is a strong anti-Marxist bias in some of the essays collected in the two volumes," wrote Girish Mishra in 1983. After quoting extensively from Lenin for over two of the five pages in his review, Mishra suggested that Subaltern Studies scholars idealized the spontaneity

¹⁰ Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in *Subaltern Studies II*, reprinted in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 45–86; quotation on 84.

¹¹ C. A. Bayly, "Rallying around the Subaltern," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 16 (October 1988): 110–20, quotation on 112–13.

of popular mobilization, when in fact it was "wrong to say that the workers or peasants start having a clear understanding of politics after one or two rounds of agitation. They need to be organized and trained." Instead, Mishra proposed, "It will be better and more fruitful if the researchers into popular movements concentrate more on their internal weaknesses and limitations of perspectives and outlook than on finding a scapegoat in the form of some leader or the other of the Indian National Congress betraying them." This was true, according to Mishra, because the "hackneyed" accusations of betrayal did not hold up to close class analysis. If the Indian National Congress was the party of the bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeoisie, then it was interested in increasing agricultural production. Of necessity, therefore, the Indian National Congress would ally with all anti-feudal forces and could not possibly betray the peasants.¹²

It was in the light of such a deductive analysis of politics that the need for a Subaltern Studies approach made the most sense. A hegemonic alternative for the future needed to be built with what already existed. Activists and intellectuals concerned with building an alternative needed to *know*, through investigation, what traditions they had to work with. They could not deduce them simply through the application of Marxist categories. "Every trace of independent initiative on the part of subaltern groups should therefore be of incalculable value for the integral historian," Gramsci wrote. "Consequently, this kind of history can only be dealt with monographically, and each monograph requires an immense quantity of material which is often hard to collect."¹³

Herein lies the deepest, most irresolvable, and also the most fertile tension in the Subaltern Studies project. The recovery of subaltern practices, beliefs, and actions necessitated the use of new documents but especially of new methods for reading old documents. This laborious and methodologically complex task led many members of the group increasingly into semiotics, literary criticism, and many forms of textual analysis. Yet, by encouraging the deconstruction of texts along lines of power and hierarchy and by decentering all subjects that emerged in the documents, these techniques have ultimately questioned two assumptions central to the group's political purpose: that subaltern practices had some autonomy from elite culture and that subaltern politics had a unity and solidarity of its own.¹⁴

By January 1986, when the second Subaltern Studies conference was held in

¹² Girish Mishra, "Elite-People Dichotomy: An Exaggerated View," *Indian Historical Review*, 10 (July 1983–January 1984): 133–38; quotations on 133, 135. For other critiques that began from Marxism, see Javeed Alam, "Peasantry, Politics and Historiography: Critique of New Trend in Relation to Marxism," *Social Scientist*, 11 (February 1983): 43–54; Sangeeta Singh, *et al.*, "Subaltern Studies II: A Review Article," *Social Scientist*, 12 (October 1984): 3–41; Bayly, "Rallying around the Subaltern."

¹³ Gramsci, "Notes on Italian History," 55.

¹⁴ The tension of influences on the Subaltern Studies Group, which combined—in addition to Gramsci—Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes, structuralist anthropology, Russian structuralist literary criticism, and Althusserian Marxism, was pointed out relatively early by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," *Subaltern Studies IV* (Delhi, 1985), rev. version printed in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 3–32. Another important discussion around questions of the unitary subject in Subaltern Studies appeared in Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject: *Subaltern Studies* and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies*, 22 (1988): 189–224.

Calcutta, this tension came out into the open. As summarized by David Hardiman, himself a contributor to the project from its inception, the school was "standing at something of a crossroads . . . One road leads towards greater concentration on textual analysis and a stress on the relativity of all knowledge; another towards the study of subaltern consciousness and action so as to forward the struggle for a socialist society." As reported by Hardiman, both positions received well-argued support. The proponents of textual analysis emphasized the value of the group's deconstruction of existing theories and pointed out the inevitable relativism of such an endeavor; Guha himself stressed that the school was "born under a sign of negation—'negation' is inscribed on the subaltern banner." The proponents of a more openly political purpose, however, emphasized the constructive rather than deconstructive aspects of the school's original purpose, the need to focus on politics and on the interactions of elites and subalterns over time. If, indeed, the Subaltern School sought to "make the subaltern classes the subjects of their own history," some scholars argued, deconstruction was of necessity a tool rather than a goal. Guha also supported the need for an ultimately political purpose, and he suggested that this division might be a strength rather than a weakness. Hardiman, however, concluded his report by suggesting that this division could very well prove difficult to overcome in the long run, especially since "the debate during the conference served more to reveal these differences rather than to work towards their resolution."¹⁵

Can these differences be resolved? Is resolution in one direction or the other even the most desirable goal? I think not. In an essay published in 1985, Gayatri Spivak reflected on the productive aspects of these contradictions. By insisting that subalterns possessed positive human agency and could be thinking and autonomous historical subjects, she argued, the Subaltern Studies school was placing itself in a subaltern position within historiography. Yet the very act of doing so, Spivak insisted, could be "reinscribed as a strategy for our times." Subaltern identities and consciousness will always remain slightly out of reach, resisting attempts to fit them into a linear narrative. But historians must persist in their efforts at recovering subaltern subjectivity, even though they know it is an ultimately impossible task. "It is a hard lesson to learn," Spivak concluded. "[B]ut not to learn it is merely to nominate elegant solutions to be correct theoretical practice." By continuing to explore the politically positive, liberating potential of subaltern histories, then, by marshaling semiotics and postmodern techniques for emancipatory purposes that they can never entirely meet, by persisting in these apparently impossible attempts at combination, the Subaltern Studies Group can continue to make its greatest and broadest contribution.¹⁶

Obviously, the authors in this group are not the only ones involved in such a project. And, as Hardiman's report and much of the work in the seven Subaltern Studies volumes I have seen makes clear, not all scholars associated with the group agree on what has been accomplished or what the best strategy for the future

¹⁵ David Hardiman, "'Subaltern Studies' at Crossroads," *Economic and Political Weekly* (February 15, 1986); 288–90; quotations on 290.

¹⁶ Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," reprinted in *Selected Subaltern Studies*; quotation on 16. For a similar point, see Prakash, "Can the 'Subaltern' Ride?"

might be. Further, as is evident from the different emphases presented here and in Gyan Prakash's essay that is also a part of this *AHR Forum*, the same theorists and the same contradictions can be interpreted as leading to quite distinct prescriptions for the future. But in having developed, over more than a decade, a commitment to the attempted combination of postmodern method and radical politics, the Subaltern Studies Group has provided scholars who have similar concerns, especially in other parts of the "Third World," with an important model to discuss. And it is along these lines of discussion and debate that Subaltern methods have begun to be invoked and debated in Latin America.

TO MY KNOWLEDGE, the first major public invocation of the Subaltern Studies Group among Latin Americanists occurred in the pages of the 1990 *Latin American Research Review*. In an influential review article on Latin American banditry, Gilbert Joseph suggested that the project and methods provided by Ranajit Guha in volumes I and II of Subaltern Studies might help the field move beyond a sterile debate over whether bandits were socially motivated or simply complicit with the existing order. In an attempt to move the field back toward subaltern agency, Joseph used Guha's insights in "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency"—as well as the work of James Scott and others on "everyday forms of peasant resistance"—to underscore the problems of relying on documents provided by state agencies oriented toward social control when assessing the motives and behavior of bandits and their supporters. As an alternative, which he hoped would help recover as well as recast the insights in E. J. Hobsbawm's original formulations, Joseph proposed a more flexible and multi-layered approach to rural unrest and protest that took into account the interactions among many forms of resistance and put bandit studies firmly back in the field of agrarian studies. He also suggested that historians take more seriously the power relations that underwrote all the documents on which they based their claims.¹⁷

Joseph struck a nerve, especially in Richard Slatta, who edited the volume on Latin American bandits extensively discussed in the original review essay. Slatta had a particularly sharp barb ready for anything that smacked of "Foucaultism or other strains of poststructuralism. Serious philosophical differences divide the practitioners," he wrote. "The cacophony of conflicting discourses and competing projects often is too abstract, rarified, and sectarian to help working historians . . . Philosophers are still working on what Foucault means by *dispositif* and other concepts. How, then, can practicing historians employ his ideas with any confidence?" In the footnote to this statement, he also summarily disposed of Gramsci: "Similar problems face historians taking up Gramscian *hegemony*. The term suffers confusing 'slippage' at the hands of the master and his disciples."¹⁸

So Joseph's effort to link questions of textual analysis, subaltern agency, and recent advances in agrarian history to the history of banditry received a slap on the wrist from a "working historian" who found all the theories associated with

¹⁷ Joseph, "On the Trail of Latin American Bandits," 7–53.

¹⁸ Richard W. Slatta, "Bandits and Rural Social History: A Comment on Joseph," *LARR*, 26 (1991): 145–51; quotations on 150 and 150 n. 19.

Foucault and Gramsci to be too confusing and half-baked. In order to dismiss methodological criticisms associated with an overreliance on typology, an under-emphasis on social analysis, and an uncritical use of official records, Slatta invoked the twin ghosts of poststructuralist and Gramscian slippage. Although the celebration of the linguistic turn was never Joseph's purpose in the first place, it is interesting to note that his attempt to use the dual purposes of Subaltern Studies to overcome a dead end in Latin American bandit studies was answered by an attempt to collapse both purposes into a morass of postmodern confusion.¹⁹

Not long after the debate on banditry, the Subaltern Studies Group was once again invoked in the pages of the *Latin American Research Review*. In a review essay on colonial and postcolonial discourse, Patricia Seed stated that, in the historical field, "members of the subaltern studies movement have been the leaders of the postcolonial discourse movement." Although Joseph's original article on banditry had appeared in the same journal a year before, Seed did not demonstrate an awareness of it, or of other recent discussions on politics, ethnicity, and the state that had begun to appear in various subfields of Latin American history. In works that spanned the geographical and temporal spectrum from the early colonial period to the twentieth century, historians had begun to show that all subaltern communities were internally differentiated and conflictual and that subalterns forged political unity or consensus in painfully contingent ways. Some scholars had also uncovered the multiple ways in which oppressed peoples had engaged and used state institutions and the law, demonstrating that the same strategy increased people's room to move and made impossible a frontal assault on the existing balance of power. Authors actively questioned more linear or top-down renditions of major transitions, such as the conquest, the abolition of slavery, or the Nicaraguan Revolution, engaging in dynamic debate with other historians over the importance of subaltern political struggles in these transitions. It was only by ignoring this literature that Seed was able to conclude that "historians have been relatively reluctant to consider any form of reflexivity or reflexive self-critique of their practices."²⁰

Seed shared with Richard Slatta an impatience for what can be loosely termed resistance studies.

¹⁹ Joseph clarifies his position on the linguistic turn and reemphasizes his desire to reconnect bandit studies to agrarian history more generally in "'Resocializing' Latin American Banditry: A Reply," *LARR*, 26 (1991): 161-74.

²⁰ Patricia Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse," *LARR*, 26 (1991): 181-200; quotations on 193, 200. Some of the new reflections within Latin American history are the following. On the construction of the colonial state: Karen Spalding, *Huachichil: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1984); and Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, 2d edn. (Madison, Wis., 1993). On the nature of slave emancipation and the role of African Americans in the formation of political culture: Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* (Baltimore, Md., 1981); and Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985). On the nature of Nicaraguan politics and the 1979 revolution: Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912-1979* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990). Other attempts to innovate in the understanding of rural and subaltern politics include: Catherine Legrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1850-1936* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986); Florescia E. Mallon, "Peasants and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Morelos, 1848-1858," *Political Power and Social Theory*, 7 (1988): 1-54; and Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, 1987).

[A]nthropologists' and historians' versions of what happened were usually tales of either heroic resistance in which natives dramatically defended their homelands or accounts of manipulative accommodation in which colonial goals were maneuvered to serve the interests of the native community or some combination of the two story lines. In the late 1980s, these tales of resistance and accommodation were being perceived increasingly as mechanical, homogenizing, and inadequate versions of the encounters between the colonizers and the colonized.

In contrast to Slatta, however, who warned against postmodern slippage, Seed saw poststructuralism as the answer. "As narratives of resistance and accommodation were losing credibility," she wrote, "a major new intellectual movement was emerging in association with thinkers loosely grouped as poststructuralists." But she also agreed with Slatta when she linked poststructuralism, the linguistic turn, and postcolonial discourse studies directly to Subaltern Studies, once again collapsing the linguistic and textual analysis methods of the school into their more political goals and purposes, neatly covering over their Gramscian genealogy.²¹

In a sense, it could not have been otherwise for her. Openly to discuss the Gramscian project of Subaltern Studies would have led back into a part of the resistance studies literature Seed had summarily dismissed. It would have necessitated a more careful reading and analysis of the last generation of historical studies on subaltern practices, culture, politics, and resistance in Latin America.²² It would have made the panacea of the linguistic turn seem less complete and therefore less attractive. And it would have led back into the deep creative tension centrally present in the Subaltern Studies Group itself.

Here we encounter, to my mind, the gravest problem with the kind of conceptual and methodological borrowing that the application of Subaltern Studies to other parts of the world entails. In the process of the dialogue itself, either or both sides can be flattened out, simplified, misrepresented. If this occurs, the nuances, internal tensions, and contradictions—in short, the very stuff of which meaningful academic discussion is made—are pushed aside in favor of defining *the* correct way. Once this has been done, it is no longer necessary to understand what has gone before, since it has become entirely irrelevant.

Latin Americanists who rediscovered Marxism and its many varieties in the 1960s and 1970s also tended to fall into this methodological trap. Dismissing earlier traditions and works as irrelevant and passé, we often missed important clues concerning the explanatory power of ethnicity, race, family, ecology, and demography because our newly discovered theoretical correctness told us that it all came down to class and mode of production.²³ Besides, what better way to circumvent entire literatures, often prohibitive in size and overwhelming in detail

²¹ Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse," esp. 182–83, 192–93; quotations on 182.

²² Rolena Adorno pointed to this superficiality for the case of the Andean colonial literature in her response to Seed. See Adorno, "Reconsidering Colonial Discourse for Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish America," *LARR*, 28 (1993): 135–45, esp. 136–37. Similar arguments could be made in the cases of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Andes, Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba. Some initial references, in addition to *Radical History Review*, 27, the issue on colonialism and resistance (1983), can be found herein, notes 20 and 26. See also below for a systematic examination of a few of the sources in this literature.

²³ For critiques, see Mallon, "Dialogues among the Fragments"; and William Roseberry, "Beyond the Agrarian Question in Latin America," in *Confronting Historical Paradigms*, 318–68.

and complexity, than by lumping them into categories that were no longer theoretically current?

Especially in today's academic world, with its notorious overproduction, such techniques of dismissal are especially attractive. They make it possible for scholars such as Patricia Seed to pretend that a single approach to an issue such as resistance and accommodation—in the African, Asian, and Latin American fields, for the colonial and postcolonial periods—dooms the entire project and makes it irrelevant. "Such tales of 'adaptation and response,'" Seed concluded in her response to a query by Rolena Adorno,

relying on notions of oppositional identity as untouched, authentic, and unproblematically created, coincided well with the narratives that were being produced by the leaders of emergent postcolonial states as well as by those opposing the largely economic domination and occasional direct political domination of the United States in Central and South America. Often producing a political redemptive narrative based on liberation from an evil oppressor, such tales found congenial readerships not simply in Latin America but throughout current and former colonial worlds.

To back up these broad generalizations, Seed cited only James Scott's work on Indonesia and a single introductory work on Latin American popular culture.²⁴

One is left to wonder, for example, how it is possible to lump together questions of economic dependency with issues of nationalist redemption throughout the Third World. True, in the Latin American region, where political independence had been gained long before, questions of economic dependency were central to newly developmentalist policy makers interested in limiting the economic influence of the United States after World War II. In Africa, by contrast—as Frederick Cooper makes abundantly clear in his essay in this *Forum*—the dependency literature was used to counteract celebratory nationalisms and to question the value of redemptive political liberation. The interconnections between national liberation and economic autonomy or development, moreover, varied greatly from socialist to nonsocialist states, no matter what part of the Third World they inhabited.²⁵

Turning back to Latin America, the existing historiography simply does not fit Seed's generalization. As Adorno has pointed out for the colonial Andes, issues of complicity, adaptation, collaboration, and resistance have been systematically articulated in complex ways by historians since the early to mid-1980s. Even in the early 1970s, with Karen Spalding's groundbreaking articles on Andean ethnic leaders (*kurakas*) as both protective of their communities and complicit with the colonial power structure, "oppositional identity" could no longer be seen as "untouched, authentic, and unproblematically created." Work on agrarian history and rural rebellions in Mexico, whether for the colonial period, the nineteenth

²⁴ Patricia Seed, "More Colonial and Postcolonial Discourses," *LARR*, 26 (1993): 146–52; quotation and footnote on 149. This level of broad and lightly substantiated generalization is not, however, typical of all Seed's work on colonialism. See "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 49 (April 1992): 183–209, where she does a fine-grained comparative analysis of early Spanish and British colonialisms in the Americas.

²⁵ Similar problems occur with the too facile use of such terms as postcolonial without proper context or historical framing. See Coronil, "Can Postcoloniality Be Decolonized?"; and Klor de Alva, "Colonialism and Post Colonialism," for critiques.

century, or the Mexican Revolution of 1910, has also taken on questions of political mediation and complex, cross-cutting alliances that muddled questions of resistance and complicity, and has done so since the early 1980s. Finally, historians of slavery and the African diaspora have picked up on cues from historically minded anthropologists such as Sidney Mintz or Richard Price, producing multifaceted analyses of enslaved people's confrontations with and resistant adaptations to planter classes and state structures. These studies were not "political[ly] redemptive narrative[s] based on liberation from an evil oppressor." Instead, many explored the minute contradictions in power relations and in the alliances formed among the oppressed, tracing the various and sometimes internally conflictual strategies for coping developed by subaltern peoples.²⁶

Although an in-depth treatment of all the available literature is beyond the scope and focus of this essay, let me cite a series of local confrontations with cases, people, and sources that challenged historians of Latin America, since the early 1980s, to begin struggling with many of the same issues that led, in India, to the founding of the Subaltern Studies school. Was there an alternative to deducing subaltern consciousness from theoretical categories? Was it possible to forge a politically committed intellectual project that respected the political cultures and political debates existing among subaltern groups? What could appropriately take the place of existing political and academic paradigms? In addition to the authors and studies already discussed above, Alberto Flores Galindo confronted the challenge of Sendero Luminoso in Peru by arguing for the centrality of Andean utopian thought to all emancipatory political projects. In Mexico, students of ethnic politics and indigenous communities told a very different history from that represented in the national or regional stories of revolutionary and postrevolu-

²⁶ Karen Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 53 (November 1973): 581–99; Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 50 (November 1970): 645–64. On the Andes, see also, in addition to the sources listed in note 19, Brooke Larson, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, 1983); Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest*. On Mexico, see, for example, David A. Brading, ed., *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, 1980); Marcello Carmagnani, "Local Governments and Ethnic Governments in Oaxaca," in Karen Spalding, ed., *Essays in the Political, Economic, and Social History of Colonial Latin America* (Newark, Del., 1982), 107–24; Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses: El proceso de reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico City, 1988); Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, 1984); Antonio García de León, *Resistencia y utopía*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1985); Gilbert M. Joseph, *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880–1924*, rev. edn. (Durham, N.C., 1988); Friedrich Katz, ed., *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, 1988); Mallon, "Peasants and State Formation"; Cheryl English Martin, "Haciendas and Villages in Late Colonial Morelos," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62 (February 1982): 19–48; Ilene V. O'Malley, *The Myth of the Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920–1940* (Westport, Conn., 1986).

On slavery and African diaspora studies, see C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2d edn., rev. (New York, 1963); Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*, 2d edn. (New York, 1989); Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1976); Richard Price, *First-time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore, Md., 1983); Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore, 1981); Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900*, 2d edn. (Princeton, 1985).

tionary politics. In Argentina, Daniel James investigated Peronism from below and from the shop floor, and he found a very different phenomenon from the national-level histories of Juan Perón, whether laudatory or not. In these and other cases, analysts sought new ways to make sense of the multi-layered and contradictory nature of subaltern polities, cultures, and struggles. Whether or not they had discovered the postmodern turn, a confrontation with their work and its contradictions must be a crucial part of our attempt to move Latin American history forward self-reflexively.²⁷ Shortly after the dust settled on the colonial and postcolonial discourse debate, the "Founding Statement" of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group appeared in the special issue of *boundary 2* devoted to postmodernism in Latin America. Composed of fifteen members—one historian, two anthropologists, and the rest literary critics—the group began by citing Guha's familiar foundational pieces in volumes I and II of *Subaltern Studies* in approvingly postmodern terms. Guha's original complex arguments, which involved methodological as well as political calls to action, were summarized by the group as a project for reading existing South Asian historiography "'in reverse' to recover the cultural and political specificity of peasant insurrections." This project was then defined as involving two techniques: "identifying the logic of the distortions in the representation of the subaltern in official or elite culture; and uncovering the social semiotics of the strategies and cultural practices of peasant insurgencies themselves."²⁸ Once again, it seemed that Subaltern Studies was being reduced to half of its complexity: the methods and techniques of postmodernism.

But the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group went further and approached Gilbert Joseph's earlier efforts to (re)prioritize subaltern agency. Among their "founding concepts and strategies," the group included the need to call the nation into question as a concept and as a boundary. Not only had recent world events increasingly called the nation into question, they argued, but the nation itself was an elite creation that "has obscured, *from the start*, the presence and reality of subaltern social subjects in Latin American history." In addition, wrote the group, the subaltern was a "mutating, migrating subject" whose identity was varied and situational. It was necessary, therefore, to move beyond the privileging of particular subaltern groups—workers, peasants, men—"to access the vast (and mobile) array of the masses."²⁹

So far so good, but what strategies and methods did the group propose in order to bring their project to fruition? Here, the picture got a little sketchy. "To represent subalternity in Latin America, in whatever form it takes wherever it appears . . . requires us to explore the margins of the state." "[R]etaining a focus

²⁷ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (Havana, 1986); Carmagnani, "Local Governments and Ethnic Governments"; and *El regreso de los dioses*; García de León, *Resistencia y utopía*; Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976* (Cambridge, 1988).

²⁸ "Founding Statement," 110–21; discussions of Guha on 110–11, quotations on 111. The founding members, listed on page 237 of the issue, were: Robert Carr, Ileana Rodríguez, Patricia Seed, Javier Sanjinés, John Beverley, José Mazzotti, José Rabasa, Roger Lancaster, Robert Conn, Julio Ramos, María Milagros López, Carol Smith, Clara Lomas, Norma Alarcón, and Monica Szurmuk.

²⁹ "Founding Statement," 117–21; quotations on 118, 121.

on the intelligentsia and on its characteristic intellectual practices—centered on the cultivation of writing, science, and the like—leaves us in the space of historiographic prejudice and ‘not-seeing’ that Guha identified in his studies of peasant insurgency.” “Not to acknowledge the contribution of the people to their own history manifests the poverty of historiography and points to crucial reasons for the failures of national programs of ‘popular’ entitlement.”³⁰ How do we get beyond statements of intent, beyond programmatic calls to action? We need the complexity on both sides of the dialogue—in Subaltern Studies itself and in the fields of Latin American history, politics, and anthropology.

It is perhaps not surprising, in this context, that Patricia Seed, the only historian in the group, has specialized in colonial Mexico and colonial studies, while both anthropologists are Central American specialists—Carol Smith on Guatemala and Roger Lancaster on Nicaragua. The rest of the group’s members are spread more widely across the region—including people who work on the Andes, the Caribbean, and the southern cone³¹—and they confront the challenge of Subaltern Studies from literary criticism and textual analysis. This preferred method comes out clearly in the founding statement, in which, aside from the early citations to Guha and one later reference to Carlos Vilas’s book on revolutionary Nicaragua, almost all the specificity of the essay revolves around artistic and literary movements.³² No wonder there is a “poverty of historiography”! This is true not only on the Latin American side but also on the Subaltern Studies side. As a result, the transparency, the innovation, and the simplicity of the project are all overrepresented.

Missing, on both sides of the dialogue, is a sense of what happens once the attempt to “access the vast (and mobile) array of the masses” is under way. What

³⁰ “Founding Statement,” quotations on 119, 120, 119.

³¹ Of the fifteen members of the group, I was able to identify the disciplines of, and find works by, twelve of them. Of these twelve, nine were literary critics. In addition to her work as one of the forces in Chicana feminism and literary criticism, Norma Alarcón produced a dissertation in 1983 titled “Rosario Castellanos’ Feminist Poetics: Against the Sacrificial Contract,” and a later book on Castellanos, who is today considered one of Mexico’s premier twentieth-century feminist writers. John Beverley co-edited the special issue of *boundary 2* and has also published on Spanish and Latin American literature more broadly, including two books dealing with Central America. A literary critic of Caribbean origin, Robert Carr is working on a book on black nationalism and has published an article dealing with testimonial literature and transnational feminisms that focuses on the testimony of Guatemalan activist Rigoberta Menchú. Roger Lancaster is an anthropologist who has published two books based on oral history in Nicaragua; he is also known for groundbreaking work on gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation in contemporary Nicaragua. Clara Lomas is the author of a 1985 dissertation on three novels by Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. José Rabasa has published on early colonial Latin American literature and on issues of conquest and mapping. Julio Ramos’s specialty is nineteenth-century literature, especially the work of José Martí, around whom he organized his 1989 book *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina*; he has also published on literature concerning “the other,” both for Argentina and Cuba. An active force in the University of Minnesota’s Ideologies and Literature group, Ileana Rodríguez co-edited a 1983 conference volume called *Process of Unity in Caribbean Society* and has also published on Nicaragua. Javier Sanjinés works on Bolivian literature, especially on the effect of the 1952 revolution on Bolivian fiction. In addition to her work already discussed extensively in this essay, Patricia Seed is the author of several articles on class and race in colonial Mexico and of a book concerning marriage choices and the Catholic church. Carol Smith’s anthropological work on Guatemala has included important rethinking of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the national state. Monica Szurmuk is the author of articles on Rosario Castellanos and Reina Roffe.

³² “Founding Statement.”

sources provide such access? Through what particular analytic methods? If we wish to place the new information into a narrative structure, how do we decide which one to choose? These questions have both technical and political answers; and, sometimes, as the experience of the original Subaltern group has shown, there is a strong tension between technique and politics. If we wish to get beyond "the cultivation of writing, science, and the like," we may well find that we are squarely back in the terrain of the "resistance studies" and ethnographic practitioners so roundly castigated by postmodern critiques.

One alternative, practiced by most of the members of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group and quite a few of the Indian Subaltern scholars, is to read existing documents "against the grain." This technique can provide useful and fascinating alternative interpretations of elite projects, tantalizing bits of evidence about the subversive presence of subaltern voices, new and gendered readings of classic texts, or visions of the counter-identities being elaborated by "peripheral" or "minority" intellectuals. Some Latin Americanist anthropologists, also inspired by this method, have moved away from field work and toward the analysis of travel writings, photographs, and the practices or writings of other anthropologists.³³ But, beyond a certain point, one must admit that, with this method, access to most subalterns—after all, the word is Gramscian to its very roots—remains elusive.

Do we continue down the road of seeking access to subaltern voices, and, if so, how? It is hard to return to the archive or the field after engaging in a postmodern critique of the transparency of the enterprise. If we are no longer looking for "truth" as irrefutable, clearly knowable information, what are we looking for? I believe we are looking to maintain the irresolvable tension that is at the center of the Subaltern Studies project: the tension between technique and political commitment, between a more narrowly postmodern literary interest in documents as "constructed texts" and the historian's disciplinary interest in reading documents as "windows," however foggy and imperfect, on people's lives. If we privilege textual criticism as technique, and declare this the answer to the quandaries we face in our intellectual work, we start down the road to what Hernán Vidal has called "technocratic literary criticism: the presumption that when a new analytic and interpretive approach is being introduced, the accumulation of similar efforts in the past is left superseded and nullified."³⁴ Yet if we privilege documents as repositories of information, forgetting or ignoring them as constructed texts, we return to the deduction of consciousness, culture, and socio-political practice from abstract, sometimes implicit categories that often masquerades as "objective history." Consequently, we are left with the tension, an irresolvable and fertile tension, that can continue to inspire and energize our work.

³³ See, for example, Deborah Poole, "A One-Eyed Gaze: Gender in 19th Century Illustration of Peru," *Dialectical Anthropology*, 13 (1988): 333–64; and "Figuerola Aznar and the Cusco *Indigenistas*: Photography and Modernism in Early Twentieth Century Peru," *Representations*, 38 (Spring 1992): 39–75; Paul Sullivan, *Unfinished Conversations: Mayas and Foreigners between Two Wars* (New York, 1989).

³⁴ Hernán Vidal, "The Concept of Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: A Perspective from Literary Criticism," *LARR*, 26 (1993): 113–19; quotation on 117.

In an article in 1985 on the methods and problems of archival work, Gayatri Spivak commented on this tension and the need to maintain it. A literary critic by training, someone steeped in the writings of Jacques Derrida, among others, Spivak expressed her dismay at historians who had begun to privilege literary criticism. Although conscious of the limitations involved in any effort to retrieve the voice or identity of women and other subalterns through records constructed by patriarchal and colonial forces, Spivak had nevertheless become involved in tracing, through archival sources, the life of the Rani of Sirmur, an Indian woman of privileged status. Her experience had led her consciously to inhabit the contradiction: she wanted to touch the Rani's picture yet rejected any retrieval of the Rani as empirical information. In the resulting study, she admitted, theoretical colleagues would find "too much concern with 'historical realism' and too little with 'theory,'" while "custodians of Critical Thought" would find "the linguistic nihilism associated with deconstruction." But, in the end, suggested Spivak, there was no other way.³⁵

Like Spivak, I, too, want to touch the pictures of the historical subjects I struggle to retrieve; yet I, too, know that "there is no 'real Rani' to be found."³⁶ This is precisely the point. The contradictory attempt to "know" the past, to become acquainted with the human beings who made it, leads us through archival sources that refuse to yield clear pictures. But because the archives provide unique clues about power relations, and about the human, moral, and philosophical quandaries faced by the people who produced them and by the people whose shadows inhabit them, we cannot afford to do without them. In my experience, it is the process itself that keeps us honest: getting one's hands dirty in the archival dust, one's shoes encrusted in the mud of field work; confronting the surprises, ambivalences, and unfair choices of daily life, both our own and those of our "subjects." However poignantly our search is conditioned by the understanding that we will never know for sure, occasionally, just for a moment, someone comes out of the shadows and walks next to us. When, in a flash of interactive dialogue, something is revealed; when, for a brief span, the curtain parts, and I am allowed a partial view of protagonists' motivations and internal conflicts—for me, those are the moments that make the quest worthwhile.

THE ARCHIVE AND THE FIELD are constructed arenas in which power struggles—including those generated by our presence—help define and obscure the sources and information to which we have access. The nuance and variation in those power struggles are themselves unique forms of information. We experience and learn from them in contentious documents such as judicial records, military or local municipal archives; in the confrontation between different kinds of sources, both written and oral; in the debates we have with others, be they local intellectuals, historical figures, or political authorities; in the local conflicts we may observe, whether in present-day human relations or in the documents themselves.

³⁵ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory*, 24 (1985): 247–72, see esp. 249, 271–72.

³⁶ Spivak, "Rani of Sirmur," 271.

The contentiousness of these arenas provides us with clues we do not get from the analysis of published works alone, even though both kinds of sources are constructed texts. The processes of production and preservation of archival versus published sources are distinct. The social relations that accompany the reading of one or the other are also different. Understanding these differences, and confronting their consequences, forces us continually to rethink our assumptions.

Before I am accused of sneaking empiricism in through the back door, let me reemphasize that reclaiming the centrality of the archive and the field can no longer be done in isolation from textual analysis or literary sources. The existence of published primary sources and manuscript literary sources makes it impossible to establish an always clear dividing line between the two in any case. What I object to is the privileging of textual analysis and literary sources to the exclusion of archival sources and field work, as well as the tendency to assume that, because both are constructed texts, they can be substituted for each other. From a Subaltern Studies perspective, Inga Clendinnen's excellent monograph on the early post-conquest Yucatán, based entirely on published archival sources, makes especially clear the limitations of relying only on published documents.

Clendinnen's highly original analysis of the confrontation between the Maya and the Franciscan missionaries in sixteenth-century Yucatán offers us an extremely variegated and sophisticated reading of early colonial missionary documents and of the written sources left by Maya literati. She uses these materials to probe the political, religious, cultural, and moral implications of the crisis that ensued when, in 1562, Franciscan missionaries on the Yucatán peninsula discovered "idolatry" and human sacrifice continuing among "their" Indians. Clendinnen reads the texts provocatively to suggest that the Maya's enduring, culturally constructed need to gain access to "high knowledge" as a strategy for ensuring the continuity and safety of life encouraged the "blasphemous" use of only partially understood Christian symbols in Maya rituals of human sacrifice. The Franciscans interpreted this use as conscious, sarcastic betrayal and, cut to the very quick of their abnegated paternalism, reacted with violent physical rage.

On the basis of published archival and literary sources alone, therefore, Clendinnen provides us with an original interior reading of both the Spanish and Maya, dominant and subaltern, sides of the colonial encounter in the Yucatán. Given the nature of her sources, however, the balance in detail and interior complexity is of necessity skewed toward the dominant Spanish side. The section of the book dealing with the missionaries is twice as long as the section dealing with the Indians. Although the internal conflicts and dissensions among the missionaries are discussed in depth, the Maya are represented through their intellectuals and spokesmen as a seamless whole, with little sense offered of whether internal disagreements animated their strategies or responses in the face of conversion and exploitation.³⁷

In some cases, of course, access to the complexity and dissension present within subaltern communities is impossible. Yet the fractures of presentation and

³⁷ Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, 1987).

preservation in the archive and field can provide, in ways that published collections cannot, potential openings for getting inside. That these openings may take us in uncomfortable new directions is clear from some of the work of the original Subaltern Studies Group. When Ranajit Guha published "Chandra's Death," for example, I read it first as a powerful answer to the criticisms advanced by some scholars that Subaltern Studies was not dealing well with gender or caste issues. Chandra, a Bagdi widow who got pregnant while living in the house of her dead husband's family, faced the choice between permanent exile and the termination of a pregnancy deemed illegitimate in *samaj* law. Magaram, her lover, delivered the ultimatum to Chandra's female kin: either abortion or *bhek*, the forced removal from caste relations. With the help of the female kin, "an abortion demanded by a man speaking for all of the local patriarchy" is set up; yet, ultimately, the potion obtained from a local healer kills Chandra as well as the fetus.³⁸

In his conclusion, Guha reflected on the implications of this experience for the women of Chandra's kin network. "It is this knowledge of man's bad faith which makes woman wiser about the limits of a solidarity that pretends to be neutral to gender," he wrote. "The rounded, unitary world of kinship can never be the same for her again. 'Soiled and humiliated' she has recourse to an *alternative solidarity*—a solidarity of women. Not an 'open revolt' armed with trumpet and banner, it is still a visible and loud enough protest in a society where initiative and voice are given to man alone." Nevertheless, as Guha stated in his final sentence, women's solidarity was both strong and limited. Limited, because "[t]hey could not defy the authority of the *samaj* to the extent of enabling a widow with a child born out of wedlock to live honourably in the local society." Strong, because they surrounded Chandra with the support she needed in order not to submit to *bhek*, in order to go through with the abortion as "the only means available for them to defeat the truly cock-eyed morality which made the mother alone culpable for an illicit childbirth, threw her out of society and allowed the father to go scot-free."³⁹

After empathetically recounting the incident and mourning the lack of additional alternatives for Bengali women, however, Guha took the discussion no further. One possible line of further reflection is provided by Upendra Baxi in a discussion of the role of the law in Subaltern Studies. What if Chandra's female kin had chosen to kill Chandra's lover instead? Not only would they have fallen afoul of *samaj* law, Baxi contends, they would also have been forced to deal directly with colonial law. Another kind of choice emerges: surveillance, discipline, punishment, yes, but by the community or by the colonial state? Does either provide any liberation for women?⁴⁰

The question of whether colonial law—with its debates on *sati*, female infanticide, and the like—might have provided alternative spaces for women is an old and contentious one. As Lata Mani has recently pointed out, colonial debates on the status and welfare of women were never about women's rights but about

³⁸ Ranajit Guha, "Chandra's Death," *Subaltern Studies V* (Delhi, 1986), 135–65; quotation on 163.

³⁹ Guha, "Chandra's Death," quotations on 165, 161.

⁴⁰ Upendra Baxi, "The State's Emissary: The Place of Law in Subaltern Studies," *Subaltern Studies VII*, Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds. (Delhi, 1992), 247–64; esp. 256.

which legal or patriarchal entity was to exercise authority over women. Analogous conflicts erupted in many parts of the colonial world: debates over veiling in the Islamic world, over female genital surgeries in parts of East and West Africa. In most of these cases, neither side was interested in greater equality or autonomy for women. To the contrary, as Mani contends in the case of *sati*: women were the "ground" rather than the subject of a debate over ethnic/religious authority and customary versus colonial law.⁴¹

Ultimately, the message seems to be that neither native/subaltern legal practices nor colonial legal practices were in and of themselves liberating to women. In a sense, women could only choose between systems of hierarchy, colonial or ethnic/communal. Occasionally, depending on the specific historical situation, the changes brought about by colonial rule gave some women greater access to education or other privileges or opened up new social or economic opportunities through the market or in urban centers. Sometimes, the fissure between systems of rule allowed some personal autonomy for women. But, in many cases, colonialism simply added a new and invasive kind of domination to the old, increasing the protective value of communal, ethnic, and kinship networks that were themselves organized around patriarchal principles.⁴²

When reintegrated into broad questions of colonialism and resistance, a gendered analysis that begins at the local level puts subaltern choices and alternative practices in a sobering new light. "Every trace of independent initiative on the part of subaltern groups should . . . be of incalculable value for the integral historian," Gramsci wrote.⁴³ Yet, as Guha's essay demonstrates, when those traces of independent initiative are systematically investigated and local power relations are taken into account, the solidarity and unity of the subaltern presence—of subaltern culture and thus of subaltern resistance—begins to come apart in our hands. If there is no subaltern unity, if half of the subaltern community is

⁴¹ Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India," in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 88–126. On the veil, see Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven, Conn., 1992). On female genital surgeries, see Stanlie James, "Shades of Othering: Reflections on Female Circumcision/Genital Mutilation," unpublished manuscript, 1994; Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *Circumcision of Women: A Strategy for Eradication* (London, 1985); Hanny Lightfoot-Klein, *Prisoners of Ritual: An Odyssey into Female Genital Circumcision in Africa* (New York, 1989); Alison T. Slack, "Female Circumcision: A Critical Appraisal," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 19 (1988); Robin Cerny Smith, "Female Circumcision: Bringing Women's Perspectives into the International Debate," *Southern California Law Review*, 65 (July 1992): 2449–504; Alice Walker and Pratibha Parmar, *Warrior Marks: Female Genital Mutilation and the Sexual Blinding of Women* (New York, 1993).

⁴² For examples of the complexities of the situation for higher status women, see the following essays in Sangari and Vaid, *Recasting Women*: Uma Chakravarti, "Whatever Happened to the Vedic Dasi? Orientalism, Nationalism and a Script for the Past," 27–87; Sumanta Banerjee, "Marginalization of Women's Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Bengal," 127–79; Vir Bharat Talwar, "Feminist Consciousness in Women's Journals in Hindi: 1910–1920," 204–32; Susie Tharu, "Tracing Savitri's Pedigree: Victorian Racism and the Image of Women in Indo-Anglian Literature," 254–68. On questions of choice between hierarchies, and how this affects nationalist movements, see Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," *Recasting Women*, 233–53; and, in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York, 1992): Rhonda Cobham, "Misgendering the Nation: African Nationalist Fictions and Nuruddin Farah's *Maps*," 42–59; Ketu H. Katrak, "Indian Nationalism, Gandhian 'Satyagraha,' and Representations of Female Sexuality," 395–406; R. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," 77–95.

⁴³ Gramsci, "Notes on Italian History," 55.

oppressed and silenced by the other half, if anticolonial heroism has as a subtext the partial coercion of subaltern women, what happens to our Gramscian quest?

The question of complicity, hierarchy, and surveillance within subaltern communities and subaltern cultures is a thorny one indeed, one that cries out for nuanced and sympathetic treatment. On one side, raising this question makes clear that no subaltern identity can be pure and transparent; most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subjects, depending on the circumstances or location in which we encounter them. A leader of a movement can become a collaborator or go home and beat up a wife or children; a collaborator can use power to protect a subaltern community or individual; or, as happened repeatedly in anticolonial rebellions, individuals who had profited personally from the power structure reneged on their earlier complicity and led major upheavals. On the other side, complicity or hierarchy does not make impossible, in any larger sense, the occasional, partial, contingent achievement of a measure of unity, collaboration, even solidarity. These ever-shifting lines of alliance or confrontation, then, are not deduced from specific, already existing subaltern identities or subject positions. They are constructed historically and politically, in struggle and in discourse.

To see both sides at the same time, to mark the heroism and the treachery, is most certainly a challenge. Baxi suggests that it can also be liberating, not only to subaltern subjects themselves but also to the scholars who follow their trails through the labyrinth of surviving documentation. Expanding on an essay by Shahid Amin that treats the figure of the "Approver"—"a rebel who has shifted his locus within the event from protagonist of rebellion to agent of counter-insurgency"⁴⁴—Baxi imagines what Shikari, Amin's "Approver," might have said in response to Amin's definition of him. "I accept your condemnation of me," the imagined Shikari says. But, at the same time, Shikari points out that his testimony served to increase the number of acquittals and lower the number of death sentences. Of course his actions made him "an 'instrument' of colonial justice," Baxi's Shikari admits. "But surely you can read my act of reneging as an act of service to most of my ex-comrades as well, some of whom have just before their natural death, secured pensions as 'freedom fighters' despite the longevity, as you put it, of the imputation of criminality."⁴⁵ Reassuming an academic voice, Baxi argues that reneging did not make Shikari "any the less subaltern." And doesn't the project of Subaltern Studies involve rescuing "all subalterns from the categorization of criminal law"? If all the participants in the colonial legal system became, in a sense, its victims, must the subaltern historian also become one? "Would it be too much to ask of the subalternist historian," Baxi concludes, "that while she shows to the rest of the world how Shikari was a victim of the colonial law, she too, like sister Chandra, may be redeemed by *Subaltern Studies*, if not wholly, to some degree?"⁴⁶

It is not clear, however, what this redemption would entail. Would subalternist

⁴⁴ Shahid Amin, "Approver's Testimony, Judicial Discourse: The Case of Chauri Chaura," *Subaltern Studies V* (Delhi, 1987), 166–202; quotation defining the Approver on 168.

⁴⁵ Baxi, "The State's Emissary," 247–64; quotations on 263.

⁴⁶ Baxi, "The State's Emissary," 264.

historians be redeemed from their blindness in ascribing to subaltern subjects the identities already given them by the dominant power structure? Would subalternist historians be redeemed "to some degree" if they accepted the version of events and the discourse of morality constructed by one faction within subaltern society? Would complete redemption be the ability to question all constructed versions and to empathize with all subaltern groups, collaborationist, oppressive, or not? Finally, who gets to answer the question, "Are we *there* yet?"

One way out of this dilemma, which seems to be reflected in Guha's most recent work in Subaltern Studies, is to avoid it entirely by abandoning the local level and reclaiming more general and abstract ground. At the level of the whole social formation, where the main contradiction is still between colonialism and resistance, or collaborationist elites and "the people," it is still possible to gloss over hierarchies internal to the subaltern community. The discussion can remain at the level of the failure of capitalism or of liberalism in colonial formations, or at the level of the failure of a dependent nationalist elite truly to mobilize the masses. Hegemony, as a general and seamless concept, survives intact in this context: Guha defines it as "*a condition of Dominance (D), such that, in the organic composition of the latter, Persuasion (P) outweighs Coercion (C).*"⁴⁷ The promise of hegemony, tied in Gramsci's writings to the promise of the Jacobin party truly leading rather than dominating the masses, can remain pure, for it has yet to be attained. Indian nationalists sold out the masses, dominating rather than leading them, disciplining rather than mobilizing them.

In Guha's more recent essays, India (re)joins—along with Italy and Germany—the ranks of "not-France." Guha quotes approvingly Marx's analysis of the French Revolution: "The French bourgeoisie of 1789 never left its allies, the peasants, in the lurch. It knew that the abolition of feudalism in the countryside and the creation of a free, landowning peasant class was the basis of its rule." This is in direct contrast to the Indian bourgeoisie, which sold out the masses "in its bid for hegemonic dominance." In so doing, Guha concludes, the Indian bourgeoisie "never arrived."⁴⁸

An alternative answer to the challenge of local analysis lies in the deconstruction of subaltern cultures and communities and their rearticulation, as factionalized and complex wholes, to questions of regional, national, and international power relations. As I have recently argued, this alternative method does not make the concept of hegemony irrelevant or passé. Rather, it makes it more flexible and multi-layered. In this context, hegemony is not only the greater presence of persuasion over domination in national-level political systems, it is also a similar balance in local and regional political relations. How particular societies constructed hegemonic political systems becomes less a question of the bourgeoisie,

⁴⁷ Ranajit Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," *Subaltern Studies VI* (Delhi, 1989), 210–309, quotation, 231; Guha, "Discipline and Mobilize," *Subaltern Studies VII*, 69–120.

⁴⁸ Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony," 227; Guha, "Discipline and Mobilize," 119–20. Of course, the increasing certainty in French historical literature that the French bourgeoisie never arrived either—indeed, that "arriving" was and is itself an increasingly problematic concept—conveniently gets left out. This allows for a seamless reconstruction of the attraction of the original national-revolutionary project at a time when the project as a whole has been subject to growing criticism in literatures throughout the world.

the proletariat, or an organic political party. It becomes instead a historical question, to be answered through the kind of complex and never definitive confrontation with sources that a combination of Gramsci and Foucault makes necessary.⁴⁹

It is perhaps not surprising that, in Latin America, the first efforts to engage in this new kind of Gramsci/Foucault combination, inspired openly by the work of the original Subaltern Studies Group, has occurred for the case of modern Mexico. From the standpoint of critical intellectuals, the Mexican case shares a number of similarities with India. A twentieth-century upheaval overthrew the old order in both cases, creating a new balance of power in which the party that led the upheaval rendered itself as *the* representative of the masses. Attempts by new generations of intellectuals to question the status quo floundered on the combined obstacles of an orthodox left and a still powerful official party. Local level, empirical analyses inspired by linguistic and textual techniques led to a questioning of revolutionary myths and to the beginnings of a deconstruction of local and subaltern cultures.

A recent and especially relevant effort in this regard is the collection of essays edited by Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent titled *Everyday Forms of State Formation*. The product of a conference on twentieth-century Mexico that brought Mexicanists and nonspecialists together to debate questions of the state, popular culture and popular resistance, hegemony, and cultural revolution, the volume examines the dynamic intersection between popular cultures and state formation, tracing the multiple interactions between national power holders and internally conflictual popular cultures and communities. Different voices speak in the pages of the text, but they carry on a spirited conversation and debate with each other. Several cite directly from Subaltern Studies or from Gramsci; some debate the usefulness of the term hegemony, and most, at the very least, question its solidity and longevity. In the empirical essays, authors delve deeply into case studies and establish dialogues between critical theory and the information they have gathered. All the articles, whether theoretical, empirical, or both, question the transparency of domination and of resistance to it.⁵⁰

THE COMBINATION OF GRAMSCI AND FOUCAULT, as practiced by the original Subaltern Studies Group and some historians of Latin America, does not provide a single, utopian, and technocratic answer to the quandaries we scholars face in

⁴⁹ Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Marjorie Becker, "Torching La Purísima, Dancing at the Altar: The Construction of Revolutionary Hegemony in Michoacán, 1934–1940," *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, 247–64; Joseph, "Rethinking Mexican Revolutionary Mobilization: Yucatán's Seasons of Upheaval, 1909–1915," 135–69; Joseph and Nugent, "Popular Culture and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico," 3–23; Florencia E. Mallon, "Reflections on the Ruins: Everyday Forms of State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," 69–106; Daniel Nugent and Ana María Alonso, "Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the *Ejido* of Namiquipa," 209–46; Roseberry, "Hegemony and the Language of Contention"; Derek Sayer, "Everyday Forms of State Formation: Some Dissident Remarks on 'Hegemony,'" 367–77; James C. Scott, "Foreword," vii–xii. Becker, Joseph, Joseph and Nugent, and I also explicitly engage the Subaltern Studies school.

the present. As the work of Subaltern Studies scholars and others makes clear, it is easy to privilege one tradition over the other and retire from the challenge of the contradiction between the two. The theoretical and methodological contradiction between Gramscian hegemonic politics and Foucauldian regimes of decentered power is great and can sometimes make research and analysis close to impossible. Moreover, as South Asianist scholars Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook argued in their recent exchange with historian Gyan Prakash, "It is simply very difficult to combine arguments concerning fundamental rights and possibilities for emancipation with a postmodernist refusal of any kind of unitary or systematizing perspective as to what these rights might be or what emancipation is from or into." But, as Prakash emphasizes in his answer, the difficulty of this combination does not justify a mandate to choose between the two sides. Picking up on O'Hanlon and Washbrook's conclusion that he is trying "to ride two horses at once" and that one of the two—I assume the class analysis, Marxist one—"may not be a horse that brooks inconstant riders," Prakash extends the metaphor to exclaim, "As for me, I say, *let us hang on to two horses, inconstantly.*"⁵¹

An exploration of the contradictions, tensions, and internal conflicts within the Subaltern project leads me one step further, partially into self-reflection. When traveling the territory between Foucault and Gramsci, I have been personally unable to ride the horse provided by Jacques Derrida. To be fair, much of the more militantly textual and postcolonial influence in Subaltern Studies—whether on the Spivak-associated wing of the original school or among the more literarily inclined of the Latin American group—leans in what seems to me to be a Derrida-influenced direction. Spivak herself makes clear, in the works I have cited in this essay, that a Derrida-derived focus on language and textual construction is not sufficient. But the tendency among many practitioners of the Derrida side within Subaltern approaches is to transform the category of the subaltern into what Prakash calls, in this essay, "less of a sociological category and more of a discursive effect."

Such a turn in the Subaltern literature—as both Prakash and I argue, in differing ways—is especially friendly to concepts such as postcolonial criticism. However, it is only one of four possible directions in which the original tension in the Subaltern Studies school could lead. The other three are: maintaining the tension no matter what but relying more on Foucault-inspired emphases on regimes of power and less on Derrida-derived methods of textual and linguistic deconstruction; moving back more exclusively toward Gramsci, which I think Guha's last essays suggest, but with the cost of losing part of the critical postmodern edge in the understanding of historical metanarrative; and an attempt to use discursive/textual/linguistic analytical techniques to analyze subaltern practices/debates/discourses themselves—insofar as we can have partial and foggy access to them—as contested and constructed arenas of struggle over power. I hope that one of the benefits and contributions of this *Forum* will be to

⁵¹ Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World," 383–408; Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34 (1992): 141–67; Prakash, "Can the 'Subaltern' Ride?" quotations on 158, 164, 184.

demonstrate how all four directions exist in dynamic relationship and tension with each other and how they can be further developed through “South-South” dialogues.

The final option I mentioned, which in my mind is the most potentially productive, would combine the Derrida and Foucault sides of postmodern criticism and use them in the service of a Gramscian project. Yet perhaps it is also the most dangerous and improbable option, one that O’Hanlon and Washbrook might liken not to “riding two horses at once” but to the physically impossible stunt of riding several steeds at all times! But if we are willing to learn from the struggles of scholars who have gone before, I think we must admit that riding many horses may be the only way to negotiate the pitfalls of a postmodern and politically committed intellectual project. Indeed, in the present state of the world, subalterns in Latin America and elsewhere—as well as the scholars who research them, accompany them, learn from them, and argue with them—must of necessity become stunt riders. Otherwise, we do not ride at all.

AHR Forum
Conflict and Connection: Rethinking
Colonial African History

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THIS ARTICLE IS PART OF AN EFFORT to bring historiographies of Africa, Latin America, and Asia—with their particular scholarly traditions, insights, and blind spots—into relationship with each other, avoiding the assumption that interaction simply means borrowing from apparently more “developed” historiographies. South-South intellectual exchange is not new. The earliest attempts by African intellectuals to confront the issues of colonialism and racism, beginning in the nineteenth century, entailed contacts forged with Americans of African descent and later with anticolonial leaders from Asia and the Caribbean. Later still, the limitations of anticolonial ideologies and of nationalism were analyzed in Africa with the help of arguments originating with Latin American dependency theorists.

The Subaltern Studies Group has had a particularly empowering effect on the scholarship of once-colonized regions, for it has put the process of making history into the picture. While striving to recover the lives of people forgotten in narratives of global exploitation and national mobilization, this collective of historians has called into question the very narratives themselves, indeed, the source material, theoretical frameworks, and subject position of historians. The “subalternity of non-Western histories” as much as the subalternity of social groups within those histories has been uncovered. Those histories exist in the shadow of Europe not solely because of colonization’s powerful intrusion into other continents but because Europe’s self-perceived movement toward state-building, capitalist development, and modernity marked and still mark a vision of historical progress against which African, Asian, or Latin American history appears as “failure”: of the “nation to come to its own,” of the “bourgeoisie as well as of the working class to lead.”¹

In these pages, I will take advantage of the emphases in the essays of Gyan

I am grateful for the criticisms and advice of Shiva Balaghi, Keith Breckenridge, Jane Burbank, Catherine Burns, David William Cohen, Fernando Coronil, Mamadou Diouf, Nicholas B. Dirks, Prasenjit Duara, Dorothy Hodgson, Florencia E. Mallon, Mohamed Mbodj, Gyan Prakash, Timothy Sarnecchia, Julie Skurskie, John Soluri, Ann Stoler, Kerry Ward, and Luise White.

¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for ‘Indian’ Pasts?” *Representations*, 37 (1992): 19; Ranajit Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988), 43.

Prakash and Florencia Mallon to take a somewhat different tack. They have explained the contributions of Subaltern Studies to a wider historiography, and they bring out the important tension in its writings between efforts to recover the history and the agency of the subaltern and to analyze the discursive production of the subaltern, how colonial categories of knowledge flattened the multi-sided experiences of people in colonies into such a category. I want to explore the ways—with parallels and differences—in which historians of Africa have confronted the experience of colonial rule. To the African historian, the value of Indian historiography is not that our colleagues offer ready-made solutions to our problems but that all of us are engaged in different ways with closely related debates.² Both historiographies wrestle with—but do not quite escape—the dichotomous vision characteristic of colonial ideologies, originating in the opposition of civilized colonizer and primitive colonized. The risk is that in exploring the colonial binarism one reproduces it, either by new variations of the dichotomy (modern versus traditional) or by inversion (the destructive imperialist versus the sustaining community of the victims). The difficulty is to confront the power behind European expansion without assuming it was all-determining and to probe the clash of different forms of social organization without treating them as self-contained and autonomous. The binaries of colonizer/colonized, Western/non-Western, and domination/resistance begin as useful devices for opening up questions of power but end up constraining the search for precise ways in which power is deployed and the ways in which power is engaged, contested, deflected, and appropriated.

With Africa's independence, historians were strongly moved to find a domain that could be defined as both unambiguously African and resistant to imperialism. In the historiography of Subaltern Studies, the clarity of such categories is questioned, but they keep coming back in the very concept of the subaltern and in Ranajit Guha's insistence that one can examine the "autonomous" domain of the subaltern and reveal people acting "on their own."³ Guha, like many African historians, wants his subalterns to have a rich and complex consciousness, to exercise autonomous agency, and yet to remain in the category of subaltern, and he wants colonialism to remain resolutely colonial, despite the contradictions of its modernizing projects and its insistence on maintaining boundaries, despite its

² An example of useful debate is that between Gyan Prakash—arguing for an "antifoundationalist" history of the Third World—and Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook—arguing that such an approach disabled the historian from analyzing the global process of capitalist development. Their debate is notable not only for the intelligence and civility with which it was carried out but for the fact that both sides have a point. Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," Gyan Prakash, "Can the 'Subaltern' Ride? A Reply to O'Hanlon and Washbrook," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (1990): 383–408; 34 (1992): 141–67, 168–84.

³ Guha, "On Some Aspects," 39, 40. Guha admits that elite and subaltern worlds were not isolated from each other but insists that they represent "dichotomies," p. 42. In practice, he complicates the dichotomy, and as Gyan Prakash points out in his essay in this issue, other Subaltern Studies historians, including Gyandera Pandey and Shahid Amin, have complicated it further with subtle analyses of the relationship of elite and peasant movements, of local and national politics. See also the critical essay by Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject: *Subaltern Studies* and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies*, 22 (1988): 189–224.

interventionist power being rendered contingent by the actions of subalterns.⁴ Colonial discourse, Subaltern Studies rightly points out, has tried to contain its oppositions—whether in the form of its “liberal” ideas of self-determination or the “irrational” actions of “primitive” people—within its own categories. How far colonial discourse could actually contain its challenges and tensions remains in question.

The Subaltern Studies Group has turned what could be yet another exercise in Western self-indulgence—endless critiques of modernity, of the universalizing pretensions of Western discourse—into something more valuable because it insists that the subject positions of colonized people that European teleologies obscure should not simply be allowed to dissolve. While profiting from the insights of Subaltern Studies to reexamine work in African colonial history, I also hope to push back the dualisms that are coming in the rear door in both historiographies. African historians’ use of the concept of “resistance” is generally less subtle, less dialectic, less self-questioning than Indian historians’ deployment of the idea of subaltern agency, yet both concepts risk flattening the complex lives of people living in colonies and underestimate the possibility that African or Indian action might actually alter the boundaries of subordination within a seemingly powerful colonial regime. The critique of modernity has its own dangers, as Dipesh Chakrabarty recognizes in warning that too simple a rejection could be “politically suicidal.”⁵ One can agree with Guha and his colleagues that Marxist master narratives of relentless capitalist advance are yet another form of Western teleology—as are nationalist metanarratives of the triumphal takeover of the nation-state—yet historians should not deprive themselves of the analytical tools necessary to study capitalism and its effects around the world—in all their complexity, contingency, and limitations. Nor should the recognition of the violence and oppression within the generalization of the nation-state model around the world blind us to the potential for violence and oppression that lies in other social formations. I am also trying to push capital and the state back in, making them the object of an analysis more nuanced and interactive than attacks on metanarrative and modernity.

There are reasons for different emphases in the historiographies of the two continents. Subaltern Studies emerged in the 1980s, nearly forty years after India’s independence, as a critique of an established nationalist interpretation of history, as well as of “progressive” arguments, whether liberal or Marxist. Africa’s independence movements are more recent, their histories only beginning to be written. Africans’ and Africanists’ disillusionment with the fruits of independence in the 1970s took the form of an emphasis on the external determinants of economic and social problems, and hence a look toward Latin American dependency theory. Most important of all have been the obstacles to the density of debate possible in India: the catastrophic economic situation Africa faced,

⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in Guha and Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 15, questions the subject position into which the category of “subaltern” drives colonized peoples but accepts that such a concept nonetheless represents a “strategic” essentialism—a useful device to open up a politically vital question. The question is whether the essentialism might outlive the strategy.

⁵ Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History,” 23.

particularly since the 1980s, and the harsh material conditions in which African scholars and educational and cultural institutions function.⁶

Different experiences give rise to different initial assumptions. The category of subaltern is an intuitively attractive point of departure for South Asianists, given the widely shared perception of social distinction in India as long-lasting, coercive, and sharply delineated, even when scholars put the bases of social distinction in question. Recent generations of African scholars have witnessed—and often been part of—a moment, perhaps not to be repeated, of considerable mobility and category jumping, reflecting the sudden expansion of education systems in the 1950s, the post–World War II export boom, the precipitous Africanization of the civil service, and the rapid development by African rulers of clientage networks and distributional politics. Whereas many scholars have been trying to pull apart and examine the idea of an essential “India,” others have felt they had to put together “Africa” in the face of general perceptions of everlasting and immutable division. Subaltern Studies’ critique of ways in which a nationalist state picks up the controlling project of a colonial state gives rise to sympathetic echoes among Africans and Africanists—disillusioned with post-independence states—but also to a measure of skepticism about conceivable alternatives, given bitter experience, as in contemporary Somalia, with what “communities” can do to one another when a state loses its controlling capabilities in the age of automatic weapons.⁷

What follows is a consideration of African historiography, stressing the connections between the “resistance” model that was crucial to its development and the new scholarship on colonialism. Both concepts, I argue, should be further scrutinized. Politics in a colony should not be reduced to anticolonial politics or to nationalism: the “imagined communities” Africans saw were both smaller and larger than the nation, sometimes in creative tension with each other, sometimes in repressive antagonism.

THE BURST OF COLONIAL LIBERATIONS that followed Ghana’s independence in 1957 led Africanists to project backward the idea of the nation. The new states of Africa needed something around which diverse peoples could build a sense of common-

⁶ In the decade after independence, Africa-based historians and social scientists made a strong effort to found journals and hold congresses. Their drive has been impossible to sustain. Besides Africa’s size and linguistic diversity, the economic crisis of the 1980s has had disastrous consequences for universities and other institutions (the Dakar-based consortium, CODESRIA, being the most notable effort to reverse this trend) and has led to considerable intellectual out-migration. Conditions worsened just when a younger generation of scholars, some of them trained in Africa itself, were injecting new ideas and questions into scholarship. The recent “structural adjustment programs” imposed on Africa by outside lending institutions—forcing governments to cut services—do not consider that a vibrant and critical intellectual life helps to distinguish a creative society from one incapable of adjusting its structures. Differential access to the resources for research, publishing, and scholarly interchange is probably the single most important way in which scholars based in Africa are distinguished from those in the United States or Europe.

⁷ Although Subaltern Studies is increasingly mentioned by Africanists, the only sustained effort I know of both to use and critique this body of literature is Terence Ranger, “Subaltern Studies and ‘Social History,’” *Southern African Review of Books* (February–May 1990): 8–10; and Terence Ranger, “Power, Religion and Community: The Matobo Case,” in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds., *Subaltern Studies VII* (Delhi, 1993), 221–46.

ality. Africa scholars, as one acute observer put it, acted like the "Committee of Concerned Scholars for a Free Africa."⁸ The first generation of historians of Africa, seeking to differentiate themselves from imperial historians, were eager to find a truly African history.

African resistance to European conquest and colonization both ratified the integrity of pre-colonial polities and structures (themselves a major topic) and provided a link between them and the nationalist challenge to colonial rule. Resistance was the key plot element in a continuous narrative of African history. Terence Ranger argued specifically for a connection between "primary resistance movements" in the early days of colonization and "modern mass nationalism." Early resistance implied mobilization across a wider network of affiliation than kinship units or "tribes" provided, and this enlargement of scale created a basis for subsequent movements. In a detailed study of a revolt in Southern Rhodesia, Ranger pointed to the role of spirit mediums in mobilizing rebels across a large region and providing a coherent framework for the resistance.⁹

While analyses such as these attempted an Africa-centered perspective, they paradoxically centered European colonialism as the issue that really mattered in the twentieth century.¹⁰ An apparently populist rhetoric concealed the privileging of African elites—in the 1960s as much as the 1890s—by virtue of their anticolonialism and downplayed tensions and inequalities within African societies. Sensitive to these historiographical issues, Ranger himself stepped away from the linearity of his earlier argument and advocated a more multivalent and nuanced approach to African political mobilization.¹¹ Nonetheless, studies within the resistance framework conclusively showed that colonial conquests and heavy-handed interventions into African life were vigorously challenged, that guerrilla warfare within decentralized polities was as important as the fielding of armies by African states, that women as well as men engaged in acts of resistance, and that individual action—moving away from the tax collector or labor recruiter, ignoring

⁸ John Lonsdale, "States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey," *African Studies Review*, 24, no. 2/3 (1981): 143.

⁹ Terence Ranger, "Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa," *Journal of African History*, 9 (1968): 437–53, 631–41; Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896–7* (London, 1967). Similarly, John Iliffe showed that a major rebellion in German East Africa followed lines of religious cults across ethnic boundaries. The revolt—though brutally repressed—caused Germany to alter its colonial policy. "The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion," *Journal of African History*, 8 (1967): 485–512. In a more recent context, David Lan found spirit mediums mobilizing peasants in the guerrilla war against the white regime in Rhodesia in the 1970s. Lan, *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985).

¹⁰ Specific questions have been raised as well, mainly about the importance of spirit mediums in the Southern Rhodesian revolt and the extent to which the revolt's organization went beyond the pre-colonial Shona polity. David Beach, "'Chimurenga': The Shona Rising of 1896–97," *Journal of African History*, 20 (1979): 395–420; Julian Cobbing, "The Absent Priesthood: Another Look at the Rhodesian Risings of 1896–1897," *Journal of African History*, 18 (1977): 61–84.

¹¹ Terence Ranger, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *African Studies Review*, 29 (1986): 1–69. For a comprehensive review of recent literature on the rural dimension of these issues, see Allen Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa," in Frederick Cooper, Allen Isaacman, Florencia Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

orders, speaking insolently, and criticizing the claims of missionaries, doctors, and educators—complemented collective actions.¹²

For the authors of the UNESCO history of Africa (a collective series intended to reflect the first generations of post-independence African and Africanist scholarship), the key issue of the early colonial era was the defense of sovereignty. Adu Boahen, the editor of the relevant volume, saw African societies in the late nineteenth century as dynamic, moving toward a form of modernity that retained sovereignty but selectively engaged with European commerce, religion, and education. The dynamism of African societies before colonization is no longer in question, but Boahen's conception grants Western modernity too much power—particularly in its emphasis on the strength of the state as a marker of political progress and a unit for social advancement—while it fails to address the contradictions stemming from specific social structures within Africa. Boahen has little to say about Africans who conquered other Africans or about the slaveowners in coastal Dahomey or Sahelian Sokoto or island Zanzibar who made other Africans bear the burden of expanding commerce. Sovereignty was not the only issue facing Africans, and the European invasions entered a long and complex process of state-building and oppression, of production and exploitation, as well as a history of small-scale producers and merchants for whom the overseas connection offered opportunities they did not want to give up and oppressions they wanted to contest.¹³

Here, I will break the linearity of the discussion of the historiography itself for a moment and point to another pioneering approach. In 1956, K. Onwuka Dike, generally regarded as the first African to become a professional African historian, authored *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*, seeking to make a decisive break with the imperial historians who had been his mentors and to write history from an African perspective. His book is less remarkable for the new sources it used than for the matter-of-fact way in which it analyzed interaction. Africans do not appear in this text as either resisters or collaborators in the face of European involvement in the Delta; Europeans, indeed, appear as actors in the universe of different actors within the region, all trying to work with the opportunities and constraints of overseas trade and regional political structure. Dike knew what the Delta traders could not—that the European traders' metropolitan connections would

¹² See, for example, Allen F. Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: Anti-Colonial Activity in the Zambesi Valley, 1850–1921* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976); Timothy C. Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples: Resistance and Collaboration, 1889–1911* (London, 1980); Yves Person, *Samori: Une révolution dyula*, 3 vols. (Dakar, 1968–75). The resistance model is alive and well in such studies as John Lamphear, *The Scattering Time: Turkana Responses to Colonial Rule* (Oxford, 1992); and Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1993). There is something in the choice of the word “resistance”—as opposed to alternatives such as “liberation” or “emancipation”—that fits the mood of many Western leftists: identification with the heroic but vain defense of community against intrusion. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Emancipations, Modern and Postmodern,” *Development and Change*, 23 (1992): 5–41.

¹³ A. Adu Boahen, “Africa and the Colonial Challenge,” in A. Adu Boahen, ed., *Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880–1935* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 1–18. The seven chapters that follow contain “African initiatives and resistance” in their titles. For a fuller exposition of Boahen's views, see A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore, Md., 1987). For an interpretation of the same era that stresses the cleavages within Africa, see John Lonsdale, “The European Scramble and Conquest in African History,” in Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson, eds., *Cambridge History of Africa*, Volume 6: *From 1870 to 1905* (Cambridge, 1985), 680–766.

one day break the framework of interaction—but he nonetheless provided an account of African agency intersecting with European in a crucial moment of history.¹⁴

Resistance had a special power in the two decades after Dike's study appeared. Scholars and journalists wanting to make the world aware of anticolonial movements in Africa—Thomas Hodgkin and Basil Davidson the most knowledgeable among them—sought to show the complex roots of political mobilization, from Africa's own traditions of rule to memories of battles against foreign conquerors, to religious and labor movements that provided an experience of organization culminating in the development of nationalist political parties.¹⁵ Dike's own project took on a nationalist bent as well: the "Ibadan" school emphasized the integrity of pre-colonial African societies, which sometimes appeared as precedents for independent Africa. J. F. Ade Ajayi termed colonialism an "episode in African history," a break in the otherwise continuous exercise of African political agency.¹⁶ What was most neglected was colonial rule itself: to my cohort in graduate school (1969–74), studying pre-colonial history or resistance constituted genuine African history, but bringing a similar specificity of inquiry to that which was being resisted risked having one's project labeled as a throwback to imperial history.

Questionings of the nationalist metanarrative came from two generations of African scholars. B. A. Ogot, the senior historian of Kenya, in an essay of 1972 on the "Loyalist crowd" in Mau Mau, pointed out that the violent conflicts of the 1950s could not be reduced to a simple morality play: both sides had their moral visions, their moral discourses. The "Loyalists" saw themselves as engaged in a defense of a way of life in which Christianity, education, and investment in small farms were the means to progress. Colonial policy could be contested within limits, but to the Loyalists the young rebels were violating Kikuyu traditions of respect for elders and threatening the community.¹⁷ Some twenty years later and across the continent, Mamadou Diouf published a book that debunked Senegal's basic myth of resistance, the battle of Lat Dior and his Wolof kingdom against the

¹⁴ K. Onwuka Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830–1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (Oxford, 1956). Dike did mention the importance of oral sources, but they informed his interpretation rather than provided evidence to be cited. In its time, the book derived much of its legitimacy from its scrupulous use of conventional archival material. The francophone African equivalent of Dike's book, also keeping its distance from nationalist historiography and focusing on Afro-European interaction, is Abdoulaye Ly, *La compagnie du Sénégal* (Paris, 1958).

¹⁵ Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London, 1956); Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guinea: Aspects of an African Revolution* (Hammondsworth, 1969); Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People* (Hammondsworth, 1972); Davidson, "African Peasants and Revolution," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1 (1974): 269–91.

¹⁶ J. F. Ade Ajayi, "The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism," in Terence O. Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes in African History* (London, 1968), 189–200. The francophone equivalent is "colonial parenthesis." See Marc H. Pialat, ed., *La colonisation: Rupture ou parenthèse?* (Paris, 1987).

¹⁷ B. A. Ogot, "Revolt of the Elders: An Anatomy of the Loyalist Crowd in the Mau Mau Uprising," in B. A. Ogot, ed., *Hadith 4* (Nairobi, 1972), 134–48. The moral complexity of Mau Mau was also addressed in the early novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, particularly *A Grain of Wheat* (London, 1967). Some of the issues of Kikuyu discourse first raised by Ogot have been pursued in a stimulating fashion by Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, Book 2: *Violence and Ethnicity* (London, 1992).

French. Lat Dior, Diouf argued, was defending “the privileges of the ruling class and the traditional field in which it exercised its exploitation” as much as sovereignty. His study entailed a complex engagement with how power was mobilized and contested within Africa and the extent to which the long-term French presence first made the emergence of a Lat Dior possible and then rendered the continued existence of this sort of polity impossible.¹⁸

The metanarrative of nationalist victory—and many of the tales of “resistance”—have most often been told as stories of men, with a rather macho air to the narrating of confrontation. Women’s history, to a significant extent, began by arguing that “women could do it, too” or by adding African patriarchy to the colonial object of resistance. As historians increasingly showed that economic and social activity was defined, contested, and redefined in terms of gender, the gendered nature of politics needed to be examined as well.¹⁹ The contestation of gender roles within the Mau Mau movement is being explored by Cora Ann Presley, Luise White, and Tabitha Kanogo, while Timothy Scarnecchia shows the masculinization of African politics in the 1950s in Harare. Housing regulations that effectively disallowed women access to residential space except through a man meant that women on their own were by definition outside the law, and they were driven into certain niches in the unofficial economy. For a time, such women worked with a male-led union-cum-political movement to challenge the way the state defined and constrained urban women. The movement failed; and, when nationalists later began to challenge the colonial state in other ways, their quest to balance respectability against the movement’s need to recruit migrant male laborers meant that they, too, treated such women as dangerous and disruptive. Nationalism in the 1950s explicitly constructed itself in masculine—as much as class—terms, leaving aside its own more ambiguous history.²⁰

Apartheid in South Africa affected women in particular ways: through male-only labor compounds, the policing of migration, the feminization of rural poverty, and a complex hierarchy of residential rights that divided black workers and families. Protest was thus also shaped by gender. Women led bus boycotts and demonstrations against the application of pass laws to women. A strong and sustained series of women’s protest movements in the Herschel district of Cape

¹⁸ Mamadou Diouf, *Le Kajor aux XIX^e siècle: Pouvoir cédé et conquête coloniale* (Paris, 1990), 283. Diouf’s efforts got him into a confrontation with Lat Dior’s descendants, in which Diouf stood his ground. Martin Klein, “The Development of Senegalese Historiography,” in Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury, eds., *African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1986), 222–23. One should also note the more sweeping attacks on nationalist historiographies (as practiced by African and non-African scholars alike), in Arnold J. Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique* (London, 1981).

¹⁹ On the evolution and accomplishments of the field, see Nancy Rose Hunt, “Placing African Women’s History and Locating Gender,” *Signs*, 14 (1989): 359–79; and Susan Geiger, “Women and African Nationalism,” *Journal of Women’s History*, 2 (1990): 227–44.

²⁰ Luise White, “Separating the Men from the Boys: Constructions of Gender, Sexuality, and Terrorism in Central Kenya, 1939–1959,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23 (1990): 1–27; Cora Ann Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); and Tabitha Kanogo, *Crossing Boundaries: African Women’s Experience in Colonial Kenya*, forthcoming; Timothy Scarnecchia, “The Politics of Gender and Class in the Creation of African Communities, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1937–1957” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993). Norma J. Kriger writes of gender—as well as age—cleavages in *Zimbabwe’s Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge, 1992).

Province reflected the circumstances of women in the context of increasing male out-migration, but the more formally organized Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union largely shunted women aside.²¹

The heroic narrative fell victim not only to wise elders and young scholars with new questions but also to continuing crises in Africa itself. African novelists were the first intellectuals to bring before a wide public inside and outside the African continent profound questions about the corruption within postcolonial governments and the extent to which external domination persisted.²² Growing disillusionment made increasingly attractive the theories of "underdevelopment," which located the poverty and weakness of "peripheral" societies not in the colonial situation but in the more long-term process of domination within a capitalist world system. The debate that dependency theory unleashed had the beneficial effect of legitimizing among African intellectuals the notion that theoretical propositions were not mere impositions of Western models on a unique Africa but offered ways of understanding the predicament Africa shared with other parts of what had come to be called the "Third World." The direct link in bringing dependency theory to Africa from Latin America was Walter Rodney, a Guyanese of African descent, instrumental in founding the "Dar es Salaam" school of radical African history.²³ It may be that an engaged expatriate was better positioned than were Tanzanians to open the challenge to nationalist conventions, the tragic counterpart to this being Rodney's assassination after his return to Guyana and the detention, in their own country, of several Kenyan historians who had questioned reigning myths.

The issues opened by dependency theorists prompted an increasing interest in Marxist theory among Africanists and Africans in the 1970s and opened the possibility of a dialogue across the continents.²⁴ Ironically, dependency theory emphasized common subordination and gave little place to African or Latin American agency. Certain Marxist approaches assumed the dominance of capitalism, although a useful contribution of African history to Marxist theory would be to point to the limits capital encountered in trying to tame Africa's labor power.²⁵ More recently, poststructuralist theory has turned toward an examina-

²¹ Julia Wells, "We Have Done with Pleading: The Women's 1913 Anti-Pass Campaign," *History Workshop Topic Series 3* (Johannesburg, 1991); Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London, 1982); William Beinart, "Amafelandawonye (the Die-Hards): Popular Protest and Women's Movements in Herschel District in the 1920s," in William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890-1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 222-69; Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Belinda Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991).

²² See above all the depiction of the highs and lows of Ghana's independence in Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born: A Novel* (Boston, 1968). One can also contrast Chinua Achebe's novel of European conquest, *Things Fall Apart* (New York, 1959), with his sarcastic novel of post-independence moral decay, *Man of the People* (New York, 1966), but Achebe's work is much more complex than a romanticization of pre-conquest Africa, and indeed both novels portray masculine power in telling ways.

²³ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London, 1972).

²⁴ Florencia Mallon, "Dialogues among the Fragments: Retrospect and Prospect," in Cooper, *et al.*, *Confronting Historical Paradigms*, 371-404.

²⁵ The power of the capitalist world system has not so much been its capacity to call into being new structures that maximize the extraction of commodities or surplus value as its global flexibility in finding alternatives to areas it could not rigorously exploit and, ideologically, to marginalize and

tion of discourse and modes of representation—including the scholar's own—but often at the cost of surrendering the tools with which to undertake studies of global power and exploitation. For all the critique and countercritique among these approaches, there has been a certain facility with which historians outside the African continent have slid from one paradigm to another, post-Marxism and poststructuralism embodying this tendency in their very labels. To many American or European scholars, insisting that Africa had a history—irrespective of what one said about it—was evidence of a progressive bent; African history was subaltern studies by default.²⁶

The notable exception to this observation comes from the part of Africa that did not fit into the 1960s narrative of liberation from white rule, South Africa. My cohort of graduate students in the United States felt that the history of South Africa was not African enough.²⁷ South African expatriates contributed the most in the 1970s to the focus on that region, and as they did one of the sharpest theoretical divides opened up: a “liberal” view that stressed African initiative and Afro-European interaction stymied by the rigid racism of Afrikaners versus a “radical” paradigm that saw South African racism as itself a consequence of the way in which capitalism emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Within the “radical” approach, one branch tended toward a structuralist conception of an unfolding logic of capital determining South African history, but another looked directly to the inspiration of European and American social historians to uncover the ways in which Africans carried out their struggles and forged community as well as class.²⁸ South African historians shared some of the “history from the bottom up” concerns with Subaltern Studies but generally not their conception of the subaltern's autonomy. Charles van Onselen has most sharply described the element of shared culture across racial divisions and antagonisms within poor farming communities, and likewise the efforts of diverse and changing groups of blacks and whites to make their way in the rough world of urbanizing Johannesburg.²⁹ The most interesting autonomist argument—

demean the people it could not incorporate. This theme is explored in Frederick Cooper, “Africa and the World Economy,” in Cooper, *et al.*, *Confronting Historical Paradigms*, 84–204.

²⁶ The ethical conundrums of radical scholarship have been probed in Bogumil Jewsiewicki, “African Historical Studies: Academic Knowledge as ‘Usable Past’ and Radical Scholarship,” *African Studies Review*, 32, no. 3 (1989): 1–76.

²⁷ My former adviser remembers student fashions at the time much the same way. Leonard M. Thompson, “The Study of South African History in the United States,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25 (1992): 27–28.

²⁸ The relevant literature here is now vast. The battle lines were first drawn in reviews of the pioneering “liberal” text, Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., *The Oxford History of South Africa*, 2 vols. (New York, 1969–71). Early structuralist arguments are Frederick A. Johnstone, *Class, Race and Gold* (London, 1976); and Harold Wolpe, “Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid,” *Economy and Society*, 1 (1972): 425–56; whereas the social history school may be seen in Charles van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1914*, 2 vols. (London, 1982).

²⁹ Charles van Onselen, “Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South-Western Transvaal, 1900–1950,” *AHR*, 95 (February 1990): 99–123; and *Studies*. For another complicated history of how ties of class and gender sometimes crossed racial frontiers—and sometimes did not—see Iris Berger, *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900–1980* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992). On the complexities

independent of Subaltern Studies—comes from Keletso Atkins' analysis of a distinctly African work culture, although her point is that this work culture influenced and constrained the apparently dominant work culture of developing capitalism.³⁰ South African history in the 1970s and 1980s was thus distinguished by a focused debate—only occasionally engaging the historiography of the rest of Africa—over race, class, and capital. In the 1990s, poststructuralist questionings of the categories and narratives of Marxist history have been strongly resisted in South Africa by those who insist that here, at least, the lines of power and exploitation are clear.³¹ This is a useful debate and another instance of the “irresolvable and fertile tensions” between different conceptions of history, theory, and political activism that Florencia Mallon stresses in her contribution to the *Forum*. It also opens opportunities for engagement with the issues being raised by Subaltern Studies.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, a new colonial history has emerged, in dialogue with anthropology and literary studies and ranging over many areas of the world.³² Anthropologists questioned past and current modes of ethnographic inquiry, suggesting the need for a more contextual and historical examination of the apparatus that collected and classified knowledge of Africa or Asia.³³ Literary critics began to study the politics of representation and the process by which the assertion within European discourse of a sense of national or Continental identity depended on inscribing “otherness” on non-European populations.³⁴ Both scholarly traditions encouraged an examination of the categories and tropes through which the Africa of explorers, missionaries, settlers, scientists, doctors, and officials was symbolically ordered into the grid of “tribe” and “tradition.” Historians explored how censuses defined or reified such categories as caste, how medicine defined susceptibility to disease in racial or cultural terms, how colonial architecture inscribed modernity onto the built environment while appropriating a distilled traditionalism to its own purposes, and how missionaries sought to “colonize minds” by forging an individual capable of thinking about his or her

of politics, see Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Baltimore, Md., 1986).

³⁰ Keletso E. Atkins, *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money!: The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1993).

³¹ I witnessed the debate at the June 1993 symposium of the Johannesburg History Workshop, whose title, “Work, Class, and Culture,” specifies the categories in contention. For a history influenced by poststructuralism, see Clifton Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865* (Cambridge, 1992).

³² See Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, “Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule,” *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989): 609–21, and the essays that follow; and Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992).

³³ Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London, 1973); James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); George W. Stocking, Jr., *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (Madison, Wis., 1991).

³⁴ The pioneering text is Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978); and a more recent example is Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992).

personal salvation, separated from the collective ethos of the community.³⁵ The Subaltern Studies Group took the further step of asking whether categories of colonial knowledge set the terms in which oppositional movements could function and in which colonialism itself could be critiqued.³⁶

This trend has opened up possibilities of seeing how deeply colonies were woven into what it meant to be European and how elusive—and difficult to police—was the boundary between colonizers and colonized.³⁷ It is nonetheless open to the danger of reading a generalized “coloniality” from particular texts, abstracting what went on in colonies from local contexts and contradictory and conflictual global processes.³⁸ Even as subtle and interactive an argument as Homi Bhabha’s treatment of mimicry, in which the colonized person’s acting as if “white but not quite” destabilizes the colonizer’s view of boundaries and control, relies on detaching the dyad of colonizer/colonized from anything either subject might be engaged in except their mutual confrontation.³⁹

It is far from clear what Africans thought about the symbolic structure of colonial power or the identities being inscribed on them. The cultural edifice of the West could be taken apart brick by brick and parts of it used to shape quite different cultural visions.⁴⁰ Piecing together such processes is one of the most

³⁵ Bernard S. Cohn, “The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia,” in Cohn, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi, 1987), 224–54; Randall M. Packard, “The ‘Healthy Reserve’ and the ‘Dressed Native’: Discourses on Black Health and the Language of Legitimation in South Africa,” *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989): 686–703; Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Cambridge, 1991); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Volume 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991); T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991).

³⁶ Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” and Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Conditions for Knowledge of Working-Class Conditions: Employers, Government and the Jute Workers of Calcutta, 1890–1940,” in Guha and Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 45–84, 179–232. See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986).

³⁷ Ann Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Southeast Asia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34 (1992): 514–51.

³⁸ Literary scholars, among whom the terms postcolonial moment, postcolonial discourse, postcolonialism, and postcoloniality arose, are not unaware of the problems with them, as one can see in the papers “On ‘Post-Colonial Discourse,’” edited by Tejumola Olaniyan and published in *Calaloo*, 16 (1993): 743–1033, or the telling critique of Anne McClintock, “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term ‘Post-Colonialism,’” *Social Text*, 31–32 (1990): 84–98. How “post” the “postcolonial” world is is one question; another is whether the histories of all parts of the world that experienced colonial rule can be reduced to that one essence. The adjective “colonial,” minus “isms” or “itys,” has the virtue of being a native category, a term by which Europeans described what they were about. It described a project that was simultaneously incorporative and differentiating: the extension of power to areas whose people were regarded as distinct in such a manner that distinction was reproduced. The “ism” makes “colonial” an explicitly political issue, and in the twentieth century “colonialism” was most often used by critics to demarcate a set of ideologies and practices they wanted to remove from the body politic; the word has the value and the inadequacies of most polemicizing terms. What the “ity” gives in return for its homogenizing and essentializing quality is not so clear.

³⁹ Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” *October*, 3–4 (1985): 125–33.

⁴⁰ The growth of messianic Christian cults, with the message of missionaries turned upside down, is only one example of this process. When Jean-Pierre Chrétien uses the words “mutations,” “adaptations,” “reinterpretations,” “reconstructions,” “crystallizations,” and “inventions” to describe the dynamics of African religions and their interactions with Christianity and Islam, he at least makes clear that there is a complex problem of analysis here. Chrétien, “Introduction,” *L’invention religieuse*

promising endeavors being undertaken by innovative scholars. A scholarly trend that began from the opposition of "self" and "other" has thus ended up confronting the artificiality of such dichotomies and the complex *bricolage* with which Africans in colonies put together practices and beliefs.⁴¹

The problem of recovering such histories while understanding how colonial documents construct their own versions of them has been the focus of thoughtful reflections by Ranajit Guha.⁴² At first glance, these contributions may appear to the African historian more as sound practice than a methodological breakthrough. African historians cut their teeth in the 1960s on the assertion that colonial sources distorted history, and they saw the use of oral sources—as well as reading colonial documents against the grain—as putting themselves on the path to people's history. But Africa scholars put more emphasis on showing that Africans had a history than on asking how Africans' history-making was implicated in establishing or contesting power.⁴³ Guha and his colleagues, facing the rich but problematic corpus of Indian colonial documents, have provoked a useful discussion over the conceptual difficulties in the attempt to recover consciousness and memory outside of a literate elite—and the ultimate impossibility of true knowledge across the barriers of class and colonialism—while African historians have tried to see how far one could push with nondocumentary sources. There is room here for exchange across differing perspectives, although Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's rhetorical question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" may tempt the historian struggling for his or her modest insights to ask in return, "Can the theorist listen?"⁴⁴

en Afrique: Histoire et religion en Afrique noire (Paris, 1993), 9. See also Achille Mbembe, *Afriques indociles: Christianisme, pouvoir et état en société postcoloniale* (Paris, 1988).

⁴¹ Achille Mbembe, "Domaines de la nuit et autorité onirique dans les maquis du Sud-Cameroun (1955–1958)," *Journal of African History*, 32 (1991): 89–122; Luise White, "Cars Out of Place: Vampires, Technology, and Labor in East and Central Africa," *Representations*, 43 (1993): 27–50; David William Cohen and E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1992); Leroy Vail and Landeg White, "Forms of Resistance: Songs and Perceptions of Power in Colonial Mozambique," *AHR*, 88 (October 1983): 883–919. One can also learn a great deal from older anthropological literatures on witchcraft eradication movements, possession cults, and religious movements, as well as from philosophy, literary studies, and intellectual history, including Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York, 1992); V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988); Christopher L. Miller, *Theories of Africans: Francophone Literature and Anthropology in Africa* (Chicago, 1990). The concept of *bricolage* was deployed effectively in Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985), although within a resistance framework that is less persuasive.

⁴² Guha, "Prose of Counter-Insurgency."

⁴³ Such questions as what made narratives credible, what was remembered and what forgotten, how written and oral texts derived authority from each other have been receiving increasing attention. The starting point for rigorous analysis of African oral sources was Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, H. M. Wright, trans. (Chicago, 1965); and an important example of analyzing the implications of the production of history is David William Cohen, *The Combining of History* (Chicago, 1994).

⁴⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), 271–313; Benita Parry, "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," *Oxford Literary Review*, 9 (1987): 27–58. Fernando Coronil argues that Spivak pushes the subaltern "outside the realm of political exchange," beyond relationships, and he posits instead that "subalternity is a relational and relative concept." Coronil, "Listening to the Subaltern: The Poetics of Neocolonial States," *Poetics Today*, 15 (1994).

Recognition of the much greater power of the Europeans in the colonial encounter does not negate the importance of African agency in determining the shape the encounter took. While the conquerors could concentrate military force to defeat African armies, "pacify" villages, or slaughter rebels, the routinization of power demanded alliances with local authority figures, be they lineage heads or recently defeated kings. A careful reading of colonial narratives suggests a certain pathos: the civilizing mission did not end up with the conversion of Africa to Christianity or the generalization of market relations throughout the continent, and colonial writing instead celebrated victories against "barbarous practices" and "mad mullahs." Colonial violence, in such a situation, became "acts of trespass," vivid and often brutal demonstrations distinguishable for what they could violate more than what they could transform.⁴⁵

The economic geography of colonization is as uneven as the geography of power. Colonial powers established islands of cash crop production and mining surrounded by vast labor catchment areas in which coercion and, as time went on, lack of alternatives were necessary to extract laborers. To a significant extent, the wage labor force that capital could use—whatever the wishes of employers—was largely male and transitory, in large measure because Africans were seeking to incorporate periods of wage labor into their lives even as capital was trying to subordinate African economies.⁴⁶ It took the wealth and power of South Africa—where a racialized version of "primitive accumulation" took place through the relative density of white settlement, the impetus of gold mining after the 1880s, and the agency of the state—for labor power to be detached from its social roots. Even in South Africa, the struggle over how, where, and under what conditions Africans could actually be made to work never quite ended.⁴⁷ Elsewhere, some of the greatest success stories of colonial economies came about through African agency: the vast expansion of cocoa production in the Gold Coast at the turn of the century, Nigeria from the 1920s, and the Ivory Coast from the 1940s was the

Likewise, Mallon, in this issue, wants to restore plural voices and multiple subject positions to the subaltern. All these scholars want to complicate and enrich their subalterns but still keep them subaltern.

⁴⁵ I am following the insightful argument of David Edwards, "Mad Mullahs and Englishmen: Discourse in the Colonial Encounter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989): 649–70. The colonial assault on "barbarous practices" has been most fully explored in the case of slavery, where colonial regimes focused on the symbol of African backwardness and often shrank before the complexities of what slavery actually meant in its context. See Richard Roberts and Suzanne Miers, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1988); Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); and Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936* (Cambridge, 1993). Gyan Prakash shows how a British government effort to focus narrowly on slavery in India avoided more difficult questions of how inequality and exploitation were constituted; Prakash, *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁴⁶ The gender implications of this are discussed with particular effectiveness in Elias Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859–1960* (Madison, Wis., 1990); and Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders, and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1992).

⁴⁷ Atkins, *Moon Is Dead!*; William Beinart, *The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860–1930* (Cambridge, 1982); William H. Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867–1895* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

work of smallholders and did not depend on colonial initiatives. Cash cropping was neither a colonial imposition nor an unmediated African response to price incentives; it gave rise, in certain places, to accumulation without producing a bourgeoisie. This is the kind of history that Subaltern Studies scholars want to have told, a history that breaks out of the molds of European modernity and Afro-Asiatic stasis, yet these farmers' experience cannot easily be contained within a notion of subalternity.⁴⁸

The juxtaposition of a disruptive but concentrated colonizing presence and a large and unevenly controlled "bush" had paradoxical consequences: fostering episodic exercises of collective punishment or direct coercion against unwilling workers or cultivators on whom the effects of routinized discipline had not been successfully projected;⁴⁹ making the boundaries of African communities more rigid and their "customary law" more categorical than in days before colonial "progress";⁵⁰ marginalizing educated and Christian Africans as the colonizing apparatus assumed control and established alliances with "traditional" leaders;⁵¹ fostering commercial linkages that enabled Africans who adapted to them to acquire collective resources that later enabled them to resist pressures to enter wage labor;⁵² expanding an ill-controlled urban economy that offered opportunities for casual laborers, itinerant hawkers, criminal entrepreneurs, and providers of service to a migrant, largely male African working class, thus creating alternatives (for women as well as men) to the roles into which colonial regimes wished to cast people;⁵³ and creating space for missionary-educated Africans to reject mission communities in favor of secular roles in a colonial bureaucracy or to transform Christian teaching into critiques of colonial rule.⁵⁴

This is not just an argument about African "adaptation" or "resistance" to

⁴⁸ Some scholars have tried to preserve monolithic views of a colonial economy or peripheral capitalism by confining these experiences to categories such as "coerced cash crop producers" (which is simply wrong) or "disguised proletarians" (which devoids the concept of proletariat of any meaning). See critical surveys in Cooper, "Africa and the World Economy"; Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa." David Ludden argues that in India, capitalism also had a varied impact, and examples of mobility and accumulation among relatively poor or middling cultivators need to be set alongside sharply exploitative systems of labor and tenancy, a process he believes makes the category of subaltern overly rigid. Ludden, "Subalterns and Others, or Competing Colonial Histories of Agrarian India," paper for Workshop on "Historicizing Development," Emory University, December 10–12, 1993.

⁴⁹ Colonial violence—the most obvious feature of colonial rule—is inadequately studied, largely because anticolonial intellectuals portrayed it as ubiquitous while apologists saw it as incidental, whereas it was above all *located* and often all the more brutal for its limitations. See William Beinart, "Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18 (1992): 453–86.

⁵⁰ Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985); Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, eds., *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991); Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 211–62.

⁵¹ Two pioneering studies are J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891: The Making of a New Elite* (Evanston, Ill., 1965); and Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study* (London, 1969).

⁵² For bibliography on labor history, see Bill Freund, *The African Worker* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁵³ Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990); Claire Robertson, *Sharing the Same Bowl?: A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra, Ghana* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984).

⁵⁴ Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*.

colonial initiatives. Rather, it is an argument that policy and ideology also reflected European adaptation (and resistance) to the initiatives of the colonized. This notion extends to the periodization of colonial history: Imperial conquerors began by thinking they could remake African society and rationalize the exploitation of the continent; by World War I, they were largely frustrated in such endeavors and began to make—through policies of “indirect rule” and “association”—their failures sound like a policy of conserving African society and culture; by the late 1930s, the imagined Africa of “tribes” was proving unable to contain the tensions unleashed by the much more complex patterns of economic change; in the late 1930s and 1940s, Great Britain and France tried to re-seize the initiative through a program of economic and social development; African political parties, trade unions, and rural organizers turned the development initiative into a claim for social and political rights, effective enough for the abdication of power and responsibility to become increasingly attractive in London and Paris; most recently, the tendency of Western powers to write off Africa as a continent of disasters and bad government is a sign that the development framework still has not pushed Africans into the role of a quiet and productive junior partner in the world market.⁵⁵

Ranajit Guha has characterized colonization as dominance without hegemony, a direct contradiction of the trends in metropolises to envelop the exercise of power under universal social practices and norms.⁵⁶ The claim of a colonial government to rule a distinct people denied the universality of market relations, revealed the limits to capitalism’s progressive thrust, and led colonial regimes to seek legitimacy by hitching themselves to indigenous notions of authority and obedience. Nationalists, seeking to displace colonial rulers without undermining their own authority, continued to practice dominance without hegemony.

The distinction between capitalist universality and colonial particularism is a compelling one, but Guha does not get to the bottom of it. He misses the implications of the limits of coercion, and he underplays the dynamic possibilities stemming from the partial and contradictory hegemonic projects that colonial rulers attempted: the disputes within colonizing populations and metropolitan elites over different visions of colonial rule and the space that efforts to articulate hegemony opened up for contestation among the colonized. He implicitly draws a contrast between colonial dominance and metropolitan hegemony that the exclusions and violences of twentieth-century Europe belie. Guha’s insight, however, offers an opportunity to explore the tensions of particularism and

⁵⁵ The early periodization of colonial policy given here emerges in the case of British and French West Africa as described by Anne Phillips, *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa* (London, 1989); and Alice Conklin, “A Mission to Civilize: Ideology and Imperialism in French West Africa 1895–1930” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1989); while I have argued along these lines for East Africa in *From Slaves to Squatters*; and *On the African Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and in current research on the colonial development initiative.

⁵⁶ Ranajit Guha, “Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography,” in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi, 1989), 210–309. For a quite different perspective on the contradictions of imperialism in a bourgeois world, see Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore, Md., 1993).

universality within colonies themselves and in a dynamic interconnection of colony and metropole. As I will argue below, the inability of colonial regimes to establish and maintain "dominance" amid the uneven effects of capitalism led them to deploy the "universalistic" conceptions of social engineering developed in Europe, only to find that their own hopes for the success of such technologies required giving up the beliefs about Africa on which a sense of "dominance" depended.⁵⁷

The incompleteness of capitalist transformation in a colonial context has been a major theme of Subaltern Studies, but the tensions of colonialism in a capitalist context are equally important to analyze. Just as elusive are the conceptual categories with which scholars try to understand the movements that have challenged colonial and capitalist power in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

AT ONE LEVEL, THE CONCEPT OF RESISTANCE is generally accepted and unproblematic. In the clash of African and colonial armies, individual acts of disobedience or flight, and the elaboration of powerful arguments for liberation, colonial rule has been continually and severely challenged. But much of the resistance literature is written as if the "R" were capitalized. What is being resisted is not necessarily clear, and "colonialism" sometimes appears as a force whose nature and implications do not have to be unpacked. The concept of resistance can be expanded so broadly that it denies any other kind of life to the people doing the resisting. Significant as resistance might be, Resistance is a concept that may narrow our understanding of African history rather than expand it.

Scholars have their reasons for taking an expansive view. Little actions can add up to something big: desertion from labor contracts, petty acts of defiance of white officials or their African subalterns, illegal enterprises in colonial cities, alternative religious communities—all these may subvert a regime that proclaimed both its power and its righteousness, raise the confidence of people in the idea that colonial power can be countered, and forge a general spirit conducive to mobilization across a variety of social differences. The problem is to link the potential with the dynamics of a political process, and this problem requires careful analysis rather than teleology. It is facile to make causal generalizations across diverse circumstances, as Donald Crummey does in proclaiming, "Most popular violence is a response to state or ruling-class violence," and it is questionable to link all acts of assertion with a military metaphor, as James Scott does in terming them "weapons of the weak."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Similarly, the failure of French efforts to contain colonial challenges in the 1940s by extending to colonial subjects a form of citizenship in Greater France eventually led—as many of those ex-citizens migrated from colony to metropole—to pressures that threaten the definition of citizenship in France itself and the universalistic logic of French political ideology. Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992). For the case that the structure of power and the forms of exclusions in modern metropolitan societies were shaped in relation to colonization, see Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: A Colonial Reading of Foucault's History of Sexuality* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming).

⁵⁸ Donald Crummey, "Introduction: 'The Great Beast,'" in Crummey, ed., *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa* (London, 1986), 1; James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). Crummey tries to get beyond the assimilation of popular

Foucault saw resistance as constitutive of power and power of resistance; he denied that there was a "single locus of great Refusal." He found "mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shifts about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings." Although "strategic codification" of those points can make for revolution, such a process cannot be assumed, and his stress was on the continual reconfiguration of both power and resistance.⁵⁹ In the current atmosphere of postcolonial pessimism, such an idea resonates: even the counterhegemonic discourses of the colonial era and the subversions of European notions of modernity become enmeshed in concepts—the nation-state most prominent among them—that redeploy ideas of surveillance, control, and development within post-independence politics, fracturing and producing unities and reconfiguring resistances. In such a light, Subaltern Studies scholars have scrutinized the reconfiguration of power-resistance at the moment of nationalist victory.⁶⁰

The difficulty with the Foucauldian pairing of power and resistance lies in Foucault's treatment of power as "capillary," as diffused throughout society. However much surveillance, control, and the narrowing of the boundaries of political discourse were a part of Europe in its supposedly democratizing era, power in colonial societies was more arterial than capillary—concentrated spatially and socially, not very nourishing beyond such domains, and in need of a pump to push it from moment to moment and place to place.⁶¹ This should be a theoretical rallying point for historians: they have the tools (and often the inclination) to analyze in specific situations how power is constituted, aggregated, contested, and limited, going beyond the poststructuralist tendency to find power diffused in "modernity," "the post-enlightenment era," or "Western discourse."

The resistance concept suffers from the diffuseness with which the object of resistance is analyzed, as well as from what Sherry Ortner calls "thinness." The dyad of resistor/oppressor is isolated from its context; struggle within the colonized population—over class, age, gender, or other inequalities—is "sanitized"; the texture of people's lives is lost; and complex strategies of coping, of seizing niches within changing economies, of multi-sided engagement with forces inside and outside the community, are narrowed into a single framework.⁶²

violence to anticolonial resistance by arguing that pre-colonial regimes were resisted too, but he ends up treating in this context "the agent of oppression" (p. 21) in an even more abstract manner than was colonialism when seen as the object of African resistance.

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978), 95–96.

⁶⁰ Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*; Douglas Haynes and Gyan Prakash, "Introduction: The Entanglement of Power and Resistance," in Haynes and Prakash, eds., *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 1–22.

⁶¹ Megan Vaughan points out that surveillance and control in metropolitan societies addressed the individual, whereas colonial power tended to address collectivities. Her latter point has some validity (less in relation to the developmentalism of the 1940s than the control mechanisms of "indirect rule" in the 1920s and 1930s), but the Euro-African dichotomy is too stark. Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 8–12. Even after formal decolonization, global power remains arterial—even aortic—rather than capillary, given the immense power of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund over decision making by African states.

⁶² Sherry Ortner, "Resistance: Some Theoretical Problems in Anthropological History and

Some of the best recent work in African history discards the categories of resistors and collaborators and starts with the question of how "rural people saw their circumstances, made their choices, and constructed their ideas about the larger society."⁶³ The relationship of gender issues and colonization, for example, emerges in a complex way from the studies of Elias Mandala and Elizabeth Schmidt. Before the conquest, women had once exercised considerable control over farming and the crops they produced, but the expanding slave trade made women vulnerable to kidnapping or to the control of their would-be protectors. Colonial rule—the decline of warfare and increased possibilities for cash cropping—for a time gave women space to reassert power within domestic economies, but the subsequent decline of village agriculture and the increasing importance of labor migration made women increasingly dependent on men's fortunes.⁶⁴ Luise White, meanwhile, has shown that women sometimes seized niches in the expanding and ill-organized urban economy, as prostitutes and landlords, providing cheap services to male migrant laborers. White's study points up the basic ambiguity in colonial relationships: her women were both subverting the cultural project of colonialism and subsidizing the economic one. Officials were indeed confused, in some contexts willing to let women furnish low-cost services, in others afraid that women's knowledge of urban society and their social networks were reproducing the wrong kind of African working class.⁶⁵

The complexities of engagement and autonomy surface again and again. Karen Fields' analysis of Watchtower in Central Africa reveals a substantial refashioning of Christian doctrines in relation to the local power structure and labor migration. What made Watchtower subversive in official eyes was not that it encouraged active "resistance" but that it defined a moral community in which the structures, notably chieftaincy, painfully elaborated by the colonial regime became irrelevant.⁶⁶ Did such processes contribute in the long run—as the secular Africanists of the 1960s thought they would—to a coming together of diverse strands of African thought and practice that rejected colonial rule in its entirety? Or did such movements go off in their own direction, as likely to clash with secular nationalisms as to assist their assault on the colonial state?

I am arguing here for the complexity of engagement of Africans with imported institutions and constructs, as opposed to James Scott's emphasis on a "hidden transcript" among colonized people that develops among them only to burst forth into a "public transcript" in moments of confrontation.⁶⁷ My approach also differs from Ranajit Guha's quest to explore the "autonomous" domain of the subaltern,

Historical Anthropology," in Terrence McDonald, ed., *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., forthcoming).

⁶³ Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*, 31.

⁶⁴ Mandala, *Work and Control*; Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders, and Wives*.

⁶⁵ White, *Comforts of Home*.

⁶⁶ Karen E. Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

⁶⁷ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990). Scott is vague in specifying the domain to which his arguments apply, eliding slavery and colonialism and taking examples from a wide array of cases as if the particular structures of power in each were of little consequence.

although the complex and varied practice of historians in the Subaltern Studies collective, more so than the manifestos, is filled with stories of engagement.⁶⁸

In discussing labor, as Dipesh Chakrabarty points out, the historian can usefully invoke general theories about "abstract labor," a set of relationships characteristic of capitalism, while preserving a notion of "real labor," located in his case in the systems of authority and clientage of Bengali villages and the power structure of colonial India.⁶⁹ In my own research on Africa in the era of decolonization, I examine both the tensions between African labor movements whose demands are shared around the capitalist world—wages, family welfare, security, and working conditions—and whose rhetoric invoked the universality of wage labor through a demand for equal pay for equal work, and a political movement focusing on self-determination for all Africans.⁷⁰ Ironically, the wave of strikes and general strikes in French and British Africa from the mid-1930s into the 1950s drew on the integration of workers into a wider population—which provided food to sustain strikers and at times brought about generalized urban mobilization—yet the workers' demands distanced them from that population.

Colonial regimes sought to regain the initiative through "stabilization," to form the poorly differentiated, ill-paid population that moved in and out of urban jobs into a compact body of men attached to their employment. They wanted employers to pay workers enough to bring families to the city so that the new generation of workers would be properly socialized to industrial life and separated from the perceived backwardness of village Africa. The dynamic of the situation lay in the fact that trade unions were able to capitalize on this yearning for predictability, order, and productivity—on officials' hope that Western models of the workplace and industrial relations might actually function in Africa—to pose their demands in ways officials found difficult to reject out of hand. Unions seized the developmentalist rhetoric of postwar imperialism and turned it into claims to entitlements, even as officials began to concede that a unionized work force might aid stabilization.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Subaltern Studies historians have, for example, studied communalism as a colonial category of description, as a nationalist category to be used as a foil against the Indian nation, and as a shifting, manipulated, and contested category of popular action; wage labor appears as a universal construct and as particular lived experience; and Gandhi is shown to imply very different meanings within the Indian National Congress and local contexts. Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, 1990); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal, 1890–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Shahid Amin, "Gandhi as Mahatma," in Guha and Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 288–350. See also the discussion of these issues in O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject."

⁶⁹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Marx after Marxism: History, Subalternity and Difference," *Meanjin*, 52 (1993): 421–34; and Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*.

⁷⁰ Labor was a numerically small category but an extremely influential one, because the very narrowness of colonial commercial, mining, and industrial channels meant that a small group—in a position to use face-to-face relations to organize—could disrupt the entire import-export economy; in the post-World War II era, rising prices for African commodities and the colonial development initiative (combined with inflationary pressures on workers) shaped a favorable conjuncture for labor activism. This section is based on Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, forthcoming.

⁷¹ The leaders of African political parties were not necessarily sympathetic to strikers or labor movements. In the strike that contributed most to the myth of labor as the spearhead of nationalism—the great French West African railway strike of 1947–1948—the region's leading politicians were notably diffident about taking up the workers' cause, and some of them worked to

By the mid-1950s, colonial regimes feared that their development initiatives were being undermined by rising labor costs, and they began to pull back from their own universalizing stance. They realized that conceding African politicians a modest measure of power in colonial governments would force them to weigh the cost of labor against the territorial budget. A national reference point now seemed less threatening economically than a universalistic one. This time, colonial officials guessed right, for nationalist leaders, granted limited territorial authority, quickly set about disciplining African labor movements in the name of a single-minded focus on a national unity defined by the political party.

One can read the actions of labor movements in French and British Africa as one example among many of African militance or as an instance of the universal struggle of the working class or as the successful cooptation of an unquiet section of the African population into a set of structures and normalizing practices derived from Europe. All three readings have some truth, but the important point is their dynamic relationship: labor movements both brought material benefits to a specific class of people and opened new possibilities for other sorts of actions, which themselves might have mobilizing or normalizing consequences. In this period, labor had a window of opportunity it lacked before and lost afterward, facing a colonial regime invested in a tenuous development initiative and fearing the mobilization of an unpredictable mass. The tension between the demands of labor and efforts to forge unity against the colonial state was often a creative one—except in the too-common instance in which party elites fearful of organized challenges and insistent on the supremacy of the national struggle moved to deny the tension and suppress such movements.

Rural mobilization, which was sometimes led by “organic intellectuals” emerging from a peasant milieu, also developed in alliance and tension with movements led by Western-educated people from towns and constituted a challenge to the tyranny of colonial agricultural officers with their ideas of scientific agriculture. Rural political discourse sometimes focused on the integrity and health of the local community, and it also deployed the transcendent languages of self-determination, Christianity, or Garveyism. But, as Norma Kriger has shown, the connections of cultivators with the commercial economy and the state were so varied and complex that “polarizing society along racial lines” was difficult for radical movements to accomplish.⁷²

Whether nationalist movements by themselves were strong enough to overthrow colonial rule is unclear, but a variety of social movements from labor unions to anticonservation movements disrupted the economic project of postwar colonialism while discrediting its hegemonic project. Unable to get the Africa they

betray it. Workers' demands for equality within the French labor system had an ambiguous relationship to anticolonial politics. The myth is most clearly developed in the novel of Sembene Ousmane, *God's Bits of Wood*, Francis Price, trans. (London, 1962).

⁷² Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles*, esp. 31–37; Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990); Richard Grove, “Colonial Conservation, Ecological Hegemony and Popular Resistance: Towards a Global Synthesis,” in John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester, 1990); Kriger, *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War*, 157. Kriger is critical of the view that a particular kind of politics flowed from the very existence of a peasantry, as argued in Terence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985).

wanted, European powers began to think more seriously about the Africa they had. Empire became vulnerable to another of bourgeois Europe's contradictory tendencies: the calculation of economic interest. By the mid-1950s, France and Great Britain were adding up the costs and benefits of colonial rule more carefully than ever before and coming up with negative numbers.⁷³

To the extent—never complete—that issue-specific or localized movements came together in the 1940s and 1950s, the threads also came apart, leaving the unsolved problems of the colonial era to new governments and a tenuously constituted political arena. It is to the problem of framing the national question in relation to other political questions that I now turn.

FROM THE CAULDRON OF POLITICS in the 1950s and 1960s, nation-states emerged across the African continent. Benedict Anderson's conception of the nation as an imagined community should be set against two related notions: the nation was not the only unit that people imagined,⁷⁴ and the predominance of the nation-state in post-1960 Africa resulted not from the exclusive focus of African imaginations on the nation but from the fact that the nation was imaginable to colonial rulers as well.⁷⁵ Pan-Africanism—embracing the diaspora as well as the continent—had once been the focus of imagination more than the units that eventually became states, but pan-Africanist possibilities were written out of the decolonization bargains.⁷⁶ Regional federation, though once a basis of French administration and of the mobilization of trade unions and political parties, fell victim to a French program of "territorialization" and to the interests in territorial institutions that

⁷³ The most persuasive account so far of the calculations that ended a colonial empire is Jacques Marseille, *Empire colonial et capitalisme français: Histoire d'un divorce* (Paris, 1984), but his resolutely metropolitan focus does not allow him to explain the factors within colonies that raised the costs and diminished the benefits. In the British case, see Prime Minister Macmillan's call for an explicit cost-benefit analysis of each colony, in Prime Minister's Minute, January 28, 1957, CAB 134/155, Public Record Office, London. Portugal, economically weaker, fell back on its empire and sought to extract more from it, exacerbating conflict even as the international climate turned Portugal from a laggard but acceptable colonial partner to a pariah. Settler colonists fought even longer.

⁷⁴ A notorious instance of scholarly hubris is Fredric Jameson's insistence that the literature of Third World people—oppressed as they were by imperialism—was supposed to consist of "national allegories." He was duly rebuked for the presumption of his telling oppressed people that they could only write about their oppression and could only feel themselves oppressed in national terms. Fredric Jameson, "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text*, 15 (1986): 65–88, 69 quoted; Aijaz Ahmad, "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory,'" *Social Text*, 17 (1987): 3–25.

⁷⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991).

⁷⁶ J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900–1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes* (Oxford, 1973). An intriguing but vain attempt by a leading intellectual at the moment of independence to turn an argument about the historical unity of Africa into a case for a continent-wide federal system is Cheikh Anta Diop, *Les fondements culturels, techniques et industriels d'un futur état fédéral d'Afrique noire* (Paris, 1960). The concept of "Africa" itself is a tricky one, and as Kwame Anthony Appiah argues, seeing Africa as an entity risked engaging in the kind of racial essentializing that leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois were intent on combating. He insists that "Africa" should be defined not by some kind of racial or cultural authenticity but by looking at the history of struggle itself: how slavery and colonization defined Africans and how Africans turned this imposed definition into something positive. Appiah, *In My Father's House*. See also Mudimbe, *Invention of Africa*, and, for an Indian parallel, Sudipta Kaviraj, "The Imaginary Institution of India," in Chatterjee and Pandey, *Subaltern Studies VII*, 1–39.

the partial devolution of power to individual colonies gave African politicians.⁷⁷ At the same time, linguistic and ethnic groups were denied a legitimate place in politics—which did not prevent them from becoming even more salient and more sharply demarcated in postcolonial politics—and the menace of “tribalism” was used by governing elites to try to eliminate many sorts of subnational politics.⁷⁸ In the confrontations of the 1950s, colonial states used violence to exclude certain options, for example, the explicit leftism and the premature (in official eyes) claims to independence of the Union des Populations du Camaroun or the antimodern radicalism of Mau Mau rebels in Kenya.⁷⁹ Imperial bureaucrats, however, gave up aspects of their own imaginings: the idea that social and economic change could be directly controlled by those who claimed already to have arrived was lost in the struggles over decolonization.⁸⁰ Where the imagination of anticolonial intellectuals in Africa and imperial bureaucrats overlapped was in the formal apparatus of the nation-state, the institutions and symbols contained within territorial borders.⁸¹

Pan-Africanism actually predated nationalism—defined, as it should be, as a

⁷⁷ Territorialization was more than a divide-and-rule strategy aimed at African political movements. It was also an attempt to break away from the notion, much invoked by African unions, that government wages and benefits throughout Greater France should be equalized across the races. By giving African politicians authority over budgets at the territorial level, the policy made government wage policy beholden to the territorial taxpayer. Territorialization in 1956 had powerful incentives attached to it—a genuine devolution of power to elected officials within each colony. Although some officials tried to revive federation, each had to look first to his own electoral base—and the wealthiest territory, the Ivory Coast, stood to gain the most by keeping its resources within its borders. Federation became politically impossible to revive. William J. Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven, Conn., 1965). A post-independence attempt to build federation in former British East Africa also failed. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Pan-Africanism and East African Integration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

⁷⁸ Pandey's study, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, has echoes in colonial and postcolonial Africa: nationalists took over from colonial officials the idea that religious and communal movements were “irrational” and legitimized only “the mass of the people mobilized into a new national community” (p. 254). Some of the same rhetoric was also used to delegitimize movements, including labor, that were secular and “modern” yet limited to particular segments of the national community.

⁷⁹ Richard A. Joseph, *Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion* (Oxford, 1977); Achille Mbembe, *La naissance du maquis dans le Sud-Cameroun: Histoires d'indisciplines (1920–1960)* (Paris, 1993); Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*.

⁸⁰ I do not accept the argument made by Ronald Robinson and others that in the British case, a clear plan to devolve power was developed prior to the rise of nationalist movements and that these movements—the consequence rather than the cause of British policy—did no more than speed up a previously conceived policy. This “Whig” interpretation, as John Darwin calls it, misses the extent to which urban and rural movements—not specifically nationalist—destabilized colonial regimes' sense of control, pushed them to emphasize their own developmentalist objectives while trying to play down what was “colonial” about colonial authority, and later helped to reveal that the developmental initiatives would themselves generate conflict more than alleviate it. Ronald Robinson, “Andrew Cohen and the Transfer of Power in Tropical Africa, 1940–1951,” in W. H. Morris-Jones and Georges Fischer, eds., *Decolonisation and After: The British and French Experience* (London, 1980), 50–72; John Darwin, “British Decolonization since 1945: A Pattern or a Puzzle?” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies*, 12 (1984): 187–209.

⁸¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that “what European imperialism and third-world nationalisms have achieved together” is “universalization of the nation-state as the most desirable form of political community.” Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History,” 19. Some argue that, given the internal weakness of Third World states, it is their insertion into international relations that preserves them. Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge, 1990).

movement to claim the nation-state.⁸² Leading intellectuals, notably Léopold Senghor, navigated the perspectives of Pan-Africanism, nationalism, and a desire for social and economic reform in complex ways: Senghor's "négritude" embraced essentialist notions of African culture yet inverted the valuation placed on them, erasing difference and eliminating conflict within an idealized Africa. Senghor was just as brilliant at analyzing and working through the specific social structures of his own Senegal: a Christian politician with a political machine based on Muslim brotherhoods, a poet who expressed his ideas of Africa through the French language, a man who defended Africa from a seat in the French legislature, a romantic defender of African village life who after independence sought to use trade and aid to transform an African nation. Living these complexities entailed pain and difficulty, but there is no indication that Senghor—or the many others navigating similar currents—experienced them as personally destabilizing, as intellectually contradictory, or as threatening to his sense of cultural integrity: *in between* is as much a place to be at home as any other.⁸³ The implications for the historian are crucial: we must analyze the culture of politics and the politics of culture by constantly shifting the scale of analysis from the most spatially specific (the politics of the clan or the village) to the most spatially diffuse (transatlantic racial politics) and examine the originality and power of political thought by what it appropriated and transformed from its entire range of influences and connections.⁸⁴

The triumph of nationalist movements appears less as a linear progression than as a conjuncture, and the success of African political parties less a question of a singular mobilization in the name of the nation than of coalition building, the forging of clientage networks, and machine politics. For a time, nationalist parties made the colonial state appear to be the central obstacle facing diverse sorts of social movements, from labor to anti-conservation to regional movements. Coalition politics may not have been the stuff of revolutionary drama, but it was often conducted with enthusiasm and idealism. The give-and-take of this era forced—and allowed—colonial governments to make a necessary imaginative leap themselves. They came to envision a world that they no longer ruled but that they thought could function along principles they understood: through state institutions, by Western-educated elites, in the interest of progress and modernity, through integration with global markets and international organizations. British archives, notably, disclose that top echelons of government wanted to believe all this but were not quite convinced. A non-hostile postcolonial relationship was the

⁸² Such definitions have been controversial for decades, since James Coleman insisted on limiting "nationalist" to movements specifically directed at assuming power within a nation-state. Thomas Hodgkin wanted nationalism to include all anticolonial protests and ideologies. Hodgkin's notion is really a definition of political action and barely allows a political movement in a colony to be anything but nationalist. The words mean more if nationalism is viewed as only one of many possibilities for politics. James S. Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa," *American Political Science Review*, 48 (1954): 404–26; Hodgkin, *Nationalism*, 23.

⁸³ Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Appiah, *In My Father's House*; Mudimbe, *Invention of Africa*; Miller, *Theories of Africans*.

⁸⁴ On this last point, see Edward Said's impassioned defense of colonial and ex-colonial intellectuals' engagement with European literature and culture as well as his critique of nationalist thought; Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

best they thought they could achieve.⁸⁵ In the process, they could eliminate some enemies, but in other cases the one-time Apostles of Disorder—Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Nnamdi Azikiwe—were remade in the colonial imagination into the Men of Moderation and Modernity.⁸⁶

Some of the best recent studies of post–World War II politics focus not on the parties that took over the state but on Asante nationalism in the Gold Coast (thrust aside by Nkrumah's quest for a unitary Ghana), on the guerrilla movement of the Cameroon, which the French successfully marginalized and destroyed, on the rural people who were caught in the middle of guerrilla-government warfare in Zimbabwe, and on the squatters who fought the hardest, suffered the most, and won the least in the violent decolonization of Kenya.⁸⁷ The nationalist parties paid a price for their conjunctural coalitions: the social struggles they tried to attach to their cause remained unresolved. As Aristide Zolberg first showed in 1966, the public's nationalist sentiment was actually quite thin. Attempts at building national institutions were inevitably read as building up particularistic interests: for the leader's tribe, for his class, for his clientele, for himself. New states, taking on a transformative project at which European powers had failed, were politically fragile and ideologically brittle, their insistence on unity for the nation and development denying legitimacy to the social movements out of which political mobilization had often been achieved.⁸⁸

The idea of the nation, as Benedict Anderson stressed, emerged in a particular historical context, when the circuits along which creole elites (starting in Latin America) moved and built their careers began to exclude the metropole and focus on the colonial capital and when print capitalism provided a medium to establish a bounded identity.⁸⁹ Europe learned to imagine the nation from the tensions that emerged within its old empires and passed the imaginative possibility along to its new colonial conquests. Partha Chatterjee reluctantly grants Anderson a point: the kind of politics that eventually took over colonial states was this nation-centered one, focused on the European-defined boundaries and institutions, on notions of progress shaped by capitalism and European social thought. The idea of "reason" through which nationalists critiqued colonialism arrived in the colonies wed to capitalism and colonialism. In making claims on colonial powers, nationalists became caught up in the colonial regimes' categories; nationalism was

⁸⁵ Note by the Secretaries, "Future Constitutional Development in the Colonies," May 30, 1957, CP (O) 5, CAB 134/1551, Memorandum by the Secretary of State, "Nigeria," C 57 (120), May 14, 1957, CAB 129/87, Memorandum by the Secretary of State, "Future Policy in East Africa," CPC (59) 2, April 10, 1959, CAB 134/1558, Public Record Office.

⁸⁶ Joseph, *Radical Nationalism*; Mbembe, *Naissance du maquis*. Such remaking of political figures is not unique to Africa: Yasser Arafat seems to be the latest beneficiary.

⁸⁷ Jean Marie Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison, Wis., 1993); Mbembe, *Naissance du maquis*; Kriger, *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War*; Tabitha M. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, 1905–63* (London, 1987).

⁸⁸ Aristide Zolberg, *Creating Political Order: The Party-States of West Africa* (Chicago, 1966).

⁸⁹ There is a problem in Anderson's argument about creole nationalism that is related to the issue raised here: the claim of elites to transcend social divisions. As Julie Skurskie argues, the politics of the creole elite were not so much inclusive—trying to cut across, coopt, and minimize conflict in the name of the nation—as exclusive, violently defining racial and cultural groups out of the nation. Skurskie, "The Ambiguities of Authenticity in Latin America: *Dona Barbara* and the Construction of National Identity," *Poetics Today*, 15 (1994).

a "derivative discourse." Chatterjee finds possibilities for "a 'modern' national culture that is nevertheless not Western" but locates them in a spiritual domain set outside economy and statecraft.⁹⁰ The Indian elite, drawing its power both from notions of caste and communalism rigidified by British rule and from its immersion in colonial commerce, was willing neither to undertake a drastic assault on the Indian past nor to repudiate those elements of the colonial present from which it benefited. Chatterjee, following Antonio Gramsci, identifies elite nationalism as a "war of position," an effort to change society bit by bit, rather than a more radical "war of movement." At some moments, more radical appeals—notably those of Mohandas Gandhi himself—were necessary to widen the mobilization of the Indian National Congress; but, as victory came into sight, the Congress leadership's immersion in the economic, political, and ideological structures of the Indian state marginalized alternative visions. The institutions of state and the goal of state-directed development were only a part of Indian politics in the twentieth century, but they were the politics that triumphed.⁹¹

Both Anderson and Chatterjee do more than take the nation and nationalism from the realm of "natural" sentiment to social construct;⁹² they do so in a way grounded in material conditions and aspirations of certain social groups, in the life trajectories of those who imagined the nation, in the networks of intellectuals and political leaders, in the ways in which ideas were circulated. The "state" should be examined with the same care as the "nation"—its institutions and rhetorics carefully scrutinized.⁹³ One can agree up to a point with Anthony D. Smith that particular qualities of the colonial state—"gubernatorial, territorial, bureaucratic, paternalist-educational, caste-like"—were carried over to postcolonial states, yet African rulers gave their own meanings to institutions they took over, adapting them to patrimonial social structures and complex modes of representing power.⁹⁴

To historicize the nation-state is not, however, to postulate that it is Africa's "curse," as Basil Davidson called it. One should not assume the innocence or

⁹⁰ Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 6. Chatterjee is only opening the door on what is likely to be a long and useful debate over the interrelation of economic/political and domestic/spiritual domains. See also Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Difference-Deferral of (a) Colonial Modernity: Public Debates on Domesticity in British Bengal," *History Workshop*, 36 (1993): 1–34.

⁹¹ See also David Ludden, "The Development Regime in India," in Dirks, *Culture and Colonialism*, 247–88.

⁹² The construction argument is often made. See, for example, Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990).

⁹³ One subject into which this kind of inquiry has begun is health. A Subaltern Studies historian (Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*) has done a pioneering study on India, and state and health have been studied perceptively by Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, and Packard, "'Healthy Reserve' and the 'Dressed Native.'"

⁹⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism* (Brighton, 1983), 56. As in my study of labor, one can examine in many domains how institutions (trade unions, industrial relations boards) of specifically European origin—but discussed by officials as if universal—were used by Africans in particular ways, while they, too, made claims to universality to serve their ends. On modes of exercising and representing power in Africa, see Jean-François Bayart, *L'état en Afrique: La politique du ventre* (Paris, 1989); and the controversy unleashed in *Public Culture*, 5, no. 1 (1992), by an article by Achille Mbembe, "The Banality of Power and the Aesthetics of Vulgarly in the Postcolony," *Public Culture*, 4, no. 2 (1992): 1–30.

autonomy of community or "civil society" any more than that of the nation, and the articulation between state and social units within and beyond it is where analysis should focus. The "national order of things" should neither be taken as natural nor dismissed as an artificial imposition on Africa. State and nation need to be examined in relation to diasporic communities, to the migratory circuits around which many people organize their lives, to the structures and rules—from market transactions to factory discipline—that also cross borders, and to the cleavages that exist within borders and at times both destroy and remake the nation-state.⁹⁵

IN CONCLUDING THIS DISCUSSION, I turn to a view of colonialism and resistance that in the recent past would have been a likely starting point: Frantz Fanon. The West Indian psychiatrist and intellectual who devoted much of his life to Algeria and was read as a voice of the "African Revolution" epitomizes the anti-imperialist who crosses borders. His view of violence negating the psychological power of colonialism captured the imagination of other African intellectuals and, above all, those in the West who did not have to face the consequences of that violence.⁹⁶

Fanon was no nationalist. For him, nationalism was a bourgeois ideology, espoused by those who wanted to step into the colonial structure rather than turn that structure upside down. Nor was Fanon a racist: he criticized "négritude" and saw no solace in the sharing of a mythic black identity, opposing a universalistic notion of liberation to arguments about authenticity or cultural autonomy. Fanon's future came out of the struggle itself: "'The last shall be first and the first last.' Decolonisation is the putting into practice of this sentence."⁹⁷

Yet Fanon was also denying colonized people any history but that of oppression, any ambiguity to the ways they might confront and appropriate the intrusions of colonizers. Instead, he provided a sociological determinism: the petty bourgeoisie was absorbed in mimicking the culture of the colonizer and was best understood in terms of psychopathology;⁹⁸ the working class had become a

⁹⁵ Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (New York, 1993); Pieter Boele van Hensbroek, "Cursing the Nation-State," *Transition*, 61 (1993): 114–21; Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (1992): 24–44; Akhil Gupta, "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism," *ibid.*, 63–79.

⁹⁶ Recent entries on Fanon—commenting on the other entries—are Cedric Robinson, "The Appropriation of Frantz Fanon," *Race and Class*, 15 (1993): 79–91; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Critical Fanonism," *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991): 457–70; and a particularly critical discussion in Miller, *Theories of Africans*, 45–62.

⁹⁷ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Constance Farrington, trans. (New York, 1966), 30. See also Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Charles Lam Markmann, trans. (New York, 1967), 226–29. Said, *Imperialism and Culture*, 267–70, finds Fanon a useful ally in his critique of nationalism. Fanon did not seek to build a "true Algeria" embodying some national essence but rather a society emancipated of its colonial oppression. Yet, in his own way, Fanon isolates the "true anticolonialist" from history and experience, turning impure categories into criteria for exclusion from the liberation project. I use the word "true" in the ironic sense applied to the other side of the colonial divide by Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900–1945* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992).

⁹⁸ Fanon's psychologizing of the colonial situation—and other versions of this enterprise—strike me as deeply flawed, a too-easy transposition of issues of state sovereignty to personal autonomy,

labor aristocracy intent only on capturing the privileges of white workers; the peasantry and the lumpenproletariat, by contrast, were the true liberationists, the last who would become first. The categories were actually colonial ones, and the irony of Fanon's fervent argument was that it allowed—by its inversionary logic—France to define the present and future of people in colonies.⁹⁹

Fanon's reduction of ideology and political strategy to traits of social groups in effect created purge categories: the organized worker or the petty bourgeois, like the kulak of the Stalinist Soviet Union, was a traitor by definition. And the singularity with which the "anticolonial" eclipsed all other notions of affiliation or common interest implied postcolonial uniformity as much as anticolonial unity.

Some African leaders were saying exactly that. Sékou Touré, one of Africa's most notable radical nationalists, himself once a trade unionist, spoke on the eve of his assuming power in Guinea of the new imperatives of African rule. Trade unions were "a tool" that should be changed when it got dull; striking against the "organisms of colonialism" had been a legitimate action, but a strike "directed against an African Government" was now "historically unthinkable," and the labor movement was "obligated to reconvert itself to remain in the same line of emancipation" as the government.¹⁰⁰ Sékou Touré was to practice what he preached by destroying the autonomy of the trade union movement and jailing much of its leadership. Other once-autonomous, once-activist organizations were similarly destroyed, coopted, or marginalized in many African countries.¹⁰¹ There were, of course, complex questions to be faced about the role of unions, of regionally or ethnically based associations, of representatives of farmers, traders, and other economic interests in postcolonial polities, as well as questions of allocating more resources to groups that had fared well or badly under colonial rule. But Sékou Touré was not issuing an invitation to a debate. Nor were his fellow leaders who made the national ideal compulsory, via such devices as one-party states and such ideological constructs as Mobutu's *authenticité* or

abstracted from the multidimensional contexts in which personalities are actually shaped. A more recent and sophisticated attempt to address issues of personality and colonization, not wholly convincing, is Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983). There were colonialist versions of the psychologizing argument, too, eliding individual and collective psychologies, claiming that Africans were unable to stand up to the pressures of modernization or move between different social universes. The most notorious instance is J. C. Carothers, *The Psychology of Mau Mau* (Nairobi, 1954).

⁹⁹ "The colonial world is a Manichean world," wrote Fanon (*Wretched*, 33), apparently not realizing how much deeper he was in that world than the people about whom and in whose cause he wrote.

¹⁰⁰ Exposé de M. le Vice Président Sékou Touré à l'occasion de la conférence du 2 février 1958 avec les responsables syndicaux et délégués du personnel RDA, "Le RDA et l'action syndicale dans la nouvelle situation politiques des T.O.M.," PDG (9)/dossier 7, Centre de Recherche et de Documentation Africaine, Paris. His minister of labor, Camara Bengaly, insisted that unions must become "the precious collaborators" of an African government and abandon their sectional claims: "Any conception of trade unionism contrary to this orientation must be discarded, and courageously fought in order to be eliminated definitively." Speech in name of Council of Government of Guinea to Congrès Constitutif de l'UGTAN, Conakry, May 23–25, 1958, sous-dossier UGTAN, K 421 (165), Archives du Sénégal.

¹⁰¹ A Guinean intellectual's conclusion on Sékou Touré is well expressed in the title of his book: Ibrahima Baba Kaké, *Sékou Touré: Le héros et le tyran* (Paris, 1987). See also Claude Rivière, "Lutte ouvrière et phénomène syndical en Guinée," *Cultures et Développement*, 7 (1975): 53–83.

Kenyatta's *harambee* (pulling together).¹⁰² The last were now declared to be first. The others deserved to be last.

This is not to deny Fanon's critique of the self-serving nationalists of his day or the appeal of his call for a liberation that overrode national or racial chauvinisms. The issue is one of facing consequences. The casting out of all but the True Anticolonialist from the political arena and the reduction of entire categories of people to class enemies gave an exhilarating legitimacy to state projects, which were often deflected into less liberationist goals than Fanon had in mind. Enthusiasms for projects of state-building, modernization, and development, in the name of the market or of socialism or of good governance, have consequences, too. Those who find in notions of "community" or "new social movements" a welcome antidote to one sort of oppression need to worry about the other forms of oppression that lie within them. For the historian, searching for those historical actors who found the true path is a less fruitful task than studying different paths into engagement with colonization as well as the tensions between different sorts of liberations, between local mobilization and state institutions, between cultural assertion and cultural interaction.

For the historian who seeks to learn what can be learned about the lives that African workers or market women lived day by day, the Manichean world of Frantz Fanon is no more revealing than a colonial bureaucrat's insistence that such people stood at the divide between African backwardness and Western modernity or a nationalist's dichotomy between an authentic community and an imposed westernization.¹⁰³ The Guinean port worker was not just seeking European wages or fighting colonialism: he may also have used his job for a colonial firm to seek autonomy from his father, just as his wife may well have been acting within the urban commercial sector to attain a measure of autonomy from him. As a trade unionist, he drew on organizational forms and institutional legitimacy from the French model of industrial relations, but union and political activities also drew on and contributed to webs of affiliation, languages of solidarity, and a range of cultural institutions that colonial officials did not understand and could not adequately monitor. The worker and the market seller were remaking institutions and their meanings even as they used them.

The concept of subalternity also does not categorize the lived experience of such people, but Subaltern Studies historians are not saying that it should. Their emphasis is on the tension between such experiences and the historical process that generates the categories of knowledge themselves. The tension defines a valuable entry point for probing colonial experiences and an essential reminder of the scholar's inability to escape the implications of the material and cultural power that Europe exercised overseas. Yet, as we look ever more deeply into the

¹⁰² One should not assume that postcolonial African states were uniformly authoritarian or that an authoritarian state could not in many ways be a weak state. For one of the first critiques of the brittleness of African regimes and the ideological moves by which contestation was delegitimized, see Zolberg, *Creating Political Order*. My argument parallels Chatterjee's view of the "plural development of social identities" emerging from struggles with the colonial state "that were violently disrupted by the political history of the postcolonial state seeking to replicate the modular forms of the modern nation-state." Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 156.

¹⁰³ On the dualism of late colonial conceptions of society, see Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*.

contested spaces of colonial politics, we would do well to look beyond the notion of subalternity—and conceptions of colonialism that assume its ability to coerce, coopt, and categorize challenges into its own structure of power and ideology—in order to pry apart further the ways in which power was constituted and contested. The violence of colonizers was no less violent for the narrowness of its range and the limits of its transformative efficacy, and the totalizing arrogance of modernizing ideologies is not diminished by the fact that Africans often disassembled them and created something else. But if “subalterns” are to be seen as vital parts of history, the possibility, at least, that the very meanings of domination and subalternity could be undermined should be kept open. And if, at the same time, we are to follow the call of Chatterjee and Chakrabarty to “provincialize” European history—to subject its universalizing claims to historical examination rather than use them as measures of other people’s histories—we should move beyond treating modernity, liberalism, citizenship, or bourgeois equality as if they were fixed and self-contained doctrines unaffected by the appropriations and reformulations given to them by processes of political mobilization in Asia, Africa, or Europe itself.¹⁰⁴

Nationalism, meanwhile, can be explored in tension with a range of social movements, and, as with the colonization process, the ability of nationalist parties to subsume other sorts of mobilizations under its roof should be seen as contingent and partial. The forms of power in Africa after decolonization—the institutions through which it is exercised and the idioms in which it is represented—reflect not so much the all-consuming thrust of the national order of things but the fragilities, the compromises, and the violences of insecure leaders that emerged in the process of ending colonial rule.

In Africa, the encounters of the past are very much part of the present. Africa still faces the problems of building networks and institutions capable of permitting wide dialogue and common action among people with diverse pasts, of struggling against and engaging with the structures of power in the world today. Africa’s crisis derives from a complex history that demands a complex analysis: a simultaneous awareness of how colonial regimes exercised power and the limits of that power, an appreciation of the intensity with which that power was confronted and the diversity of futures that people sought for themselves, an understanding of how and why some of those futures were excluded from the realm of the politically feasible, and an openness to possibilities for the future that can be imagined today.

¹⁰⁴ Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 237–38; Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History,” 20. The “provincializing” argument is a very good one, but it implies a detailed and nuanced engagement with the vagaries of European history. The argument is weakened when it slips into blanket dismissals of liberalism or assumptions that bourgeois equality is an unchanging construct. See Chakrabarty, 20–21; Chatterjee, 198.

Condottieri of the Pen: Journalists and the Public Sphere in Postrevolutionary France (1815–1850)

WILLIAM M. REDDY

FRENCH JOURNALISTS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY faced constant conflict between two duties, their duty as citizen and their duty as employee. This conflict was spoken of in terms of a prevailing male code of honor that did not always give clear answers about which duty came first. The conflict was aggravated by the tone of political debate in the postrevolutionary decades, a tone associated with the chronic crisis of legitimacy faced by every regime from 1815 until the consolidation of the Third Republic between 1880 and 1905. Throughout this period, not all of which is covered in this article, words in public were used as weapons in a cold war between right and left. The daily press—that “arm suitable to every hand,” as Barbey d’Aurevilly called it—grew by leaps and bounds after the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte.¹ At first, each newspaper was closely associated with a specific political faction; it propagated that faction’s point of view and assailed its opponents. After 1836, a few more commercially oriented dailies such as Emile de Girardin’s *La presse* or Armand Dutacq’s *Le siècle* sought a political middle ground from which they could appeal to larger readerships. Yet even these successful new papers often found themselves drawn into the vitriolic exchanges that filled the pages of their older rivals.² In an atmosphere of profound discord, protection of

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¹ Jules Barbey d’Aurevilly, *Journalistes et polémistes, chroniqueurs et pamphlétaires* (1895; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1968), 3. For circulation figures on periodicals after the fall of Napoleon, see Charles Ledré, *La presse à l’assaut de la monarchie, 1815–1848* (Paris, 1960), 243–45; J.-P. Aguet, “Le tirage des quotidiens de Paris sous la Monarchie de Juillet,” *Revue suisse d’histoire*, 10 (1960): 216–86. The total circulation of the top ten Parisian dailies, according to Ledré’s tables, rose from about 50,000 in 1824 to about 120,000 by 1840. The total number of periodicals of all types rose from 45 in 1812 to 197 by 1829, according to Roland Chollet, *Balzac journaliste: Le tournant de 1830* (Paris, 1983), 59–60.

² The nineteenth-century press has received far less attention recently than its eighteenth-century predecessor. An important recent exploration of press patronage is Lawrence C. Jennings, “Slavery and the Venality of the July Monarchy Press,” *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992): 957–78. Caricature and satire have attracted some recent attention; see Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985); Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio, 1989). Marc Martin has produced a prosopographical survey, a rare example of social-historical research on nineteenth-century journalism, “Journalistes parisiens et notoriété (vers 1830–1870): Pour une

one's personal honor became essential for journalists and politicians. Robert Nye's important new study of male codes of honor in French history has shown that offending words uttered in the parliament or printed in newspapers in this period sometimes led to duels.³

This article will explore how journalists lived out the conflicting exigencies of their jobs and how they fashioned personal identities suited to survival in the battle-torn world of the press. It also seeks to measure the gap that yawned between the real practices of public deliberation and the ideal of rational debate in the public interest articulated by Immanuel Kant in his famous 1784 essay "What Is Enlightenment?" and enshrined in Jürgen Habermas's influential conception of the "bourgeois public sphere."⁴ Large areas of the public sphere of early nineteenth-century France remained preserves of male contention for honor, to such a degree that the "public use of one's reason," as Kant characterized the aim of political participation, took on the aura of an unrealizable ideal that inspired in observers only a generalized sense of shame about the press.⁵

In considering the evolution of the nineteenth-century public sphere, Geoff Eley has noted that "it is perhaps unclear how far Habermas believes his ideal of rational communication, with its concomitant of free and equal participation, to have been actually realized in the classical liberal model of *Öffentlichkeit* [the public sphere]. Sometimes he acknowledges the class and property-bound basis of participation, but not to the extent of compromising his basic historical claim."⁶ Regarding the question of gender, Eley goes on to remark that "Habermas is certainly not unaware of the exclusion of women from the nineteenth-century politics and of the patriarchal nature of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century family . . . But these matters are assimilated to his general notion of the widening discrepancy between ideal and reality in the nineteenth-century history of the public sphere."⁷

A proper appreciation of the role of male honor in shaping the public life of nineteenth-century France brings two realizations: first, the exclusion of women from effective participation in the polity was linked to the "property-bound basis of participation" in the most intimate way. Family property remained the most

histoire sociale du journalisme," *Revue historique*, 266 (1981): 31–74. Martin has also recently completed a survey of the history of advertising, with an excellent chapter on the early nineteenth century; Marc Martin, *Trois siècles de publicité en France* (Paris, 1992). Literary critic Roland Chollet's *Balzac journaliste* is a gold mine of information on the principal newspapers of the day. Useful older studies include Ledré, *La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie*; Jean-Pierre Séguin, *Canards du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1959); and volume two of the *Histoire générale de la presse française*, Claude Bellanger, et al., eds., 3 vols. (Paris, 1969).

³ Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993), 128–34. On duels, see François Billacois, *Le duel dans la société française des XVI^e–XVII^e siècles: Essai de psychosociologie historique* (Paris, 1986).

⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, T. Burger and F. Lawrence, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); original version: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1962).

⁵ From "What Is Enlightenment?" (1784), cited in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), 25.

⁶ Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 293.

⁷ Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures," 310.

salient determinant of social rank and a prerequisite for access to the minimum educational endowments necessary for joining in public deliberation. The confinement of propertied women to the private realms of home and convent school, their need for proper escort when moving about the city, their inability to conclude contracts or manage their resources without permission of parents or spouse—all the disqualifications under which they suffered—were rendered necessary by the imperative of protecting family property and passing it on intact to legitimate heirs whose parents' unsullied reputations enabled them to find suitable marriage partners in turn.⁸ Second, males therefore entered the public sphere, in principle, as representatives of a lineage, with the expectation of increasing the resources of their lineage and advancing the reputation of their family name. Hence the centrality of a male code of honor in public life: it was necessary to have a guide for comportment publicly acknowledged, a code that indicated right and wrong behavior. This code was a code of *honor*, rather than a moral or ethical code, in that it explicitly allowed for the concealment of deviations or infractions, for the maintenance of appearances.⁹ Thus the imperative of familial and personal advancement was allowed, indeed, in the view of many males, required, to take precedence over the duty to speak truthfully before the public.

I have discussed elsewhere the importance of maintaining appearances for the life of the married couple in this period, an importance recognized openly by the courts of the time, which seldom granted marital separations unless public insult or public infidelity could be proved.¹⁰ Women entered public life in this period only at the expense of family reputation or else by detaching themselves from the prevailing system through marital separation. Flora Tristan was shot in the shoulder by her estranged husband after publishing certain comments about their marriage. George Sand was able to pursue her writing career freely only after a painful separation from her husband. While Sand's pseudonym was transparent in that all knew she was a woman, its intended function was to protect her husband's name, Dudevant, from public exposure. This same motive induced Marie d'Agoult to use a pen name, Daniel Stern, even though she had been separated from her husband for many years before beginning to write. Famed

⁸ On the restrictions imposed by propriety on women, see William M. Reddy, "Marriage, Honor, and the Public Sphere in Post Revolutionary France," *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (September 1993): 437–72. Prosper Enfantin, like a number of others, was drawn to Saint-Simonian socialism in part because his father's bankruptcy had prevented him both from winning an officer's commission and from making an advantageous marriage; see Robert Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism and the Doctrine of Hope* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), 157.

⁹ On the role of appearances in notions of honor, see the useful theoretical overview by Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem or the Politics of Sex: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 1977); see also Maurice Daumas, *L'affaire d'Esclan: Les conflits de familles au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1988), 81–109; Sarah C. Maza, "Le tribunal de la nation: Les mémoires judiciaires et l'opinion publique à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 42 (January–February 1987): 73–90; Maza, "Domestic Melodrama as Political Ideology: The Case of the Comte de Sanois," *AHR*, 94 (December 1989): 1249–64, these two articles have now been collected in Sarah C. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Robert A. Nye, "Honor Codes in Modern France: A Historical Anthropology," *Ethnologia Europaea*, 21 (1991): 5–17; Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*; Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

¹⁰ Reddy, "Marriage, Honor, and the Public Sphere."

columnist Delphine de Girardin wrote in her husband's newspaper as the vicomte de Launay and consistently endeavored to write as if she were a male.¹¹

Nye's examination of the place of the duel in shaping relations between men underscores the importance of appearances in public speech. The duel was as much a method of silencing potential insults as it was a rule-governed practice of revenge for actual insults. As Nye notes, parry, feint, and thrust were notions used as readily about polite conversation as they were about sword fights on the field of honor. Courtesy manuals of the time treated the duel as simply an extension of politeness and a means of maintaining it. The courts recognized the duel, despite occasional legal efforts to suppress it. Prosecutors seldom targeted duelists unless some egregious irregularity in form suggested that the survivor of a fatal duel had acted unfairly.¹²

If this issue of honor has not been discussed by historians until very recently, it is in part because the importance of honor was obscured by certain prevalent ideas of the time. Thinkers as diverse as Chateaubriand, Tocqueville, and Marx agreed that honor was a characteristic of the feudal and monarchical past, while the postrevolutionary era suffered from an increasing preoccupation with self-interest.¹³ Nye's examination of the medical and scientific literature of this period shows, however, that while the notion of honor as a social construct was imagined to be a thing of the past, scientists and doctors were increasingly arguing that a certain natural sense of honor was an inborn part of the human male, linked to sexual potency and the capacity for original thinking. After 1848, scientists began to associate male deficiency in the sentiment of honor with "degeneracy"; late nineteenth-century racist theorists would take this idea one step further by identifying the innate sense of honor of the European white male as one characteristic lifting him above Jews and colonial peoples.¹⁴ History has long since discredited such racist ideas. But historians had no reason to question the

¹¹ See Joseph Barry, *Infamous Woman: The Life of George Sand* (New York, 1977); Pierre Leprohon, *Flora Tristan* (Antony, 1979); Sandra Dijkstra, *Flora Tristan: Feminism in the Age of George Sand* (London, 1992); Jean Baelen, *La vie de Flora Tristan: Socialisme et féminisme au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1972); Susan K. Grogan, *French Socialism and Sexual Difference* (New York, 1992); Laure Adler, *A l'aube du féminisme: Les premières journalistes (1830-1850)* (Paris, 1979). On the status of actresses and women artists in general, see Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante: La formation du Tout-Paris, 1815-1848* (Paris, 1990), 14-22, 299-323; Nestor Roqueplan, *Regain: La vie parisienne* (Paris, 1853); Louis Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1857), 3: 183-231, 248-64; Rachel M. Brownstein, *Tragic Muse: Rachel of the Comédie française* (New York, 1993). Delphine de Girardin's columns have been collected and frequently reprinted; see Vicomte de Launay, *Lettres parisiennes*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1857).

¹² Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, 128-34.

¹³ Chateaubriand made an easy, unquestioning elision of honor with Christianity, and of each of these with France's monarchical past, as when he spoke, for example, of "those valiant men, ancient honor of the French name, warriors that they were, [who] nonetheless feared God from the bottom of their hearts." François René de Chateaubriand, *Le génie du christianisme* (Paris [An XI-1803], 1978), 936. Tocqueville warned that, in the increasingly democratic societies of his era, "people are far too much disposed to think exclusively of their own interests, to become self-seekers practicing a narrow individualism and caring nothing for the public good." Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Régime and the Revolution*, Stuart Gilbert, trans. (New York, 1955), xiii. Marx, in the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852; New York, 1963), 16, agrees: "Wholly absorbed in the production of wealth and in peaceful competitive struggle, it no longer comprehended that ghosts from the days of Rome had watched over its cradle. But unheroic as bourgeois society is, it nevertheless took heroism, sacrifice, terror, civil war and battles of peoples to bring it into being."

¹⁴ Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, 68-71, 72-97.

predominance of self-interest in nineteenth-century bourgeois society until confronted by the problem of gender and the need, as women's history became more complete and more sophisticated, to reunify the field and seek a single vision of the unfolding of gender identities in history.

By examining the profession of journalism, this article aims to contribute to this search. In some respects, the early nineteenth-century French journalist was not so different from his eighteenth-century predecessor, who is well known to us from a spate of recent studies.¹⁵ What Robert Darnton has said of hack writers of the Old Regime continued in many instances to be true in the new. "Poor devils could not afford to be consistent. They put themselves up for hire and wrote whatever was ordered by the highest bidder, when they were fortunate enough to sell themselves. They therefore produced propaganda on opposite sides of controversial issues and, like most camp followers, belonged to the camp that fed them."¹⁶ In other respects, however, their situation was very different. The playing field had been partially leveled by the abolition of privilege; the relative freedom of the press and new printing technologies made possible a constant, dramatic expansion of the trade; and the freedom of contract journalists enjoyed brought with it new options and responsibilities.¹⁷ But whether the result of these innovations was to move the individual journalist any closer to Kant's and Habermas's ideal of free, rational public deliberation is unclear; at best, movement in this direction was only incremental. Journalists struggled, not to please capricious aristocratic patrons but to reconcile the private imperatives of their employers' and their own desires for personal and familial advancement with the public imperative of rational, open discussion. Contemporary opinion varied greatly on how much the preservation of appearances could be used to ease this difficult reconciliation. Journalism became the target of constant denunciation, and most journalists who commented on their profession deplored its shameful state.

THE CRITICISMS HURLED AT THE PRESS in this period were often couched in terms of a conflict between the demands of a public code of honor and the pursuit of

¹⁵ These studies include the essays collected in Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775–1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); as well as Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789–1799* (Durham, N.C., 1990); Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution: Jean Luzac's "Gazette de Leyde"* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Popkin, "Pamphlet Journalism at the End of the Old Regime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22 (Spring 1989): 351–67; Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat, *Naissance du journal révolutionnaire: 1789* (Lyons, 1989); Pierre Rétat, *La révolution du journal* (Paris, 1989); *Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600–1789*, Jean Sgard, et al., eds. (Paris, 1991). Important previous studies include Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Nina R. Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France: The "Journal des Dames"* (Berkeley, 1987); Jack R. Censer and Jeremy D. Popkin, eds., *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1987); Jack R. Censer, "Eighteenth-Century Journalism in France and Its Recruits: A Selective Survey," in *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, Proceedings 1984*, Harold T. Parker, Louise Salley Parker, and William M. Reddy, eds. (Athens, Ga., 1986), 165–79; Jean Sgard, ed., *Presse et histoire au XVIII^e siècle: L'année 1734* (Paris, 1978); Sgard, ed., *La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle* (Grenoble, 1983).

¹⁶ Darnton, *Literary Underground*, 115–16.

¹⁷ A good introduction on these matters is Ledré, *La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie*; new technologies included lithography and steam-powered presses, both available in the mid-1820s.

private interest. Typical was the following denunciation by centrist Emile de Girardin, from a speech in the parliament, which he published as a pamphlet in 1836.

To cover the stamp tax and utilize the privilege purchased by an onerous security deposit, it must be admitted, newspapers often have no other method of acquiring a large enough readership except to multiply political disputes and social antipathies, to occasionally bring exasperation to the mind, suspicion to the conscience, by means of systematic bad faith, by inaccuracy, on both sides, in reporting on the parliament, and by mutual injustice in the pursuit of attacks wherever the other side appears vulnerable.¹⁸

No one speaks their true convictions, he charged, when the various shades of opinion are constrained, and, to be published at all, journalists must sell themselves to either an opposition party or the government. "*Political honor no longer has a home in this country, where praise and blame are a business that benefits the public treasury and enjoys the protection of the laws.*"¹⁹ By "political honor," Girardin clearly meant the honor of the citizen, who sees public speech as intended to serve public functions, including rational deliberation, which can only occur if persons truthfully report their thoughts. He was contrasting this standard with the honor-driven pursuit of personal, commercial, and factional advantage, which, he implied, ought to have no influence, or much less influence, on public speech.

Legitimist journalist Alfred Nettement, who served for years on the staff of the right-wing *La quotidienne*, concluded after reviewing critically the major Parisian dailies—including those of his own party—that "despite their pretention to direct the movements of their parties, almost always, they are followers. The pens that appear so free, so independent, are chained by a thousand secret ties." Worse than the position of a courtier who must hang on every word of his master was that of the journalist, "courtier of political parties; and, apart from a few *honorable* exceptions, it is difficult to comprehend the enslavement of the press on this point. Journalists must humor prejudices they do not share, espouse passions they condemn, and take into account a thousand petty feelings and ideas that they know to be unjust and ridiculous. In a word, they are constrained to go slowly, if they want the big battallions to follow."²⁰

Not very different from Girardin's and Nettement's views was that of the famed left-wing pamphleteer, Louis de Cormenin; his best-selling *Livre des orateurs*, which went through twelve printings between 1836 and 1842, began with a long denunciation of the manner in which newspapers reported on speeches in the parliament. Cormenin offered several mock examples of newspaper reports to alert the reader to the common strategies of distortion, insult, and calumny by which newspapers sought to detract from opponents and boost allies. What follows is the shortest one in full; the insulting phrases have been italicized. (Note that Gorgias is the name of the Sophist rhetorician denounced by Socrates in Plato's dialogues.)²¹

¹⁸ Emile de Girardin, *De la presse périodique* (Paris, 1836), 14.

¹⁹ Girardin, *De la presse périodique*, 21, emphasis added.

²⁰ Alfred Nettement, *La presse parisienne* (Paris, 1846), 89, emphasis added.

²¹ Louis Marie de la Haye, vicomte de Cormenin, *Livre des orateurs* (Paris, 1842), 36.

OPPOSITION JOURNAL.

Same session, same subject, same speaker, same speech.

Gorgias, our great orator, was from first to last lively, energetic, insistent. His sublime flight took him almost to heaven. He combated the ministers with unequaled suppleness, grace, force, boldness. He exhausted one after the other all the facets of eloquence, all the vigor of reason, all that is profound and elevated in politics. The center shook with impatience and anger. The ministers, frozen to their benches, *blushed with shame and hid their heads between their hands*. It was a pitiful sight. After this terrible blow, the cabinet is finished, and, we can assure our readers, it is so sick that it will never get back up. Poor cabinet!

PRO-GOVERNMENT JOURNAL.

Same session, same subject, same speaker, same speech.

Gorgias, the lawyer, from beginning to end of his speech, was limp, pale, lifeless, subdued. This eagle of the opposition skimmed the earth in heavy flight. He dragged along, he succumbed to the weight of his own phraseology. The Assembly laughed out loud, while the opposition in consternation whispered and squirmed with vexation. It is a great day for the cabinet! Support of the majority is now assured, and *it can bask in the brilliance of its triumph*, before its friends as before its enemies. Poor Gorgias!

Many writers, like Cormenin, satirized the verbosity, pomposity, and insincerity of newspaper prose, including Honoré de Balzac, Louis Desnoyers, Henri Monnier, Edmond Texier, and others.²² The criticism, constant and well-informed, came from every part of the political spectrum and appeared in many different forms, from vaudeville sketches to novels to scholarly treatises. By 1840 or so, few young men could have contemplated a career in journalism without being aware that a requirement of the job was the concealment of their true opinions—often, as Louis Veuillot, the editor of *L'univers*, testified, to the point of avoiding the formulation of clear opinions—and that this requirement ran counter to a public expectation that honorable speech be sincere (or what was called *loyal*).²³ No journalist could fashion an identity for himself without somehow integrating these two imperatives into a coherent whole.

THE COMMODITY THAT THE JOURNALIST PRODUCED, prose to fill the voracious columns of the expanding daily press—"la tartine" (open-faced sandwich), so called because of the way it covered the white paper—took a variety of forms. On the front pages, the high-toned polemic often appeared, reminiscent of Cicero's diatribes (known to every schoolboy of the period) or of the impassioned eloquence of famous politicians (known through best-selling books such as Cormenin's *Livre des orateurs*). Like its models, newspaper polemic was frequently preoccupied with issues of honor and shame. The following are some typical examples of journalistic shaming, published during October 1840, after the Thiers government had allowed a British-led expedition to seize Beirut. From *Le national*, the major pro-republican daily, of October 5:

²² Honoré de Balzac, *Monographie de la presse parisienne* (1843), cited herein from the Arléa edition of 1991, collected in Honoré de Balzac, *Les journalistes* (Paris, 1991), 15–144; Edmond Texier, *Histoire des journaux, biographie des journalistes* (Paris, 1850); Louis Desnoyers, *Esquisses contemporaines* (Paris, 1840); Henry Monnier and Gustave Vaez, *Grandeur et décadence de M. Joseph Prudhomme, comédie en 5 actes* (Paris, 1852).

²³ On Louis Veuillot, see below.

France! She proclaimed before all Europe that the Treaty of 15 July was an insult for her, that the application of this treaty by violence was a serious blow to all her interests; she said it, she armed herself, and when they fired cannons, bombarded cities, twice gave battle, France said nothing: she recoiled before the boldness of the allies! She received the challenge without a word, she suffered the outrage without making a move! . . .

Now what does [the government] do? Do we see them at last appealing to the country, invoking its revolutionary power, which alone can save us from shame and, perhaps, in the near future, from a third invasion? . . .

Honor, that dear, sacred treasure of nations whose hearts soar, honor rejects all compromise, all trickery; honor has been too often attacked to go without vengeance. *Are we the sons of our fathers, or have we aged and degenerated, as they now dare to claim in the councils of our enemies?*

The italicized phrase above reflects proto-racist thinking later theorized by racist scientists. The principal exponent of legitimism, *La quotidienne*, at the other end of the political spectrum, criticized the government in its edition of October 5 in almost identical terms:

M. Thiers thinks only of his lost popularity, which he hopes to regain by a clever resignation; the camarilla imagines it can prevent war by means of intrigues in the antechambers and pacifist articles in the press. And France! and the interests, the dignity, the honor of the country! Alas, no one takes responsibility for it, not with that intelligent and jealous care that the circumstances require with such urgency.

Even the moderate, left-of-center, pro-Thiers paper *Le siècle* used the language of insult to denounce those trying to bring about the fall of the government; they were

cowards and intriguers who care not the least about the humiliation of France, if that is the price for satisfying their rancor and their miserable ambition. These are apparently the people the *Journal des débats* hopes to edify with its angry words against the defenders of national dignity.²⁴

While highly partisan prose routinely filled the front pages, the *feuilleton* (the bottom quarter of the front page) and the back pages, devoted to theater and book reviews, fashion notes, crime and catastrophe stories, were very different. More than one observer denounced the newspapers of the day for the venality they displayed in deciding on the content of these pages. Both publishers and individual journalists made lucrative arrangements to receive, and often to resell, complimentary books, theater tickets, meals, as well as cash in return for favorable mentions of specific plays, actors, authors, and restaurants.²⁵ The front pages were reserved for advancing the factional political interests of the publisher and

²⁴ *Le national* (October 5, 1840): 1; *La quotidienne* (October 5, 1840): 1; *Le siècle* (October 4, 1840): 1.

²⁵ On these practices, see Balzac, *Monographie de la presse parisienne*, 96–99; see also Nestor Roqueplan, “La littérature des articles de mode,” in his *Regain: La vie parisienne*, 132–34. In 1845, a young worker and poet, Constant Hilbey, used a small inheritance to publish a volume of poems and then endeavored to pay a number of newspapers to insert favorable reviews of it. He did not expect the businesslike corruption that he met with. In most cases, he was allowed to write his own review; one paper even gave him a receipt for the payment he made. Outraged, he published a pamphlet narrating his adventure and was promptly sued for defamation by one of the journalists whose name he mentioned. See Constant Hilbey, *Vénalité des journaux: Révélations accompagnées de preuves* (Paris, 1845).

his associates, often by means of questioning the honor of their opponents; the back-page opinions were for sale.²⁶

It is difficult to say how many journalists worked in the Parisian press at any one time. A large number, perhaps the majority, were free-lance, selling articles at rates from 3 to 5 francs per column (roughly a thousand to twelve hundred words). A lucky few were retained as part of a small permanent staff. Even among these, however, there was a great deal of turnover, and many of them continued free-lance work on the side. The scramble for income was unceasing. In 1850, Edmond Texier's biographical dictionary of Parisian journalists listed 175 names of staff writers of the principal dailies.²⁷ Frequently, Texier mentioned some of the other newspapers for which the individual had worked, with no claim to be complete. Biographical sketches in the *Nouvelle biographie générale* offer an independent check on Texier's information.²⁸ Fifty-nine names are included in both sources, and the number of newspapers for which specific individuals are said to have worked varies greatly from one source to the next. (See the table.) Hence these numbers are minimums, providing only a sense of the constantly shifting relationships of the journalistic world. A large number of the journalists mentioned spent some part of their careers outside the field. Of Texier's 175 journalists, over 90 were listed by Texier or in other sources as authors of at least one book;²⁹ 33 held posts in the government (from clerk to *conseiller d'état*) at one time or another; 19 were elected to national legislative office; 12 were involved in the theater, either as playwrights or theater directors; 8 practiced law; 7 held university posts; and 5 were library curators. This finding confirms the conclusions of Marc Martin, who based his study of journalists' career patterns later in the century on Gustave Vapereau's *Dictionnaire des contemporains*. Martin found that journalism was not yet a full-fledged profession but continued to be, as it had been before the revolution, one island in the archipelago of the "republic of letters."³⁰ The opportunities for living out a career entirely within journalism were much greater than they had been before the revolution.³¹ But instability was a common experience.

This is not surprising in itself; instability was a chronic feature of the new order, with its wrenching boom-and-bust business cycles, rapid technological change, deterioration of skilled crafts, and structural transformations in agriculture, commerce, and retailing. Instability in journalism, however, made its impact felt on the journalist's intimate sense of self as a writer. Just as skilled masons, for example, objected to subcontracting because it forced the pace and lowered the quality of their work, journalists were caught between the demands of the

²⁶ In some cases, even the front-page opinions were for sale, as Jennings has shown; "Slavery and the Venality of the July Monarchy Press."

²⁷ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*.

²⁸ *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1852–66).

²⁹ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*. Of Texier's 175 journalists, 53 were mentioned by Texier as being authors; an additional 45 have entries in the National Union Catalog.

³⁰ Martin, "Journalistes parisiens et notoriété."

³¹ See Jack R. Censer, "Eighteenth-Century Journalism in France and Its Recruits: A Selective Survey," in Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, *Proceedings 1984*, 165–79. See also the studies cited in note 15 above.

TABLE
Variation in Number of Newspapers Worked for, as Reported in Two Sources,
for Fifty-nine Journalists Listed by Date of Birth

<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Texier</i>	<i>NBG</i>
Delecluze, Etienne-Jean	1781	1863	1	5
Merle, Jean-Toussaint	1785	1852	3	8
Boniface, Alexandre	1785	1841	2	0
Lourdouéix, Jacques-Honoré Lelarge de	1787	1860	1	4
Cormenin, Louis-Marie de la Haye, vicomte de	1788	1868	1	13
Montferrier, Alexandre-André-Victor Sarazin de	1792	1863	1	5
Laurent, Paul-Mathieu	1793	1877	1	3
Laurentie, Pierre-Sébastien	1793	1876	1	4
Bast, Louis-Amédée de	1795	1892	1	many
Raisson, Horace-Napoléon	1798	1854	2	8
Leroux, Pierre	1798	1871	4	3
Malitourne, Pierre-Armand	1799	1866	4	6
Charles, Victor-Euphemion-Philarète	1799	1873	3	many
Saint-Marc Girardin (Marc Girardin, known as . . .)	1801	1873	1	2
Sacy, Samuel-Ustazade-Silvestre de	1801	1879	1	1
Litré, Maximilien-Paul-Emile	1801	1881	1	4
Grün, Jean-Jacques-Charles-Alphonse	1801	1866	2	3
Capefigue, Baptiste-Honoré-Raymond	1801	1872	8	12
Cuvillier-Fleury	1802	1887	1	1
Chambolle, Adolphe	1802	1883	4	2
Berlioz, Hector	1803	1869	1	5
Janin, Jules	1804	1874	many	3
Musset, Paul-Edmé de	1804	1880	2	1
Berthoud, Samuel-Henri	1804	1891	2	8
Rolle, Jacques-Hippolyte	1804	1883	4	11
Moigno, François-Napoléon-Marie	1804	1884	1	4
Desnoyers, Louis-Claude-Joseph-Florence	1805	1868	4	5
Nettement, Alfred-François	1805	1869	6	9
Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard-Adolphe	1806	1880	6	8
Laya, Alexandre	1806	NA	3	8
Girardin, Emile de	1806	1881	6	6
Lubis, E.-P.	1806	1859	1	4
Chevalier, Michel	1806	1879	1	3
Poujoulat, Jean-Joseph-François	1808	1880	1	1
Gueroult, Adolph	1810	1872	4	5
Cesena, Amédée Gayet de	1810	1889	8	3
Gautier, Théophile	1811	1872	5	6
Pontmartin, Armand-Augustin-Joseph-Marie Ferrand	1811	1890	2	9
Michel, Marc	1812	1868	1	5
La Bédollière, Emile de	1812	1883	1	4
Raymond, Louis-Anne-Xavier	1812	NA	3	3
Cochut, André	1812	1890	2	2
Thierry, Edouard	1813	1894	4	12
Garnier, Joseph	1813	1881	2	6
Pelletan, Eugène	1813	1884	5	4
Forgues, Emile-Dauran	1813	1883	7	7
Veuillot, Louis	1813	1883	5	6
Matharel (Charles Matharel de Fiennes)	1814	NA	1	7
Fontaine, Emile	1814	NA	3	4
Lavalette, Adrien de	1815	1886	1	2
Lacombe, Francis	1815	1867	7	6
Delord, Taxile	1815	1877	4	7
La Guéronnière, Arthur de	1816	1884	5	6
Limayrac, Paulin	1817	1868	6	5
Cham (pseudonym of Amadée de Noé)	1819	1879	many	1
Meurice, François-Paul	1820	1905	1	1
Hugo, Charles	1826	1871	3	1
Hugo, François-Victor	1828	1873	2	1

KEY:

Texier = Edmond Texier, *Histoire des journaux, biographie des journalistes* (Paris, 1850).

NBG = *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1854-67).

NA = Date of death not available in above sources, National Union Catalog, or G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains*, 4th edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1870).

Many = indicates source included a word such as "numerous" or phrase such as "and many others."

marketplace and their own desire for an ideal world of letters.³² Journalists not only had to write fast rather than well, they were also expected to match their style, their political opinions, their whole outlook, to the organ for which they wrote.³³ Nor was it an easy matter for them to express offended dignity at the results of their labors; these were, after all, their own words. And these words were the very weapons that the political factions hurled at each other, seeking incessantly to shame, expose, and embarrass. How was the individual journalist to salvage his self-esteem from the conflict between his scramble to survive and gain status and the political scramble to probe and to wound?

The duel of honor was a solution favored by some. Of the 175 journalists listed by Texier, 11 persons were widely known to have participated in duels, including some of the leading names in French journalism: Emile de Girardin, Louis Véron, Louis Veuillot, Bernard-Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac, Jules Janin, and Armand Malitourne. The actual proportion of the profession engaging in duels was probably much higher, because, as Nye has shown, the great majority of duels were kept secret. The journalistic duel, again following Nye's discussion as well as the evidence gathered for this study, was typically the result of a word or phrase published in an article or review that was judged insulting or untrue by a person involved in the story. A willingness to duel was therefore essential to the journalist who did not want to be taken for a liar or a coward. Women's exclusion from dueling was one of the reasons they were regarded as disqualified from participation in serious political debate.³⁴

A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF SEVERAL LIVES, focusing on the range of responses journalists had to these working conditions, will offer some insight into the "structure of feeling," to use a term pioneered by Raymond Williams, that prevailed within the press community, and more generally within the public sphere, of the era.³⁵ I do not seek to uncover the "facts" of a biography, however. There is as much to be learned from the manner in which the documents speak about journalists' careers and personalities as from the reported facts themselves. Neither the facts nor the evaluative comments from contemporaries can be taken as decisive or conclusive about the individuals in question. They are simply too fragmentary; even if they were not, the aim here is not to analyze specific individuals.

Among the roughly one hundred journalists on whom significant information

³² Martin Nadaud's autobiography speaks eloquently of the offended dignity of the craftsman at such practices. Martin Nadaud, *Mémoires de Léonard, ancien garçon maçon*, Maurice Agulhon, ed. (Paris, 1976); see also William H. Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980); Jacques Rancière, *La nuit des prolétaires* (Paris, 1981).

³³ Texier describes the styles of the *Journal des débats* and *Le constitutionnel* in *Histoire des journaux*, 45–54. On newspaper styles, see also cites in note 22 above.

³⁴ As Nye remarked in an important preliminary report on his research, "[P]ublic utterances were credible only to the extent that a man was willing to physically defend them against challenge. A woman could not trade on her private sexual honor to gain a foothold in the sphere of public life." Nye, "Honor Codes in Modern France," 11–12.

³⁵ This notion is employed extensively in Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, 1973).

was gathered for this study, one whose career resembles the twentieth-century pattern of the "professional" journalist is Silvestre de Sacy (1801–1879), who worked for over twenty years exclusively for the *Journal des débats*, the leading daily of the period.³⁶ From a wealthy family and trained as a lawyer, he practiced law briefly before joining the staff of the paper in 1828, where he worked steadily, writing major political articles. After Napoleon Bonaparte's coup d'état in 1851, Sacy ceased all political writing and concentrated on literary criticism. Elected to the Académie Française in 1855, he delivered an impassioned defense of journalism. He was, he said, nothing more than a journalist, and he took his election both as a long overdue mark of distinction for that profession, not just for himself, and as offering to the daily press "at least a little place in [the Académie's] bosom." Writing articles was his only "vocation," he said,

And I fulfilled it in a time when the daily press, rightly or wrongly, played a role whose importance no one would deny . . . So long as ardent political combat was permitted, I took part in it, under the cover of an anonymity authorized by the law . . . I present myself [here] . . . without pretending that I escaped from all the pitfalls of the daily discussions—one would have to be without feeling and without soul if one had no passions—but protesting with energy against those who charge unjustly that newspapers are no more than a form of speculation on the credulity of the public and that journalists are simply more or less interested mouthpieces of factions or of the government. I look into my heart; I find nothing there but love of justice.³⁷

These remarks attracted a good deal of attention, at a time when the press was still firmly muzzled by the repressive policies of Napoleon III as part of his dictatorial crackdown on free expression. Sacy's reputation during the turbulent days of the July Monarchy had been, however, quite different from the picture he painted of an altruistic lover of justice in 1855. Sacy was credited with being the architect of the *Journal des débats'* frequent, opportunistic political shifts.³⁸ Typical of the criticisms directed at Sacy in those days was the following veiled caricature of him by left-wing journalist Louis Desnoyers, speaking of a fictional "Basile-Timoléon Tartuffe, publicist."

According to some, M. Basile-Timoléon has never sold his pen to the government; he has always remained in the ranks of a sort of opposition and has never written the contrary, not of what he has always thought but of what he has always written—don't confuse the two. His scribbled hostility is cleverly calculated: frequent and lively enough to preserve his popularity, polite and sweet enough so as not to break entirely with the government . . .

This explains why, although he invariably condemns all acts of the government, he has allowed them to varnish his *boutonnière* [award him the cross of the Legion of Honor]—perhaps the only promotion he has not assailed since he began to slice Montesquieu

³⁶ Louis Véron claims that Sacy also wrote briefly for the *Revue de Paris* in the early 1830s, but no other paper is known to have enjoyed his collaboration; see Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 1: 245.

³⁷ Silvestre de Sacy, *Discours de réception, Séance de l'Académie française du 28 juin 1855* (Paris, 1855), 16–17.

³⁸ These shifts were characterized by Alfred Nettement in 1846 as follows: "The policy of the *Journal des débats* is to serve as interpreter to those interests that dominate the affairs of the day, whatever those interests may be, and to extract every advantage possible from this position . . . [The paper's] divorces are as numerous and as noisy as its marriages." Nettement, *La presse parisienne*, 27.

[*trancher du Montesquieu*, that is, to sell prose as good as Montesquieu's] at six sous per line [among the highest piece rates].

This also explains the culinary favor he retains with certain ministers, with whom he once went to school, with whom he later debauched himself, whose parasite he now is; lunching familiarly with this one whom he will attack in the evening; dining tête-à-tête in the evening with that one, whom he scolded the same morning.

This explains, finally, the little governmental politenesses that he receives unnoticed, not for himself exactly—"he is above, thank the Lord! that sort of seduction; he wants nothing of the government, he is incorruptible: the opposition pays better"—but for his own people and their friends, his relatives, his servants, his mistresses, even for the actress whom he protects against everyone, including the public, and who, despite her mediocrity, cannot be fired by the Royal Theater, who must support her, or else quite suddenly the political horizon begins to darken alarmingly in the newspaper of her protector.³⁹

Balzac, in his *Monographie de la presse parisienne* (1843), commented that Sacy's prose style sounded "like a character from Virgil's *Eclogues*," and he put ironic price tags on the mock sentences of a Sacy-style article: "Soon we will count twelve years, it is true, that the constitutional party has reestablished order and kept the peace. (*Price: five thousand francs per month.*) . . . The alliance of monarchy and liberty has always been France's wish. This alliance we have established, and we will always defend it with respectable and sensible people, against the evil passions and subversive ideas that constantly undermine the social order. (*Price: five thousand francs per month.*)"⁴⁰

Usually ruthless with those who changed camps opportunistically, Texier merely noted of Sacy that he had an elevated style and that, given his immense influence with the July Monarchy governments, he was very reserved in requesting decorations and honors for himself and his protégés. Texier clearly had Sacy in mind, however, when he remarked about the style of the *Journal des débats*, "[I]t laughs with finesse, jokes with style, employs tact, and if it is compelled by the force of circumstances, by the hardness of the times, to accomplish one of those rude conversions, whose ingenious principles it has in the past explained in detail, then it is done with grace and with an abandon that obscures from the public gaze all that the procedure displays of brusqueness and of unexpectedness."⁴¹

In these remarks on Sacy, certain themes emerge that recur constantly in the nineteenth-century debate about journalism. The concern about sincerity versus interested hypocrisy verged on the obsessive in this period. Sacy showed that he shared this concern in 1855 by insisting on his purity of heart, even while admitting that he did not escape the "passions" of political conflict during the late Restoration and the July Monarchy. "No acrimony ever poisoned my pen," he grandly concluded, citing Claude Prosper Jolyot de Cr  billon's *Discours de r  ception* of 1731. But Desnoyers summed up Sacy: "[Basile-Timol  on] has no equal when it comes to denaturing the speech of an enemy and when it comes to making, for example, an [eloquent speech] that has deeply moved the Chamber of Deputies

³⁹ Desnoyers, *Esquisses contemporaines*, 144.

⁴⁰ Balzac, *Les journalistes*, 32–33; Balzac does not name the paper or its writer, in this instance, simply calling it "le plus grand des journaux."

⁴¹ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 45.

into a boring *tartine* (for that is the slang expression) that will make the reader shrug his shoulders."⁴²

At the other extreme from Sacy is a journalist who exhibits a career pattern full of employment changes, accompanied by a constant flow of books on all kinds of subjects. Baptiste-Honoré-Raymond Capefigue (1801–1872) worked for seven different newspapers according to Texier, twelve according to the *Nouvelle biographie générale*. Capefigue was steadily employed on one paper or another beginning in 1823, usually writing on foreign affairs. In addition, the *Nouvelle biographie générale* lists eighteen of his "principal works"—none, it seems, fewer than four volumes long. These works include a vast array of historical subject matter, from the arrival of the Gauls in France to medieval constitutional history to France's invasion of Spain in 1823. Yet none of these books are of great scholarly ambition; they are florid, romanticized, and verbose. Texier's scorn for Capefigue knew no limits: "M. Capefigue is always ready to take pen in hand and write on the first subject or period that comes to mind. Phillip-Augustus, Napoleon, or Tamerlain, it doesn't really matter. Give him the time it takes to cover four reams of paper with ink, and the trick is done."⁴³

As a journalist, according to Texier, Capefigue turned in bogus reports from foreign capitals full of fabricated insider information on diplomatic developments. "[He] was born for this age of intellectual commerce," concluded Texier, ruefully; "the literary marketplace is swamped with the products of this industrialist."⁴⁴ Here was another common theme of contemporary concern, the issue of overproduction and hasty composition.⁴⁵ As with the question of political allegiance and truthfulness, such concerns evinced a nagging sense of the individual as the site of shameful motivational crosscurrents, the desire for gain—appropriate only to the marketplace—overcoming the "public use of one's reason" in a manner that could only be deplored.

Where Sacy was said to accomplish his political shifts with grace, Bernard-Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac (1806–1880) was widely viewed as a ruthless mercenary. Granier arrived in Paris in 1832, at age twenty-six, penniless, after having collaborated on a play in Toulouse that was "hissed off the stage," according to Texier, who wrote a relatively long account of his career. Granier quickly captured the attention of Victor Hugo by promising that he would "launch a campaign to break the giant enemies of the great man . . . M. Hugo opened the door of the *Débats* to M. Granier. Granier began by seizing M. Alexandre Dumas, shaking him, squeezing him, and finally pouring his criticism out on his head. Dumas' great crime was that he was Hugo's rival. However, Dumas' injuries caused a commotion, and M. Bertin *ainé* [who was owner of the

⁴² Desnoyers, *Esquisses contemporaines*, 149.

⁴³ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 162–63.

⁴⁴ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 163.

⁴⁵ Louis Véron speaks with admiration of those who possessed, "especially in literary life, that mark of a great talent, fecundity: MM. Saint-Marc Girardin, de Sacy, Mérimée, Loëve-Weimar, Cuvillier Fleury, Sainte-Beuve, Jules Janin—required over a period of many years now to show cleverness and talent at a preordained day and hour, and whose cleverness and talent, as dependable as the hands of a good watch, never run late." Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 1: 245.

Débats], who did not like that kind of literary ambushing, politely asked M. Granier to take a stroll.”⁴⁶

Sometime later—still according to Texier—Granier met Heinrich Heine by chance. The brilliant German poet told him, “‘You are in a fix. But in a country with freedom of the press, any man of the slightest value can make himself wildly famous in two weeks. You just have to know how. Find me a proposition that is quite absurd, impossible, that will make the public cry out, and defend it with resolution. Prove, for example, that it is dark at noon, and at midnight it is daylight. Armor your argument with technical terms, pile paradox upon paradox, throw every spice of your spirit into this intellectual macaroni, serve it piping hot, and the trick is done.’” After meditating on this advice, Granier wrote a number of articles attacking the artistic merit of the great seventeenth-century playwright Jean Racine; a few observers actually took him seriously, reports Texier, and roundly denounced his temerity. “Thank you, sirs,” said Granier, “and don’t forget, the name is Granier de Cassagnac.”

Soon he was writing in Girardin’s *La presse*, defending slavery and feudalism, denouncing the opposition, and warmly supporting the Orléans dynasty.⁴⁷ In the early 1840s, he fought a duel over one of his articles, gravely injuring his opponent. And he sued the worker and poet Constant Hilbey for slander, after Hilbey published a pamphlet denouncing Granier and other journalists for accepting cash to write favorable reviews.⁴⁸ Granier’s support for Louis Philippe was later rewarded with government money to launch his own daily paper, *L’époque*, in 1845; some said he also received money from the pro-slavery lobby. But his newspaper venture was unable to make a profit after the seed money ran out. Before it went under, accusations were made in the Chamber of Deputies that Granier was openly peddling his influence with the government in order to receive continued funding. Under the Second Empire, Granier became a vocal supporter of Napoleon III; when Napoleon ordered the extensive properties of the Orléans family to be seized, Granier turned on his former protectors and denounced the surviving sons of Louis Philippe.⁴⁹

Trying to put a good face on Granier’s career, Barbey d’Aurevilly, writing in the mid-1850s, contradicted those who, for over two decades, had insultingly referred to Granier de Cassagnac as a “kind of superb condottiere.” If he were a condottiere, Barbey countered, why had he never worked in the pay of revolutionaries? Instead, he had consistently defended the government in power. “It was their authority he wished to save or defend,” Barbey concluded.⁵⁰ L. Louvet, in the *Nouvelle biographie générale* in 1857, was less sanguine about Granier’s character, noting that he had been accused of perjuring himself in a trial following a duel in 1845, that in 1847 he had been forced to pay an outstanding debt in a case before the Tribunal de Commerce (a debt that Granier claimed he

⁴⁶ This and following cites on Granier de Cassagnac all taken from Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 219–26.

⁴⁷ On *La presse*’s support for slavery, see Jennings, “Slavery and the Venality of the July Monarchy Press.”

⁴⁸ See Hilbey, *Vénalité des journaux*.

⁴⁹ *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 21: 685–88.

⁵⁰ Barbey d’Aurevilly, *Journalistes et polémistes*, 293.

had paid but unfortunately mislaid the receipt), and that a publisher sued him in 1855 for failure to deliver a promised manuscript.⁵¹

IN SOME INSTANCES, EXTENSIVE MATERIALS—correspondence or memoirs—produced by a journalist are available that offer glimpses of the sense of self created by those with journalistic careers in this period. Few journalists of the era were better known than Jules Janin (1804–1874), whose political twists and turns were immortalized in Balzac's novel about journalism, *Les illusions perdues* (1843). A cache of Janin's personal letters was discovered in the 1960s and published for the first time in 1968.⁵² Janin experienced painful poverty in his early years. He was sent by his family to the Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris in 1820, in what he later faulted as a "spéculation de famille": his parents had hoped that study in this prestigious school would enable him to win a scholarship for the Faculté de Droit. But his work was not good enough, and upon graduation he found himself alone in Paris without resources or prospects. For a time, he scraped together a miserable income tutoring, claiming he could handle any subject. After meeting a journalist friend outside a theater who sported a beautiful mistress on his arm, Janin was inspired to begin writing for newspapers too, starting as a free-lancer in 1824 at 5 francs per column. He wrote for the opposition paper *Le figaro* for a time; but, in 1828, after receiving an urgent letter from his mother asking him to send home 200 francs, he started secretly selling pieces to the legitimist *La quotidienne* and, in a few months, switched to that paper full-time. It was his first position with a major daily, but this political about-face cost him many friends. When he left *La quotidienne* for an even better-paying job, his editor-in-chief chided him for selling his ideological allegiances. By 1829, however, he had climbed his way up to the biggest of them all, the *Journal des débats*. Now he was back with the opposition again, writing anonymous denunciations of government policies. Janin exalted, "Truly I would not be the only one smiling, if one knew with what political gay abandon I dealt with M. Mangin, M. Cottu, M. le comte de la Bourdonnaye, and M. le prince de Polignac back in those days. Was I then an accomplished warlord [*foudre de guerre*]? Yes, I was."⁵³

Janin was also one "poor devil" who put himself up for hire with a vengeance and, just like an eighteenth-century hack, "wrote whatever was ordered by the highest bidder."⁵⁴ The difference between the Old Regime and the new was not the common reality of poverty for writers and intellectuals, or the necessity to write whatever the highest bidder demanded, but the great increase in the number of "bidders" willing to buy prose for a rapidly expanding reading public.

Nowhere is the impact of this difference more evident than in Janin's subsequent successes. After coming to the *Journal des débats*, he was soon given an opportunity to fill in for the theater critic and at once distinguished himself by

⁵¹ *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 21: 685–88.

⁵² Mergier-Bourdéix, *Les amours de Jules Janin et le "Mariage du critique"* (Paris, 1968); details provided here are also derived from Jacques Landrin, *Jules Janin: Conteur et romancier* (Paris, 1978); Jules Janin, *Le journaliste* (Paris, 1840); Janin, *Histoire de la littérature dramatique* (Paris, 1853).

⁵³ Janin, *Histoire de la littérature dramatique*, 2.

⁵⁴ Darnton, *Literary Underground*, 115.

writing in a new, carefree, conversational style. His judgments were capricious but colorful. The newspaper's editors immediately recognized his potential, and he was given control of the weekly theater column, which he retained until his death in 1874. His newfound prominence brought glamorous mistresses: famed actress Mademoiselle George, followed by the daughter of a well-known sculptor, la marquise de la Carte. A rapprochement with the Orléans regime after 1838 required him to live in a more respectable manner; he dropped his expensive mistress and proposed marriage to the daughter of a provincial lawyer.⁵⁵ Her father opposed the match, however. For four long years, Janin sought, finally with success, to convince the stuffy Rouen attorney of his fitness as a son-in-law.

In a private letter of May 1840, he inventoried his net worth for his prospective father-in-law: his literary properties included rights in various works, including his own complete works (several novels and books of essays), a value totaling, he claimed, perhaps 60,000 francs. He owned an extensive library (made up of review copies of books from newspapers) worth 20,000 francs. His annual salary from the *Débats* theater column ("the simplest, the cleanest, the most honorable, the most admirable position in Paris") was 12,000 francs "for four days of work per month." He estimated that the *Revue de Paris* and *L'artiste* each paid him as much as 4,000 francs a year for occasional pieces.⁵⁶ This was, indeed, an impressive array of resources, staggering, if contrasted with the prospects of all but the most successful eighteenth-century men of letters. One can imagine, however, the doubts of a conservative lawyer and family man at Janin's casual approach to accounting. "Go ask at the *Revue de Paris*," Janin recommended, "and see in its registers if the *Revue de Paris* doesn't pay me more than 4,000 francs per year."⁵⁷ But, from another angle, what is stunning is Janin's readiness to commodify and to quantify his worth.

Janin explained his own attitude toward journalistic employment in a pamphlet of 1840, "The Journalist." "Journalism is the most vilified and the least understood of all the professions that have been vilified," Janin began. "It has become the fashion to deny everything: spirit, talent, courage, to this all-powerful profession that leads the world."⁵⁸

I know well all the objections one can make, all the crimes that are charged against the press, all the cowardice, the baseness of which it is accused. Some say it is venal, others that it lies. It is often accused of living by epigram and calumny. Since we are of good faith, we will say that there are, among these noble writers of such great courage and spirit, more than one ne'er-do-well . . . Alas, yes! Nothing could be more true, in the lower reaches of the press; should you wish to descend into these impure sewers, you will find crime and shame. There are men who hold their pens like Italian *bravi* hold their daggers, at the disposal of whomever pays them. Enter one of these shops of insult and calumny, and for a very small fee, our man will distill for you all the calumny you need . . . For thirty francs

⁵⁵ Jacques Landrin associates the break with Mme. de la Carte and the rapprochement with the government; see his *Jules Janin*, 39.

⁵⁶ Mergier-Bourdéix, *Les amours de Jules Janin*, 136.

⁵⁷ Mergier-Bourdéix, *Les amours de Jules Janin*, 136.

⁵⁸ Janin, *Le journaliste*, 1.



"The Political Journalist," from *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1840–41), vol. 3, opposite p. xxxiii. This caricature, by Paul Gavarni, accompanied an essay by Jules Janin titled "Le journaliste"; this is a slightly different version of the text of a pamphlet, of the same title, by Jules Janin, which is discussed in the article. Gavarni's figure admirably captures both the aggressiveness of journalists in this era and the nagging self-doubts that plagued them. Courtesy of the Perkins Library Special Collections, Duke University.

*you will own the honor of a man whose life you would not have dared to buy, for fear of the scaffold. But . . . if such men can be found in a profession, what does that prove?*⁵⁹

It is true, Janin conceded further, that newspapers break and overturn the powerful, that they agitate for change, cause storms and battles, terrify “kings on their thrones and bourgeois in their homes,” that they attack, with pins and daggers, even “recognized glory, services rendered, genius revealed, royalty, eloquence, poetry, all the unquestioned excellence of the world.” “But you must recognize that these attacks vivify, that, at the base of all this anger, there is fame for all those who merit it; that at the base of these insults, there is equity and respect . . . Remove the insults that result from the spirit of factionalism, which is the currency of our daily disputes . . . [and you will find] nothing but what is honorable.”⁶⁰

Janin was impatient with those who charged journalists with receiving favors from the government. An experienced journalist found nothing more boring than going backstage at the opera, he maintained, or being invited to dinner in one of the ministries, “with their wilting flowers, their yellowish silver service, the caved-in furniture, all the misery of those grand ministerial hotels where so many guests have passed leaving no more trace than the ministers who invited them.”⁶¹ In perhaps his most telling point, Janin remarked that the journalist only takes orders. His boss is the editor-in-chief, and above him is “the crowd,” which must be honored and deferred to, and which occasionally can be led. Who was responsible, then, for a successful newspaper? Everyone.⁶²

Félix Pyat's savage attack on Janin in 1844 brought before the public numerous cases in which Janin had openly or by anonymous article contradicted himself in print, in order to serve the convenience of the moment. When Janin sued Pyat for defamation, Pyat cited Janin's published statement of a few months before that the courtroom was no place for disputes over reputations.⁶³ Texier summed up Janin:

[A] prodigious facility . . . His fantasy is an inexhaustible vein.

He is Chinese with the Chinese, Turk with the Turks. He has only to strike his forehead and a fountain surges forth, of wine if you like wine, rum if rum is in fashion, water if you are condemned to water, and still he will serve it hot or cold according to the reader's temper. It has been said that this is a very salable commodity.⁶⁴

Janin's view of himself, expressed in his essay “The Journalist,” was based on the sharpest possible distinction between his own sense of honor as a private person and the daily public slinging of insults required by the business of journalism. At the same time, he was apparently plagued by nostalgia for the days before his parents had sent him to Paris to finish school. He had hated the upper-crust environment, with its harsh discipline and its stark social distinctions.

⁵⁹ Janin, *Le journaliste*, 34–36, emphasis added.

⁶⁰ Janin, *Le journaliste*, 34–36.

⁶¹ Janin, *Le journaliste*, 37.

⁶² Janin, *Le journaliste*, 33.

⁶³ Pyat assembled the damning texts of Janin in Jules Janin, *M. Jules Janin jugé par lui-même: Pourvoi en cassation de M. Félix Pyat* (Paris, 1844).

⁶⁴ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 43–44.



"The Literary Journalist," from *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1840–41), vol. 3, opposite page xxxvi. This caricature by Eugène Lami also accompanied the Janin essay. The sharp judgmental cast of the face contrasts with the relaxation of the pose—the book appears as if it may slip to the floor at any moment—and luxury of the surroundings, suggesting success has come to this critic as reward for a certain arbitrary harshness. Courtesy of the Perkins Library Special Collections, Duke University.

Yet from this relatively protected place, he believed he had been flung poverty-stricken into the streets of the big city, with no resource but his own wits. What apology did he owe anyone for the methods he had seized upon to earn a living?

Another well-known journalist who left behind revealing documentation about his own life was Louis Veuillot (1813–1883), whose novel, *Rome et Lorette*, was a

fictionalized memoir of his conversion to Catholicism. Veuillot's political about-face following his conversion was as widely known as those of Janin or Granier, but it attracted little negative commentary because it was viewed as genuine. Son of a Parisian barrel maker, he had set out to live by his pen at the age of nineteen (in 1832), working first on two pro-government provincial papers, then, before the end of 1833, on a number of Parisian dailies closely associated with the government.⁶⁵ In 1838, a close friend and devout Catholic, Olivier Fulgence, took Veuillot on a trip to Rome, where he was intrigued by the ceremonies of Holy Week and experienced a spiritual awakening. On his return to Paris, Veuillot began seeking work with periodicals associated with the Catholic right, in 1843 joining the staff of *L'univers religieux*, where he became editor-in-chief in 1844. Looking back on his earlier career, Veuillot bitterly condemned the initial influence of the work in journalism on his character and the amorality of his earliest employers. "They asked me for anger and for insults against everything they did not like; they guided my sacrilegious hand against old and venerable, against holy truths that, perhaps, in the freedom of my reason I would probably have defended, and that I know today are worth more than those editors' miserable inventions. Oh! bitter regret, oh!"⁶⁶

Veuillot emphasized that this was not just a personal failing but a consequence of the state of society, especially of Paris. But by "Paris" in the passage below, it is clear that Veuillot meant to condemn the whole postrevolutionary public sphere.

France's attractions, in Paris, are those of a lost woman, ready to give herself to whomever will take her. These theaters, these streets where license overflows; these public squares ornamented with statues that would make pagans blush; these famous names to which are attached so many *shameful* episodes; . . . the incorruptible personages who are so quickly and by so many ways and means corrupted; the mockery of everything; the cynical language of the backstage of opinion; the business women, that is, literary women, who live by their scandals, and are perfectly content to do so . . . this is the sad spectacle of each hour, during those long Paris days that never end.⁶⁷

Veuillot's conversion, however, did not imply a change in his journalistic tone of voice. He continued to write with the same acerbic passion that had resulted in more than one duel during his stay in Rouen.⁶⁸

In Texier's view, a youthful idealism was forgivable.⁶⁹ Texier reserved his greatest scorn for journalists who seemed to have no political ideas of their own, only survival instincts and a ready pen. Armand Malitourne (1799–1866) was one of these. For over thirty years, he defended every regime that came to power. Texier's acerbic conclusion: "To me, such loyalty looks like self-abnegation.

⁶⁵ In the provinces, he worked for *L'écho de la Seine-Inférieure* and *Le mémorial de la Dordogne*; his Parisian employers included *La charte de 1830*, which received direct subsidies; see *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 46 (1866): 70–71.

⁶⁶ Louis Veuillot, *Rome et Lorette*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1924), 26, emphasis added.

⁶⁷ Veuillot, *Rome et Lorette*, 21–22, emphasis added.

⁶⁸ Historian Philippe Vigier has remarked that the violence of Veuillot's tone soon became counterproductive during heated political debates of the 1840s, resulting in a brief prison term for Veuillot on defamation charges and the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, since some of their members had helped Veuillot's newspaper pour out "the grossest insults" against their opponents; see Vigier, *La Monarchie de juillet* (Paris, 1965), 93.

⁶⁹ See his understanding attitude toward former Saint-Simonians in *Histoire des journaux*, 31–34.

Malitourne and his friends have been calumniated."⁷⁰ Another opportunist decried by Texier was Antoine Boilay (1802–1866), who began his Paris career working for the scurrilous left-wing *Le corsaire* but switched to Adolphe Thiers' *Le constitutionnel* in the late 1830s. Thiers had been the butt of his epigrams; now he was his employer. "M. Thiers began to examine the new journalist," Texier recounts. "After talking to M. Boilay for less than ten minutes, the spiritual statesman had passed from stupor to enchantment. M. Boilay appeared to be the journalist par excellence, the ideal writer. M. Thiers became convinced that M. Boilay possessed not the shadow of a real political idea. 'This is precisely the man for me,' he thought to himself." Each morning, Boilay visited Thiers to sense his thoughts (having none of his own). He would label Thiers' words, pack them, unpack them later, and write a Thiers article. Boilay had been promised a position as *préfet* when Thiers came to power in 1839, but Thiers fell before he was able to make good on this promise.⁷¹ Boilay immediately switched to Guizot and received an administrative post as a reward; later, he supported Napoleon III and was named to the Conseil d'Etat in 1852.

AN IMAGE FREQUENTLY ENCOUNTERED IN THESE STORIES is that of the young man with an elite education but no resources, coming to Paris to make his way. Ambition and the shame of present poverty outweigh any sense of duty he may have about public speech. Once the poor young man has committed himself, opportunistically, to whatever cause is willing to pay him, he conceals only with difficulty the superficiality of his thoughts and ideals.⁷² To maximize income, he learns how to write three sentences where one would do.⁷³ He counts as nothing his lost integrity in comparison with his successful escape from poverty. Janin told his brother in a letter of 1831, "Name me one man who, without family or money, without a single resource, has found a way, at age 27, to make a name and a fortune for himself in the world of letters, without a single ally."⁷⁴

The dilemma these men faced, as depicted in the sources, was a structural one. Newspapers were enterprises whose output consisted of political polemic and insult, as well as evaluations of commodities and services (books, plays, operas,

⁷⁰ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 68–70.

⁷¹ Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 63–67.

⁷² Armand de Pontmartin passes on an anecdote told him by Joseph Méry, about how Méry, when he came to Paris from Provence in 1824, became a liberal rather than a legitimist because of a cold that prevented him from delivering letters of introduction to a number of ministers. A friend convinced him to associate himself with the rising star of Adolphe Thiers, who helped him publish a satirical poem about the government. "The day it went on sale," said Méry, "I had three sous left to my name. I spent one on lunch, a breadstick [*flûte*], one to get across the Pont des Arts, and the third at Mme. Simon's in the Galerie de l'Odéon, to buy *La Pandore*, which announced our poem. By the next day, they were already at the sixth edition." Armand de Pontmartin, *Mes mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1885–86), 2: 312.

⁷³ An example of Capefigue's prose provided by Texier: "La race des nobles ducs sous l'écusson des aigles, écartelés de beaux émaux, n'est pas plus éteinte que celle des admirables marquises de Vanloo et de Boucher à la bouche vermeille, à l'oeil noble, à la main effilée, au pied relevé. Oh non! la race n'en est pas perdue" (Baptiste-Honoré-Raymond Capefigue, *Les diplomates européens* [Brussels, 1845], 79); Texier, *Histoire des journaux*, 63–67.

⁷⁴ Mergier-Bourdéix, *Les amours de Jules Janin*, 26; see also Landrin, *Jules Janin*, 22.

restaurants), all produced by salaried or free-lance writers. Potential writers were available in abundance in this period because the university faculties were expanding enrollment, and educational attainments were becoming somewhat more broadly shared, while honorable employments for graduates remained scarce.⁷⁵ The educational expansion was not an accident but the result of a conscious decision on the part of the new regime to open the door of opportunity to talent. For many young men, this policy also opened the door to frustration, anxiety, and self-doubt. Yet the dilemma of the journalist was not only structural, it was also a moral and personal one. Since journalists were now free under the law to write what they wished and to contract their services or refuse them, as they pleased, they had no one to blame but themselves for whatever betrayal of integrity they committed. For this reason, the scorn expressed for journalists (often by journalists themselves) paradoxically had a structural quality to it. It inevitably diffused through the whole trade, as it did, in a different degree, into the whole public sphere, as we see in Veuillot's writings, among others. The sense of endemic dishonor was easily harnessed to the political economists' notion of the profit motive as prime mover of social life, so that—by a curious combination of observation and theory—the age came to be seen as shameful. According to Alfred Nettement, "In old France, the accomplishment of duty was the social end, honor and religious sentiment the two social motive forces. But in today's France, . . . the social end is no more than well-being or pleasure; and money, supreme money, is the unique and sovereign motive force."⁷⁶ Nettement's judgment was a commonplace of the day but one that both manifested and ignored the widespread evidence of continued, acute male concern for honor.

To protect their honor in the face of the alienation of their voice, journalists had three choices. They could minimize the significance of their alienation, as did Janin, or simply deny that it occurred, as did Sacy in 1855. Or they could learn to deplore the exigencies of newspaper work, but not so much that it crippled their willingness to continue. This was the choice made by those who provided the many critiques of journalists examined above: Desnoyers, Nettement, Veuillot, and Texier. Humor was an important resource for some of the critics, for it both allowed exaggerated condemnations and implicitly softened them, as if to say that these faults were not so serious after all. The duel was an important recourse for some of the defending journalists because it allowed them to back up their alienated words with the threat of violence, in a manner blessed by tradition and by contemporary notions of male honor. These choices cut across the normal political divisions; one can find legitimists, centrists, and republicans on every side of the issue. Whichever choice they made, however, journalists had to create identities for themselves compatible with the knowledge that they did not believe (or even wish to write) everything they wrote. They were divided within themselves, and honor was just one of the issues (perhaps the most important

⁷⁵ The excess of graduates seeking positions in this period was frequently commented on by contemporaries and caused much anxiety; see Christophe Charle, *Histoire sociale de la France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1991), 48; Jean-Claude Caron, *Généralisations romantiques: Les étudiants de Paris et le Quartier Latin (1814–1851)* (Paris, 1991), 37–52, 103–06; Alan B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 225–58.

⁷⁶ Alfred Nettement, *Les ruines morales et intellectuelles* (Paris, 1836), 15.

under the conditions of the time) that this troubling inner division raised. Was not such inner division, sooner or later so publicly visible, shameful?

What was missing, in comparison with the eighteenth century, was any coherent plan of reform. There were calls for greater freedom of the press, for reform of the laws on intellectual property, but these attracted only limited support and were minor in comparison to the immense faith the eighteenth century had placed in its program, the abolition of privilege. The socialist tradition was already developing a critique of the motive of gain, but there was no explicit recognition of the manner in which family honor (a more appropriate term than the empty notion of "gain" for normative male motivations in this period) and what Emile de Girardin called "political honor"—the duty to serve the public good when engaging in public action—clashed in the breast of the paid journalist.

There was thus a confusion of personal and collective responsibility. Characterizations of persons tended to be negative no matter who penned them. On the one hand, those who did not shrink from the use of the press as a weapon tended to be those penning *ad hominem* barbs. Granier de Cassagnac, Boilay, and Sacy were all masters of scorn. Granier used a certain kind of unconditional critical onslaught; Boilay and Sacy wrapped themselves in a cloak of moderation, regretting the need to criticize.⁷⁷ On the other hand, those genuinely dismayed by the use of the press to further partisan conflicts were often just as vehement in their censure of persons. Cormenin, Veuillot, Desnoyers, and Texier himself were possessed of mordant wit and a certain ruthlessness in the pursuit of pretense. Whether or not one embraced the status quo, there seemed to be no refuge from the scorn.

This, too, was something of which people were perfectly aware. Janin had a point when he insisted that "at the base of all this anger, there is fame for all those who merit it; . . . at the base of these insults, there is equity and respect." The insults, just because they were so routine, were widely discounted. Delphine de Girardin, responding in 1844 to the success of her society column in her husband's *La presse*, wrote under the cover of her pseudonym, the vicomte de Launay: "We are not so simpleminded, some of us; we find it quite natural that, enjoying the advantages of celebrity, we must also suffer the inconveniences: we expect to be ridiculed, criticized, blamed, and even calumniated, especially calumniated. Ah! We insist on it. That is our glory, to force our enemies to invent many things, to oblige them, in order to hurt us, to expend a great deal of imagination. We would be very sorry if our truths were enough."⁷⁸

Scorn seemed omnipresent. The revolution had beheaded the monarchy and instituted a brief reign of public "virtue," explicitly conceived as a counter to aristocratic honor. But afterward, it was as if the old cascade of disdain began anew, falling from a headless source upon all alike. No one could keep clear of it. Most remarkable, perhaps, in this regard, was the absence, in all the censorious discussion of the state of postrevolutionary journalism, of any critical reflection on

⁷⁷ These comments are based on readings of their newspapers' unsigned articles, in *La presse*, *Le constitutionnel*, and *Journal des débats*, respectively.

⁷⁸ Delphine de Girardin, *Lettres parisiennes*, 4: 7 (originally published in *La presse*, March 30, 1844); Louis Véron echoed this sentiment in his *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 3: 95.

the nature of honor. Its status was never explicitly questioned.⁷⁹ The only question was how to behave honorably, which strategies, which lies, which calculations of interest were dishonorable and which were defensible, which changes in laws or institutions would enable journalists to comport themselves in accord with honor. But, then, this "structure of feeling"—the omnipresence of scorn—prevailed in many other spheres of life in this period as well.⁸⁰ Robert Nye's work and recent studies by Ruth Harris, Joëlle Guillaud, and Mary Louise Roberts show that significant change in the male honor code came only after World War I.⁸¹

⁷⁹ An exception that proves the rule, perhaps, is the Saint-Simonians in the period of Enfantin's ascendancy in 1831–1832; by breaking with the prevailing notion of family honor, they earned public horror, official repression, and the refined scorn of experts such as Sacy; coverage of the Enfantin trial in the *Journal des débats* of August 28 and 29, 1831, is a case study in execution by ridicule. See also Carlisle, *Proffered Crown*; and Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).

⁸⁰ On the role of honor in marriage, see Reddy, "Marriage, Honor, and the Public Sphere"; its centrality in government service is explored in William M. Reddy, "Meriting Benevolence: Employment in the French Ministry of Interior, 1814–1848," forthcoming in *Le mouvement social*. See also Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*.

⁸¹ Nye, "Honor Codes in Modern France"; Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*; Joëlle Guillaud, *La chair de l'autre: Le crime passionnel au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1986); Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the fin de siècle* (Oxford, 1989); Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994).

Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888–1945

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IN A WORLD BESET BY MURDEROUS NATIONALIST CONFLICTS, the ideal of internationalism seems elusive. We face a paradox in the final decade of the twentieth century: as global interdependence intensifies, nationalist forces tear apart existing units—most dramatically in the former Yugoslavia—into ever smaller pieces. Likewise, on the intellectual front, as David Hollinger tells us, the critique of a false universalism in the tumultuous years after 1945 convinced American intellectuals of the need for an “ethnos-centered discourse” emphasizing diverse, identity-based communities. Such fragmentation poses the difficult question, “how wide the circle of the ‘we’?”¹ In the face of pervasive divisiveness, is there any hope of making connections across national or other kinds of borders?

The process of creating—or, as Benedict Anderson would have it, imagining—national communities has riveted historians, but the construction of internationalism has merited scarcely a glance.² Believing that both global connectedness and the destructiveness of contemporary nationalism cry out for an international alternative, and that we as historians must begin to fashion a transnational history, I turn my attention here to the creation of a collective identity in international

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¹ David A. Hollinger, “How Wide the Circle of the ‘We’? American Intellectuals and the Problem of the Ethnos since World War II,” *AHR*, 98 (April 1993): 317–37.

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991). The literature on nationalism is, of course, extensive and has long recognized that there is no universal basis for nationalism; recent works include John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (1986; rpt. edn., Minneapolis, 1993); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Harold R. Isaacs, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, 1986); William Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism* (New York, 1993); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York, 1986).

women's organizations during the first wave of the women's movement.³ What drew women together across the borders of nationality? Who fell within the circle of the we? What did it mean to profess ties across national, ethnic, and other identities? If we can understand how one large constituency organized transnationally and struggled to define a group identity in a period marked by two global conflagrations, we can start to consider the limits of and prospects for internationalism.

The concept of collective identity, as developed by scholars of the "new social movements" of the 1960s and 1970s, addresses the question of how groups define "who we are."⁴ Collective identity is "the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity," and it is constructed and sustained within social movement communities. I use the framework for analyzing collective identity within social movements developed by Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier.⁵ In their scheme, collective identity consists of three parts: the boundaries that mark off a group; consciousness, or the ways of defining a group's common interests; and the politicization of everyday life, embodied in symbols and actions that challenge received wisdom.

³ See the call for such a history in Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR*, 96 (October 1991): 1031–55. Other cases of transnational movements built around collective identities include the Socialist Internationals, the labor movement, and the peace movement. See, for example, F. S. L. Lyons, *Internationalism in Europe, 1815–1914* (Leiden, 1963); James Joll, *The Second International, 1889–1914*, rev. edn. (London, 1974); George Novack, Dave Frankel, and Fred Feldman, *The First Three Internationals: Their History and Lessons* (New York, 1974); Susan Milner, *The Dilemmas of Internationalism: French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900–1914* (New York, 1990); Sandi E. Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815–1914* (New York, 1991); W. H. van der Linden, *The International Peace Movement, 1815–1874* (Amsterdam, 1987). See also Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

⁴ See William A. Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action," in Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 53–76. Gamson's discussion of collective identity focuses on Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia, 1989). On "new social movements," see Bert Klandermans and Sidney Tarrow, "Mobilization into Social Movements: Synthesizing European and American Approaches," in Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research across Cultures* (Greenwich, Conn., 1988).

⁵ Verta Taylor and Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization," in Morris and Mueller, *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 104–29. Taylor and Whittier, in "Theoretical Approaches to Social Movement Culture: The Culture of the Women's Movement," forthcoming in a volume edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, use the term "politicization of everyday life" to replace what is called "negotiation" in the original model. Emphasis on the social construction of collective identity is central to new social movement theorists.

My thinking on the process of constructing a collective identity has also been influenced by the literature on the emergence of the category and identity "lesbian" at the turn of the nineteenth century; see, for example, George Chauncey, Jr., "From Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance," *Salmagundi*, 58–59 (1982–83): 114–46; Lisa Duggan, "The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sensationalism, Sexology, and the Lesbian Subject in Turn-of-the-Century America," *Signs*, 18 (Summer 1993): 791–814; Esther Newton, "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman," in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Lesbian and Gay Past* (New York, 1989), 281–93; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870–1936," in Duberman, et al., *Hidden from History*, 264–80; Jennifer Terry, "Theorizing Deviant Historiography," *differences*, 3 (Summer 1991): 55–74.

WOMEN BEGAN TO ORGANIZE ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS at the end of the nineteenth century. At first, they gathered in conferences without any larger, permanent structures, but soon they gave form to those contacts and, in a flurry of institutionalization, founded bodies based on all sorts of interests.⁶ As resource mobilization theorists would say, women created an international "social movement industry."⁷ I focus here on the three major international women's organizations, the International Council of Women (ICW), the International Alliance of Women (IAW, originally the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, IWSA), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Standing out from the crowd, these three proclaimed their openness to women of all continents, religions, political affiliations, occupations, and colors, worked for a range of goals, organized large numbers of women from different parts of the globe, and survived over a long span of years.⁸

⁶ Maggie McFadden, in "Weaving the Cloth of International Sisterhood," unpublished paper presented at the National Women's Studies Association conference, Minneapolis, June 1988, and in "Weaving the Delicate Web: The Origins of Women's International Networks, 1820–1880," unpublished paper presented at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, New Brunswick, N.J., June 1990, categorizes the sources of women's early international connectedness, including organizations, intentional communities, the press, travel, translation, migration, and correspondence. Looking at conferences sponsored by organizations and at independent congresses, Laurence Klejman, in "Les Congrès féministes internationaux," *Mil neuf cent: Cahiers Georges Sorel; Revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, 7 (1989): 71–86, suggests that independent congresses, especially in France, rarely transcended the national context; in general, international congresses facilitated the exchange of information but did not stimulate debate or develop plans of action. On international women's congresses, including "general women's congresses," and the debate over special labor legislation for women, see Ulla Wikander, "International Women's Congresses, 1878–1914: The Controversy over Equality and Special Labour Legislation," in Maud L. Edwards, et al., eds., *Rethinking Change: Current Swedish Feminist Research* (Uppsala, 1992), 11–36. On the first international congress, the 1878 Congrès International du Droit des Femmes in Paris, see Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L'égalité en marche: Le féminisme sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1989), 54–56.

⁷ A "social movement industry" consists of all the organizations associated with a particular social movement; see John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements," *American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (1977): 1212–41.

⁸ The very first international women's organization, the Association Internationale des Femmes, founded in Geneva in 1868, did not survive long. See Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia 1840–1920* (London, 1977), 247–48; and Barbara Schnetzler, *Die frühe amerikanische Frauenbewegung und ihre Kontakte mit Europa (1836–1869)* (Bern, 1971). Some bodies organized around a single issue (as did the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in its early years): these included the Union Mondiale de la Femme pour la Concorde Internationale, a peace group centered in Geneva; Open Door International, devoted to the fight against special labor legislation for women; Equal Rights International, which worked for passage of an Equal Rights Treaty; the World Woman's Party, an organization also devoted to equal legal rights for women that merged with Equal Rights International in 1941; and the Comité Mondial des Femmes contre la Guerre et le Fascisme, a Communist-inspired group organized during the Popular Front period of the mid-1930s.

Groups open only to certain categories of women included those clustered by region: the Inter-American Commission of Women (see Francesca Miller, "The International Relations of Women of the Americas," *Americas*, 43 [October 1986]: 171–82; Francesca Miller, "Latin American Feminism and the Transnational Arena," in Emilie Bergmann, et al., eds., *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America* [Berkeley, Calif., 1990], 10–26), the Pan-Pacific Women's Association, and the All Asian Women's Conference (see Aparna Basu and Bharati Ray, *Women's Struggle: A History of the All India Women's Conference 1927–1990* [New Delhi, 1990]; Mala Mathrani, "Nationalism or Internationalism? Indian Women and Their International Connections, 1880s–1947," dissertation in progress, Ohio State University). Other bodies organized around religion: the World Women's Christian Temperance Union (see Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991]), the World Young

The first major international women's organization, the International Council of Women, came to life at a 1888 meeting of the U.S. National Woman Suffrage Association.⁹ Mobilizing a wide variety of existing women's groups, first organized into National Councils of Women, the ICW claimed to represent 4 to 5 million women by 1907 and 36 million by 1925.¹⁰ Emphasizing inclusivity, the ICW assiduously avoided taking sides on controversial issues, including, in the early years, the fundamental question of women's right to vote. In fact, Lady Aberdeen, longtime ICW president, insisted that anti-suffragists deserved a hearing in a meeting on women's political rights at a congress in 1899, spurring suffragists to organize their own international organization.¹¹

Women's Christian Association (see Nancy Boyd, *Emissaries: The Overseas Work of the American YWCA, 1895-1970* [New York, 1986]), the Ligue des Femmes Juives, the International Union of the Catholic Women's Leagues, and St. Joan's International Alliance, a group of Catholic feminist women. The Socialist Women's International, which opposed cooperation with bourgeois women's organizations, brought women together on the basis of politics (see Ellen Carol DuBois, "Woman Suffrage and the Left: An International Socialist-Feminist Perspective," *New Left Review*, 186 [March-April 1991]: 20-44). Other groups used occupation and status as an organizing principle, running the gamut from housewives to industrial workers to professional women: the International Women's Co-Operative Guild (see Naomi Black, *Social Feminism* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1989], chap. 8), the International Federation of Working Women, the International Council of Nurses, the Ligue Internationale des Mères et Educatrices pour la Paix, the International Federation of University Women, and the International Federation of Business and Professional Women (see Lena Madesin Phillips, "Unfinished History of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women," folder 249, carton 9, Phillips Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts). Finally, one group, the International Council of Women of Darker Races of the World, organized by color, although it seemingly never organized outside the United States (see Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* [Knoxville, Tenn., 1989], 198-201).

Rebecca L. Sherrick, "Toward Universal Sisterhood," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 655-61, raises provocative questions about the nature of women's international organizing. For a comprehensive guide to international women's organizations, see Bob Reinalda and Natascha Verhaaren, *Vrouwenbeweging en Internationale Organisaties 1868-1986* (Nijmegen, 1989).

⁹ National Woman Suffrage Association, *Report of the International Council of Women, 1888* (Washington, D.C., 1888); International Council of Women, *Report of Transactions of Second Quinquennial Meeting Held in London July 1899*, Countess of Aberdeen, ed., vol. 1 (London, 1900), 4; "The Birth of the I.C.W.," 1957, box 1, ICW Papers, Sophia Smith Collection [hereafter, SSC], Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts; May Wright Sewall, *Genesis of the International Council of Women and the Story of Its Growth, 1888-1893* (Indianapolis, 1914); Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Reminiscences," *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 3, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al., eds. (Rochester, N.Y., 1886), 922-53. On the ICW, see Edith F. Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, 1977), 325-45; and *Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London, 1966).

¹⁰ "Presentation of an Address to the Second Peace Conference, held at The Hague, 1907," ICW *Annual Report, 1906-07*; "To Speak and Act for 36,000,000 Women," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 13, 1925, Woman's Rights Collection, Schlesinger Library.

¹¹ "Political Enfranchisement of Women," *Women in Politics, Being the Political Section of the International Congress of Women*, ICW, *Report of Transactions of the Second Quinquennial Meeting Held in London, July 1899*, Countess of Aberdeen, ed., vol. 5 (London, 1900), 115-41; May Wright Sewall, "President's Memorandum" [August 19, 1903], ICW, *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial Term Terminating with the Third Quinquennial Meeting Held in Berlin, June, 1904* (Boston, 1909), vol. 1, describes the 1902 meeting as a direct result of the 1899 Quinquennial; in "The Council and Political Equality for Women," ICW, *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial*, vol. 2, Sewall attributes the Washington conference to the work of the ICW International Committee that she established; IWSA, *Report of Second and Third Conferences, Berlin, Germany, June 3, 4, 1904, Copenhagen, Denmark, August 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1906* (Copenhagen, 1906); Carrie Chapman Catt, "The History of the

Unafraid of taking a strong stance for their right to the ballot, women impatient with the ICW's position came together at the 1904 Berlin congress of the ICW to form the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, composed originally of ten national suffrage associations and growing to twenty-five by 1914. The IAW increasingly expanded its interests beyond suffrage, especially as the roster of nations in which women could vote lengthened dramatically after World War I, and as a result periodically toyed with the possibility of merging with the International Council of Women. But its strong feminist identity posed an insurmountable barrier.

Issues of war and peace, increasingly embraced in the 1920s, provoked a crisis in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1915. When the guns of August shattered the widely shared illusion that civilization and progress had outstripped the barbarism of war, controversy within the IWSA over the propriety of holding a peace conference in wartime resulted in the formation of a new organization. Out of a Congress of Women at The Hague in 1915 came the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which in 1919 adopted the name Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.¹² A progressive—to some observers, even radical—group, the WILPF strove for peaceful solutions to global conflict and equality for women.

International organizing among women lurched slowly into motion in the years before 1914, gathered steam at the end of World War I, and nearly screeched to a halt in 1939, although all three of these organizations survived the wars, reconstituted themselves in the late 1940s, and continue in existence today. In the

Origin of the IAW," box 7, Carrie Chapman Catt Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library [hereafter, NYPL], Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, New York City; Regina Deutsch, *The International Woman Suffrage Alliance: Its History from 1904–1929* (London, 1929). On the IWSA, see Mineke Bosch, with Annemarie Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902–1942* (Columbus, Ohio, 1990) (page 7 reports the role of Heymann and Augspurg in the founding of the IWSA); and Arnold Whittick, *Woman into Citizen* (London, 1979).

¹² Aletta Jacobs to "Dear Friends," August 16, 1914, *Jus Suffragii*, 8 (September 1, 1914); Chrystal Macmillan to "Dear ———," December 12, 1914, box A-50, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; Aletta Jacobs to Rosika Schwimmer, December 29, 1914, box A-52, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection; in addition to Jacobs, Hungarian feminist and pacifist Rosika Schwimmer and English suffragist Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence were both working feverishly for peace in the United States, and German pacifists Heymann and Augspurg appealed to Swiss women to call a conference of women from the neutral countries as an expression of solidarity: see Carrie Chapman Catt to Aletta Jacobs, November 13, 1914, Jacobs Papers, Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging [hereafter, IIAV], Amsterdam; Anna Howard Shaw to Aletta Jacobs, January 4, 1915, Jacobs Papers, IIAV; Ute Gerhard, *Unerhört: Die Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1990), 310; International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, *International Congress of Women, The Hague—April 28th to May 1st 1915: Report*. On the Hague Congress and the WILPF, see Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1965* (London, 1965); Lela B. Costin, "Feminism, Pacifism, Internationalism and the 1915 International Congress of Women," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 301–15; Catherine Foster, *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens, Ga., 1989); Jo Vellacott, "Feminist Consciousness and the First World War," *History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Historians*, 23 (1987): 81–101; Jo Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: The Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," *Women's History Review*, 2 (1993): 23–56; and Anne Wiltsher, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War* (London, 1985).

period between the wars, one sign of vitality could be found in the formation of coalitions composed of representatives from a variety of transnational women's organizations. Within four such coalitions focused on lobbying the League of Nations, women cooperated and sometimes vigorously competed in their work on behalf of peace, suffrage, nationality, labor legislation, and the abolition of prostitution. In Geneva between the wars, one woman remarked, everyone was "getting together" and "all the 'get-togetherers' would 'get-together' once again, centrally and all-embracingly."¹³

In theory, the three major international women's organizations welcomed women from around the globe. The constitution of the ICW, drawn up in 1888 and revised in 1936, presented the organization as "a federation of women of all races, nations, creeds and classes." Carrie Chapman Catt, U.S. Woman Suffrage Alliance president, beseeched members in 1908 to "strike a note in this meeting so full of sisterly sympathy, of faith in womanhood, of exultant hope, a note so impelling, that it will be heard by the women of all lands, and will call them forth to join our world's army." And, at the 1915 Hague Congress, assembled by a "Call to the Women of all Nations," the "women of the world," as the official report told it, "raise our voices above the present hatred and bloodshed, and however we may differ as to means we declare ourselves united in the great ideals of civilization and progress."¹⁴

Despite such grand pronouncements, all three groups fell far short of their global ambitions, although they did expand their reach in the interwar years. All began with national sections in Europe or the "neo-Europes" (the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand),¹⁵ and European-origin, Protestant, and elite women continued to dominate the international structures. Inevitably, the pro-

¹³ B. P., "Farewell to Mary Dingman," November 12, 1939, box 1, Dingman Papers, Schlesinger Library. The ICW convened the first coalition, the Joint Standing Committee of the Women's International Organisations, in 1925 to push for the appointment of women to the League of Nations. The League of Nations itself called together the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality in 1931 to provide advice on the thorny question of the nationality of women married to foreign men. During World War I, the practice of bestowing a husband's nationality on his wife in such cases had led to some women finding themselves enemy nationals in the land of their birth. After the war, attempts by individual nations to remedy this situation caused some women, deprived by their own countries of their nationality but not granted that of their husbands', to become stateless. The 1930 Hague Conference on the Codification of International Law, despite intense lobbying by women, maintained the principle of a woman's nationality following that of her husband, provoking international women's organizations to take up a fight against ratification of the convention. It was in this context that the League of Nations appointed the Women's Consultative Committee. On the nationality question, see Dorothy P. Page, "A Married Woman, or a Minor, Lunatic or Idiot: The Struggle of British Women against Disability in Nationality, 1914-1933" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1984). The last two coalitions, the Liaison Committee and the Peace and Disarmament Committee, also formed in 1931.

¹⁴ "The Constitution and Standing Orders of the ICW," box 1, ICW Papers, SSC; Carrie Chapman Catt, "President's Message," IWSA, *Report of the Fourth Conference of the IWSA, Amsterdam, Holland, 1908* (Amsterdam, 1908), 60-73; "Call to the Women of All Nations" [February 1915], box A-53, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Emily Hobhouse, "Foreword," and "Preamble and Resolutions Adopted," International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace [hereafter, ICWPP], *Report*, ix, 35.

¹⁵ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York, 1987), uses the term "neo-Europes" to refer to areas of similar climate where European settler colonies succeeded.

cess of constructing an international collective identity reproduced global power relations.

Limitations on participation flowed from the nature of international organizing and from unacknowledged assumptions about the superiority and natural leadership of Euro-American societies. Women had to undertake lengthy and expensive travel to attend meetings, serve as officers, and participate in activities, so only those with independent means or sufficient national or international stature to attract subsidies from organizations or individuals could take part. During the early years of her presidency of the ICW, Scottish aristocrat Lady Aberdeen paid for everything, finally closing the purse strings out of fear of setting a precedent for future officers.¹⁶ American May Wright Sewall, pleading limited resources, refused to succeed Aberdeen until the Executive Committee agreed to pay her traveling expenses. In 1906, the ICW voted to provide travel grants to all its leaders, since "otherwise the choice of Officers would be limited to ladies of independent means."¹⁷ Margery Corbett Ashby's family believed that her ability to pay catapulted her into leadership of the Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Carrie Chapman Catt insisted that "I never received so much as one cent upon my own personal expenses which were heavy in carrying out my obligations."¹⁸ Delegates to the Hague Congress footed their own bills, although later the WILPF paid travel expenses for "those in far-off countries who are not able to pay, if the money question alone would prevent them from attending an important meeting."¹⁹ In discussing the cost of a hotel in Innsbruck booked for a WILPF Executive Committee meeting, Lida Gustava Heymann of Germany wrote Hungarian Vilma Glücklich, "Now I ask you, which of us can pay that? The English and Americans!"²⁰ In some cases, friends, patrons, or national organizations came through with financial support, but without access to resources a woman could not participate in international activity.²¹

¹⁶ "Treasurer's Report" and "Minutes of Council Meeting," ICW, *Report of Transactions of Second Quinquennial Meeting*, 1: 91, 162–64; Lady Aberdeen to Presidents of National Councils of Women, August 1897, box 3, ICW Papers, National Council of Women—Great Britain headquarters [hereafter, NCW-GB HQ], London; May Wright Sewall, "Introduction to Volume I," ICW, *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial Term* (Boston, 1909), vol. 1.

¹⁷ "Report of the Executive Committee," July 5, 1898, ICW Executive Minute Book, ICW headquarters [hereafter, ICW HQ], Paris; "The Meeting of the I.C.W. Executive Committee in Paris" [June 15–18, 1906], ICW *Annual Report*, 1905–06. See also "Resolutions Passed at the Quinquennial Meeting of the ICW," September 8–18, ICW *Annual Report*, 1920–22.

¹⁸ Charles Corbett to his brother, December 18, 1922, box 477, Margery Corbett Ashby Papers, Fawcett Library [hereafter, FL], London Guildhall University; Carrie Chapman Catt to Lena Madesin Phillips, August 11, 1937, carton 5, Phillips Papers, Schlesinger Library.

¹⁹ Mabel L. Sippy to Rosika Schwimmer, March 14, 1915, box A–55, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Minutes, WILPF Chairmen's Meeting at Zurich, March 24, 1936, reel 33, WILPF Papers, microfilm edition, Microfilming Corporation of America. See also Emily Greene Balch to Jane Addams, April 7, 1920, reel 12, Jane Addams Papers, microfilm edition, University Microfilms International; Edith Pye to Camille Drevet, March 16, 1933, reel 2, WILPF Papers; Yella Hertzka to Mary Sheepshanks, October 24, 1930, reel 2, WILPF Papers.

²⁰ Lida Gustava Heymann to Vilma Glücklich [in German], June 4, 1925, reel 2, WILPF Papers.

²¹ See, for example, Rosika Schwimmer to Lola Lloyd, August 4, 1915, box A–60, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Rosika Schwimmer to Mien Palthe, December 3, 1917, box A–95, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection; Marthe Larsen to Emily Greene Balch, April 15, 1920, reel 36, WILPF Papers; Aletta Jacobs to Lucy Anthony, July 13, 1920, box 18, Dillon Collection, Schlesinger Library; Clara Ragaz to Myrrha Tunas [German], April 24, 1924, reel 2, WILPF Papers; Emma Ender to Alice

Neither could she take part if she was unable to understand what was going on. The existence of three official languages—English, French, and German—privileged native speakers of those languages and made difficult the participation of women who knew none of these tongues.²² Even well-meaning attempts to institute an “international language” such as Esperanto overlooked its European basis.²³ Furthermore, trilingual communication itself bogged things down: printed translations cost money the organizations did not have, and the practice of translating speeches and discussions at congresses made the proceedings lengthy and tedious.²⁴ Lady Aberdeen regularly urged ICW members to learn at least to understand all three official languages, but knowledge of a second, third, or fourth language, more common in some countries than others, assumed educational privilege accessible only to relatively elite women.²⁵ Those who regularly communicated in languages other than their mother tongues sometimes noted the linguistic disabilities of their colleagues. Giving voice to a common sentiment, Dutch activist Martina Kramers wrote Hungarian Rosika Schwimmer, in German, to tell her that she would translate Schwimmer’s piece for publication “because the poor monolingual Americans must also know what is going on with you.”²⁶

Adding to the problem, international congresses and meetings of officers took place primarily in Europe, and to a lesser extent in North America, discouraging those who hailed from other continents. Suggestions or plans to hold meetings in

Salomon [German], March 22, 1926, 84–331(7), Helene-Lange-Archiv, Landesarchiv Berlin [hereafter, LB]; Jane Addams to Madelaine [sic] Doty, June 5, 1926, reel 18, Addams Papers; Gabrielle Duchêne to Madeleine Doty [French], June 25, 1926, F Rés. 207, Dossiers Duchêne, Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine [hereafter, BDIC], Universités de Paris, Nanterre; Rosa Manus to Josephine Schain, January 2, 1935, box 6, Schain Papers, Sophia Smith Collection; C[lara] Ragaz to [Cor] Ramondt [German], November 26, 1936, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, August 20, 1938, reel 4, Catt Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter, LC], Washington, D.C.

²² Spanish became a “semi-official” language of the ICW in 1930. This meant that Spanish-speaking members could correspond in Spanish with the ICW and that a Spanish version of the *Bulletin* would be published when enough subscriptions had been gathered.

²³ All three of the international organizations considered the use of Esperanto; see “Business Session of the ICW,” June 22, 1909, ICW, *Report of Transactions of the Fourth Quinquennial Meeting*, Countess of Aberdeen, ed. (London, 1910); Editorial, “An International Language,” *Pax*, 1 (February 1920); Minutes, WILPF Executive Committee, June 1920, reel 9, WILPF Papers; Minutes, ICW Congress, September 16, 1920, ICW, *Report on the Quinquennial Meeting*, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, ed. (Aberdeen, 1921); Emily G. Balch to Helena Swanwick, December 13, 1920, reel 1, WILPF Papers. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, and Hollinger, “How Wide the Circle of the ‘We,’” both make the point that Esperanto is an international language only in a limited sense.

²⁴ See “International Woman Suffrage Alliance,” box 22, Dillon Collection, Schlesinger Library; Ishbel Aberdeen, “President’s Memorandum regarding the Quinquennial Meeting of the ICW at Rome 1914,” box 1, ICW Papers, SSC; “Report of Business Sessions,” ICWPP, *Report*, 74, 77, 92–93, 106, 156–57. The ICW *Bulletin* regularly published separate editions in the three languages. *Jus Suffragii*, the journal of the IAW, appeared mainly in English with, at various times, articles or columns or sections in French and occasionally German. WILPF published *Pax* in three separate editions until the Depression made that financially impossible; thereafter, only an English edition, with occasional articles in French and German, appeared.

²⁵ See, for example, I. A. & T. [Ishbel Aberdeen and Temair], “President’s Notes,” ICW *Bulletin*, 6 (June 1928).

²⁶ Martina Kramers to Rosika Schwimmer [German], May 31, 1907, box A–12, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL.

Australia, Hawaii, Brazil, or even Spain, the Balkans, or Czechoslovakia, provoked shocked outcries that "such a far away place has been chosen."²⁷ These complaints revealed assumptions about the global distribution of membership, since, as an Australian woman wryly remarked in 1909, "the distance is exactly the same going out to Australia as it is coming [to Europe]."²⁸ Refusal to travel far from Western Europe both resulted from and helped to perpetuate the overrepresentation in leadership positions of women from the United States, Great Britain, and Western and Northern Europe. Women in the United States gained added leverage because American money played a crucial role in keeping the organizations afloat.²⁹

Finally, despite the prominent leadership of a number of Jewish women, the participation of Catholic women, and the involvement of a few Muslim women, a Protestant tone pervaded the international organizations.³⁰ The ICW clung to the "Golden Rule," an ethical principle common to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam but presented in its New Testament form (Matthew 7:12), as its basis of action; ICW meetings, in the early years, opened with prayers, provoking criticism that led to their ban, since the practice of public prayer expressed American Protestant

²⁷ Annie Furuhjelm to Aletta Jacobs, February 12, 1920, box 1, Jacobs Papers, IIAV; see also Alice Salomon, "Character Is Destiny," 106–07, Salomon Papers, Memoir Collection, Leo Baeck Institute [hereafter, LBI], New York; Marie Popelin, "Impressions et souvenirs du Canada," Countess of Aberdeen, Ishbel Gordon, *Our Lady of the Sunshine and Her International Visitors* (London, 1909), 76–81; Marguerite Gobat to Gabrielle Duchêne [French], March 7, 1927, Fol Rés. 206, Dossiers Duchêne, BDIC; Minutes, WILPF International Executive Committee, March 21, 1928, reel 9, WILPF Papers; Carrie Chapman Catt to Bertha Lutz, May 6, 1936, reel 12, National American Woman Suffrage Association [hereafter, NAWSA] Papers, Library of Congress; Minutes, WILPF International Executive Committee, September 10–14, 1936, reel 11, WILPF Papers; Gertrud Baer to Lola Hanouskova [German], February 8, 1937, reel 21, WILPF Papers.

²⁸ "Business Session of the ICW," June 22, 1909, ICW, *Report of Transactions of the Fourth Quinquennial*.

²⁹ ICW presidents included Millicent Garrett Fawcett, England, who was elected in 1888 but refused to serve; Lady Aberdeen, Scotland, 1893–99, 1904–20, 1922–36; May Wright Sewall, United States, 1899–1904; Pauline Chaponnière-Chaix, Switzerland, 1920–22; and Baroness Marthe Boël, Belgium, 1936–47. The Woman Suffrage Alliance was headed by Carrie Chapman Catt, United States, 1904–23, and Margery Corbett Ashby, England, 1923–46. Jane Addams, United States, served as president of the WILPF from its birth to 1929 and until her death held the title of honorary president; Emily Greene Balch, United States, became honorary president when Addams died in 1935, and the leadership fell to a series of joint chairs, all from the United States, England, Germany, the Netherlands, or Switzerland.

In the early years of the ICW, the United States bore the expense of the organization, and dues from U.S. members later made up a significant part of the budget. A legacy from the Leslie Commission, administered by Carrie Chapman Catt, supported the work of the IAW for years. Jane Addams regularly raised money to support the work of the WILPF and contributed much of her Nobel Peace Prize money to the organization. See ICW, *Report of Transactions*, 1899, vol. 1, 38; Margery Corbett Ashby to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 25, 1923, reel 10, NAWSA Papers, LC; Interview with Margery Corbett Ashby, November 23, 1976, conducted by Brian Harrison, cassette 8, Ashby Papers, FL; "Central Bureau Notes," *Internationaal*, 3 (January–March 1918); C[or] Ramondt-Hirschmann to Friends, February 16, 1931, reel 22, Addams Papers; "To the Sections" [1931], reel 10, WILPF Papers.

³⁰ Although international Catholic and Jewish women's organizations participated in coalition efforts, there was friction between the major international women's organizations and what was referred to as the Catholic women's movement; furthermore, the fact that the coalitions sought out the involvement of Catholic and Jewish groups, while such organizations as the World Women's Christian Temperance Union and the World Young Women's Christian Association were charter members, is revealing.

values; and both the ICW and the WILPF took regular note of Christmas celebrations. Furthermore, anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim prejudice surfaced within the Protestant-dominated international women's organizations.³¹

After World War I shook the foundations of European world dominance and set in motion the process of decolonization, the international women's organizations faced new challenges. Seeking to become—or at least to appear—what they called “truly international,” they added members and national sections in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.³² Although “feminist orientalism” too often continued to characterize attitudes of European-origin women toward “Third World” women, some members questioned traditional thinking.³³ When the Women's International League sought to recruit Indian representatives to its congress of 1921, the Indian News Service and Information Bureau responded bluntly that they wanted “an Indian delegation entirely independent of the British women.”³⁴ And when the WILPF organizers of the 1932 Grenoble congress asked a Chinese woman living in Berlin to come and speak briefly in Chinese, she responded, in German, that she could not undertake a lengthy interruption of her work “merely to speak for a few minutes in a language that probably all of the congress participants could not understand.” She found this an “unreasonable demand that I cannot reconcile with my self-respect” and pointedly refused to be used in that way.³⁵ Eurocentrism did not go unchallenged.

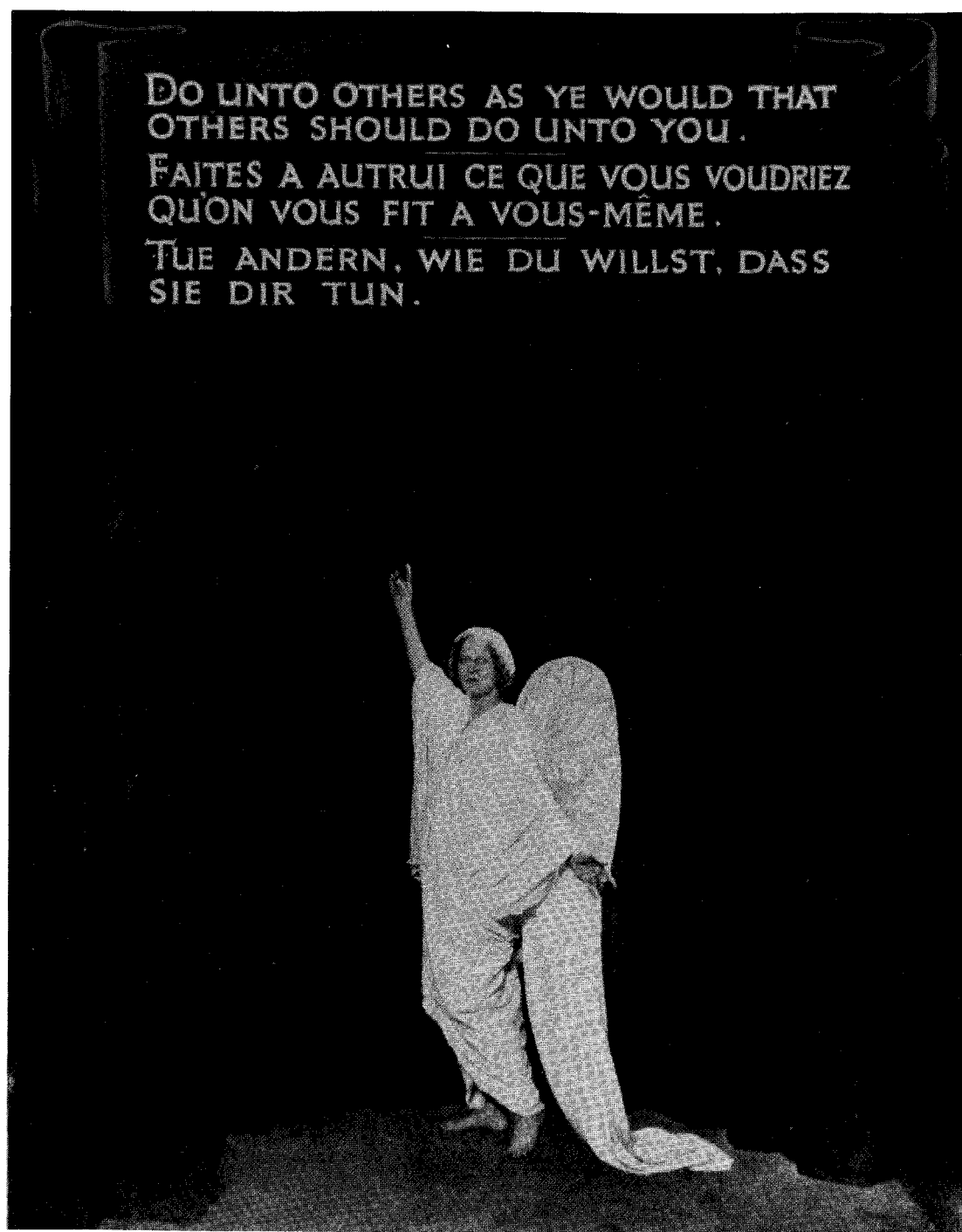
³¹ On anti-Semitism in the Woman Suffrage Alliance, see Bosch, *Politics and Friendship*, 219–24. On Rosika Schwimmer, a prominent Jewish activist, see Rosa Rauter, “Rosika Schwimmer: Stationen auf dem Lebensweg einer Pazifistin,” *Feministische Studien*, 3 (1984): 63–76; and Beth S. Wenger, “Radical Politics in a Reactionary Age: The Unmaking of Rosika Schwimmer, 1914–1930,” *Journal of Women's History*, 2 (Fall 1990): 66–99. See also Martina Kramers to Rosika Schwimmer [German], August 31, 1907, box A–13, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Salomon, “Character Is Destiny,” Salomon Papers, LBI, in which Salomon discusses the opposition to her potential presidency of the ICW; on Rosa Manus as a Jew, see Mia Bossevain, tribute to Rosa Manus, Rosa Manus Papers, Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging; Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 31, 1939, reel 4, Catt Papers, LC, in which Manus discusses a conflict over Palestine with Egyptian feminist Huda Shaarawi. On Shaarawi, see Huda Shaarawi, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist (1879–1924)*, Margot Badran, ed. (New York, 1987).

³² See, for example, Carrie Chapman Catt, “India” [part 2], *Jus Suffragii*, 6 (July 15, 1912); Stenographic report of Second Congress, October 24, 1921, folder 6, International Federation of Working Women Papers, Schlesinger Library; “Second Annual Convention of the International Association of Medical Women,” *Jus Suffragii*, 16 (September 1922); “India,” *Jus Suffragii*, 19 (March 1925). I am grateful to Anene Ejikeme, who first noted the use of the term “truly international” for a later period in “‘One Big Family’: Nigerian Women and WILPF, 1950–70” (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1992).

³³ See Joyce Zonana, “The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*,” *Signs*, 18 (Spring 1993): 592–617. See also Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Antoinette Burton, “The Feminist Quest for Identity: British Imperial Suffragists and ‘Global Sisterhood,’ 1900–1915,” *Journal of Women's History*, 3 (Fall 1991): 46–81; Catherine Candy, “Margaret Cousins, ‘Mother India’ and the Ideal ‘Femaculine’: An Irish Orientalist Feminist in India,” unpublished paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 1991; Barbara N. Ramusack, “Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865–1945,” in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobels, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 119–36.

³⁴ Agnes Smedley for the Secretary, Pandurgang Khanko, to Emily Greene Balch, April 28, 1921, reel 1, WILPF Papers; see also [Emily Greene Balch?] to [Marguerite] Gobat [German], May 6, 1921, reel 1, WILPF Papers; Marguerite Gobat to Anna Wössner [German], May 10, 1921, reel 1, WILPF Papers.

³⁵ Chiyin Chen to Anne Zueblin [German], May 14, 1932, reel 20, WILPF Papers.



Souvenir of Allegorical Tableau arranged by Miss Ruth Burchenal, for the opening of the International Council of Women's Public Meeting, May 6, 1925. Courtesy of the International Council of Women.

THE LIMITS OF INCLUSION, and challenges to them, shaped the process of creating an international collective identity. Conflict among competing perspectives produced the boundaries, consciousness, and politicization of everyday life of internationally organized women, who often participated in a number of communities that sustained distinct, sometimes overlapping, identities. The increasing movement of women into public life from the turn of the century and the geographical expansion of the international women's organizations in the inter-war period contributed to the constant renegotiation of collective identity.

Both by assuming fundamental gender differences and by advocating separatist organizing, women in transnational organizations drew boundaries that separated women from men.³⁶ Sometimes, they painted the differences in broad strokes: German pacifist Anita Augspurg contrasted the "world of men," "built up on profit and power, on gaining material wealth and oppressing other people," to the "new world" women could build that would "produce enough for all and which would include the protection of children, youth and the weak." Augspurg's life partner, Lida Gustava Heymann, likewise condemned men's "lies and hatred and violence" and lauded the world women wanted to establish based on "love, right and mutual understanding."³⁷

Such contrasts came to the fore in discussions of what participants oftentimes considered the male business of war and the female penchant for peace. Of World War I, Mary Sheepshanks of England wrote, "Men have made this war; let women make peace—a real and lasting peace." Hungarian Paula Pogány had never in her life "felt more aversion against everything what [*sic*] carries the character of manhood." In the interval between the wars, Egyptian feminist Huda Shaarawi proclaimed that, "if men's ambition has created war, the sentiment of equity, innate in women, will further the construction of peace." More bluntly, International Woman Suffrage Alliance leader Carrie Chapman Catt insisted, "All wars are men's wars. Peace has been made by women but war never." In the midst of World War II, she ventured that men had never wanted to end war: "They like to fight, they like the adventure, they like the prestige, and they certainly love conquest."³⁸

³⁶ There is an enormous scholarship on the history of "difference" versus "sameness" assumptions and arguments in women's organizing. See, for example, Black, *Social Feminism*; Nancy F. Cott, "What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism'"; or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History," *Journal of American History*, 76 (December 1989): 809–29; Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis, 1989); Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs*, 14 (Autumn 1988): 119–57; Joan W. Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," *Feminist Studies*, 14 (Spring 1988): 33–50. This is also a critical issue for contemporary feminist theorists: see, for example, Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs*, 13 (Spring 1988): 405–36; Hester Eisenstein, *Contemporary Feminist Thought* (Boston, 1983); Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: A Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought* (Boston, 1988).

³⁷ Minutes, WILPF International Congress, September 3–8, 1934, reel 20, WILPF Papers; Speech of Lida Gustava Heymann, WILPF Zurich Congress [1919], reel 17, WILPF Papers.

³⁸ Mary Sheepshanks, "Peace," *Jus Suffragii*, 13 (December 1918); Paula Pogány to Mary Sheepshanks, February 8, 1915, box A–54, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; "L'Orient et l'Occident en coopération," *La République*, April 20, 1935, box 484, Ashby Papers, FL; "Man Made

Underlying such sentiments was a widespread essentialist assumption that women's biological capacity for reproduction made them inherently pacifistic. As Germaine Malaterre-Sellier, a French suffrage leader, maintained, "Women who have given life must always have a horror of war." A German-language appeal to women as mothers of sons asked, "Have you forgotten the hour of his birth? No man can sympathize with that, for he has never with a hundred thousand pains borne a child." Women who had given birth were coming to realize "that it is senseless to continue to give life when this life will surely be annihilated by violence and war."³⁹ Over and over again, women referred to themselves as "guardians, nurses & preservers," "Mothers of the Human Race," "carriers of life," "MOTHERS OF THE NATIONS," "guardians of the new generations."⁴⁰

Appeals to women as mothers served as a staple of the propaganda issued by international women's organizations.⁴¹ Most echoed the "Call to Women" in 1936 issued by the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix, a peace campaign mounted by both men and women: "[M]others everywhere feel a growing despair. They tremble at the thought that the children they have borne must undergo the horrors of another war." But motherhood as a basis of solidarity did not have to be essentialist, as illustrated by an appeal in 1920 "To the Women of Palestine Who Love Peace." It called on women as the socializers of children to use their power to help "their sons and daughters grow up free from religious and racial prejudice, free from all that is dwarfing in the wrong kind of patriotism." Motherhood had the potential to unite all women, even those who had not given birth. According to Hungarian pacifist Rosika Schwimmer, "Even women who are not physically mothers, feel all as the mothers of the human race."⁴² That appeals to motherhood could be strategic as well as heartfelt is suggested by WILPF leader

Wars," *Pax*, 6 (May 1931); Carrie Chapman Catt to Margery Corbett Ashby and Katherine Bompas, June 16, 1942, box 3, Catt Collection, NYPL.

³⁹ "A Call to the Congress," *Jus Suffragii*, 20 (March 1926); "Die Waffen nieder! Aufruf an alle Frauen der ganzen Erde," n.d., reel 9, WILPF Papers; "Women's Organisations for World Order" [German], n.d., reel 110, WILPF Papers.

⁴⁰ Quotations from Milena Rudnycka, "The National Question and Its Peaceful Solution," August 26, 1929, reel 19, WILPF Papers; Ishbel Aberdeen and Temair, "A New Year's Message from the I.C.W. President," January 1925, *ICW Bulletin*, 3 (January–February 1925); "International Manifesto of Women," *Jus Suffragii*, 8 (September 1, 1914); Minutes, Internationaler Frauenkongress, May 12–17, 1919, reel 17, WILPF Papers; Aletta Jacobs to Rosika Schwimmer, August 18, 1914, box A-41, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Gertrude G. Bussey and Marie Lous-Mohr to Secretary-General of the United Nations, September 9, 1946, reel 4, WILPF Papers. Similar expressions can be found in Emily Hobhouse, "To Women throughout Europe," n.d., box A-51, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection; Skandinavische Vorbereitungskom. to "Werte Frau" [August 1917], box A-91, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection; Marie Hoheisel to Ishbel Aberdeen, *ICW Bulletin*, 13 (December 1934).

⁴¹ "Die Waffen nieder! Aufruf an alle Frauen der ganzen Erde"; Emily Hobhouse, "An die Frauen in ganz Europa," n.d., box 118, Fannie Fern Andrews Papers, Schlesinger Library; "Aufruf an die Mütter!" [October 1918], box A-101, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; "Message of the WILPF to the Women of Japan" [1924], reel 2, WILPF Papers; "To All Mothers—to All Women," call to Women's World Congress for Peace and Liberty, Cuba, October 1939, reel 11, WILPF Papers.

⁴² "A Call to Women" [1936], nr. 24, Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix Papers, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis [hereafter, IISG], Amsterdam; "To Women of Palestine Who Love Peace," September 1920, reel 1, WILPF Papers; Rosika Schwimmer, "War and Women" [1914], box A-48, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL. See also Louise C. A. van Eeghen, "Address Given at the Prague Conference of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches," *ICW Bulletin*, 7 (December 1928); Marie Hoheisel, "The World Needs 'Mothering,'" *ICW Bulletin*, 14 (February 1936).

Emily Greene Balch's comment that "I see value in sentimental appeals to 'the mother heart.'"⁴³

Another powerful argument for women's difference targeted wartime sexual violence as a stark boundary separating women from men. The ICW's Peace Committee protested in 1913 against "the horrible violation of womanhood that attends all war." Carrie Chapman Catt revealed her vision of civilization and progress, arguing that the "conditions of war subvert the natural instincts of many men of all races, who temporarily return to the brutal practices of the most savage primitive races."⁴⁴ Expressing a gloomier view of "civilized" men's peacetime behavior, Rosika Schwimmer protested that the "victimizing of children, young girls, and women of all ages so common in peaceful times, because under the double standard of morals men are not outlawed for sexual crimes, is multiplied in war time."⁴⁵ Picking up the theme of violence, the flyer that announced the upcoming Hague Congress referred circumspectly to rape as one reason women needed to come together internationally: "[T]he moral and physical sufferings of many women are beyond description and are often of such a nature that by the tacit consent of men the least possible is reported. Women raise their voices in commiseration with those women wounded in their deepest sense of womanhood and powerless to defend themselves."⁴⁶ Violence against women, like motherhood, had the potential to unite women across cultures.

Not all expressions of boundaries between women and men had such potentially universal appeal. One strand of discourse in the period before World War I called attention to women's social roles in the home. Lady Aberdeen argued that devotion to the home brought women together across the chasms of class and race. Finnish Woman Suffrage Alliance member Annie Furuhjelm saw the "motor force of the whole movement" as the "intuitive comprehension of women that they have to go out of their own individual homes in order to make the big world more of a home." For Mary Sheepshanks, it was the fact that women had for so many generations been isolated in their homes that made their schemes for reform different from men's.⁴⁷ As women in industrialized societies moved increasingly into the labor force, and as women of European origin recognized divergent patterns of social organization in different parts of the world, this theme lost salience.

⁴³ Emily Balch to Elisabeth Waern-Bugge, December 12 [1934], reel 2, WILPF Papers.

⁴⁴ "Memorandum of the Meeting of the Executive and Standing Committees," May 20–27, 1913, ICW *Annual Report*, 1912–13; "The Atrocities of War," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (October 1, 1914). Catt pressured Mary Sheepshanks to collect evidence of "wrongs done to women" by any of the belligerents during the war. See Mary Sheepshanks to Rosika Schwimmer, December 15, 1914, box A–50, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL.

⁴⁵ Rosika Schwimmer, "The Women of the World Demand Peace" [September 1914], box A–42, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL. Schwimmer reported to a colleague on the rape of Hungarian women by Russian soldiers and the rape of French women by German soldiers. See Schwimmer to Florence Holbrook, January 26, 1915, box A–53, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection.

⁴⁶ "An International Conference of Women" [1915], reel 16, WILPF Papers. The issue of rape also came up with regard to the Japanese invasion of China (Muriel Lester to Clara Ragaz, April 1, 1938, reel 3, WILPF Papers) and World War II (Carrie Chapman Catt to Margery Corbett Ashby and Katherine Bompas, June 16, 1942, reel 11, NAWSA Papers, LC).

⁴⁷ "The Presidential Addresses Delivered by the Countess of Aberdeen during the Visit of the I.C.W. Executive Committee to Paris," June 1906, ICW HQ; Annie Furuhjelm, "Our Alliance," *Jus Suffragii*, 8 (May 1, 1914); M[ary] Sheepshanks, "What Women Want," *Jus Suffragii*, 8 (July 1, 1914).

Likewise, the motif of women's disfranchisement or lack of political power would diminish over time.⁴⁸ At the founding congress of the ICW, U.S. suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton referred to the "universal sense of injustice, that forms a common bond of union" among "the women of all nationalities." When women in the United States still lacked the vote, Carrie Chapman Catt saw Chinese suffragists beholding "the same vision which is arousing the women of all the Nations of the Earth" and, turning her gaze to the Balkans, asserted that there "are wrongs of countries and of classes to be righted, but the wrongs of women are common to all races and nations." Mary Sheepshanks agreed: "Unenfranchised, unequal before the law, suffering from innumerable disabilities and injustices, [women] will preserve the bond of their common sisterhood."⁴⁹ But the granting of women's suffrage in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and many of the European countries around the time of World War I created division between enfranchised and still-voteless women. Although the IWSA congress in Stockholm in 1911 had resolved that the nations with suffrage "feel that their work is not done . . . as long as the women of any country remain disfranchised," women voters seemed increasingly eager to move on to other issues. Public discussion of the future of the organization focused on the fact that many women—especially women of the "East," "probably needing our help more than any others"—remained voteless. Annie Furuhjelm warned that "the Enfranchised Women must take up a line of their own in the Alliance or else drop out of it altogether."⁵⁰

Still, the general lack of political power continued to draw a line between women and men, at least in countries where men had some political rights. Siao-Mei Djang, a Chinese woman writing a pamphlet for the WILPF in 1929, could still refer to "the problems which are universal to womanhood."⁵¹ Enfranchised women tended to focus on the independence of women from traditional political parties. According to Emily Greene Balch, women, "in the main outside of the politics of the past," were "free from bad old political habits and traditions, and free to strike out a new political method, not dominated by party, in which social and moral values shall outweigh all others." When Adolf Hitler came to power, the WILPF issued a "Statement on Fascism" proclaiming that "we women, the greater part of whom are outside all political parties, and consequently not obliged to take the orders of any of them, can understand these events independently, with our simple common sense, and our sense of what is human."⁵²

⁴⁸ Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, points out that Katharine Anthony, in *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (1915), asserted that disfranchisement was responsible for an "unconscious internationalism" among women.

⁴⁹ National American Woman Suffrage Association, *Report of the International Council of Women* (Washington, D.C., 1888), 33; Carrie Chapman Catt to the Editor, *New York Sun*, January 11, 1913, box 1, Catt Collection, NYPL; Carrie Chapman Catt, "Congress Announcements," *Jus Suffragii*, 7 (February 15, 1913); Mary Sheepshanks, "Is Internationalism Dead?" *Jus Suffragii*, 10 (June 1, 1916).

⁵⁰ "International Woman Suffrage Alliance," typescript, n.d., box 22, Dillon Collection, Schlesinger Library; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "The Future of the I.W.S.A.," *Jus Suffragii*, 14 (December 1919); Annie Furuhjelm to Aletta Jacobs, February 12, 1920, box 1, Jacobs Papers, IIAV.

⁵¹ Siao-Mei Djang to M[ary] Sheepshanks, July 30, 1929, reel 19, WILPF Papers. Bosch, *Politics and Friendship*, argues persuasively that the model of "universal sisterhood" was largely an American construction. See also Sherrick, "Toward Universal Sisterhood."

⁵² E[mily] B[alch], "Our Work," *Pax*, 1 (February 1920); International Executive Committee, "Statement on Fascism," April 11–15, 1933, reel 10, WILPF Papers.

The notion of women's difference from men—whether biologically or socially based—found organizational expression in the separatist nature of the three major international bodies and the coalitions they formed. Although European women most often asserted that single-sex organizing represented a temporary expedient or even expressed a preference for organizing with men, associating separatism with “the New World,” none of the bodies changed its policies.⁵³ The ICW invited men to certain congress functions but kept some meetings for women only. Reflecting the increasing integration of women into public life, the WILPF in the 1920s posed the question of whether or not it should remain a women's organization, but it developed a rationale for the status quo based on the range of positions on women's difference.⁵⁴ Perhaps a sign of uneasiness over the old-fashioned associations of single-sex organizing in an increasingly hetero-social world, few women explicitly defended the practice. Catherine Marshall's sentiments—“It is always a pleasure to meet *Women fellow workers* . . . I do like women best! Who was it said: The more I see of men the better I think of women!”—stand out in the records of the international women's movement.⁵⁵

Some questioned not only the efficacy of separatist organizing but also the assumption of women's difference, although these were isolated voices. The audience at the Hague Congress hissed down one woman for saying that “the average woman is no more for peace than men are,” showing not only the existence of dissent but the emotion invested in the dogma of difference.⁵⁶ The disillusionment of World War I and the mounting threats to peace in the 1930s took their toll on some activists. Rosika Schwimmer, in 1934, admitted that she no longer believed in women's natural pacifism.⁵⁷ Even those who kept the faith

⁵³ On the idea of separatism as a temporary expedient, see Ishbel Aberdeen, “Presidential Address,” ICW, *Report of Transactions of Second Quinquennial Meeting*, vol. 1; Interview with Margery Corbett Ashby, September 21, 1976, conducted by Brian Harrison, cassette no. 6, Ashby Papers, FL; on the preference for working with men, see Elizabeth Baelde, “Impressions of the visit of the I.C.W. to Canada,” Countess of Aberdeen, *Our Lady of the Sunshine and Her International Visitors*, 31–34; Eline Hansen to Rosika Schwimmer, March 12, 1915, box A-55, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; “Report of Business Sessions,” May 1, 1915, ICWPP, *Report*, 162–63; Minutes, Disarmament Committee, January 15, 1932, Peace and Disarmament Committee Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; Eva Fichet to Emily Greene Balch [French], August 19, 1934, reel 20, WILPF Papers; Rosika Schwimmer to Gabrielle Duchêne [1934], reel 20, WILPF Papers.

⁵⁴ “Report of the Meeting of the Committee of Arrangements,” July 6, 1898, ICW Executive Minute Book, ICW HQ; “What Is This League?” pamphlet [1920–21], reel 9, WILPF Papers; see also “From Letter from Mrs. Spencer,” April 1, 1920, and “From Letter from Eleanor M. Moore,” June 12, 1920, reel 1, WILPF Papers; “Circular Letter to Executive Committee,” April 30, 1920, reel 9, WILPF Papers; Emily Balch to Jane Addams, January 8, 1921, reel 13, Addams Papers; Emily Balch to Jane Addams, June 29 [1922], reel 14, Addams Papers; Minutes, 8th International Congress, September 3–8, 1934, reel 20, WILPF Papers.

⁵⁵ Catherine E. Marshall to Vilma Glücklich, May 14 [1923], reel 15, Addams Papers.

⁵⁶ “Report of Business Sessions,” ICWPP, *Report*, 128–29.

⁵⁷ Rosika Schwimmer to Gabrielle Duchêne [1934], reel 20, WILPF Papers. See also M. Slieve McGowan, “Women and Politics,” *Jus Suffragii*, 17 (February 1923), a challenge to the idea that women's nature is “differently organized” than men's; a protest raised at the WILPF congress of 1932 to the idea that men led the world into war and only women could stop it, Minutes, WILPF Congress, May 15–19, 1932, reel 20, WILPF Papers; Bertha Lutz's comment that “women are not really feminists and still less, pacifists,” Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt, August 25, 1933, reel 12, NAWSA Papers, LC.

always knew that they were different from the majority of women. They were conscious of their identity as internationalists.

PARTICIPANTS REGULARLY DESCRIBED AN INTERNATIONAL "WE." Early in the history of the ICW, Teresa Wilson, the Corresponding Secretary, referred to "us . . . International workers." Of a potential co-worker, Emily Greene Balch noted, "She appears to be of our way of thinking." Dutch Woman Suffrage Alliance leader Rosa Manus expressed satisfaction that Mary Sheepshanks was taking over the editorship of the journal *Jus Suffragii* because she was so "internationally minded." Describing a fellow German WILPF member, Lida Gustava Heymann used the phrase "very much in agreement with our ideas." And the phrase "we international women" occurred twice in one letter of Austrian feminist Helene Granitsch.⁵⁸

Internationally minded women did not all agree on the significance of their collective consciousness for individual national identities. For some, internationalism coexisted with a strong national loyalty, unless the two came into conflict, in which case nationalism took precedence. The very principles governing the functioning of the ICW and the IAW, and to a lesser extent the WILPF, reflected this understanding of priorities. The constitution of the ICW stated from the outset that the international body had no power over its member groups, so that no National Council would "render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence or method of work." In response to a conflict between the National Councils of Sweden and Norway, the ICW added a new article to its constitution specifically excluding all "political and religious questions of a controversial nature affecting the inter-relationship of two or more countries" from the jurisdiction of the international structure.⁵⁹ In 1909, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance adopted a bylaw pledging "absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national" and promising to "respect the independence of each affiliated association, and to leave it entirely free to act on all matters within its own country."⁶⁰ Both the 1915 Hague Congress and the 1919

⁵⁸ Teresa Wilson to Anna Simson, December 1, 1898, 83-328(1), Helene-Lange-Archiv, LB; Emily Greene Balch to Jane Addams, February 16, 1921, reel 13, Addams Papers; Rosa Manus to Clara Hyde, October 8, 1923, reel 4, Catt Papers, LC; Lida Gustava Heymann to Vilma Glücklich [German], March 18, 1925, reel 2, WILPF Papers; Helene Granitsch to Helen Archdale [German], June 18, 1931, box 334, Equal Rights International Papers, Fawcett Library.

⁵⁹ 1888 Constitution, printed in Sewall, *Genesis of the ICW*; "Memorandum of the Meeting of General Officers," July 26-27, 1905, *ICW Annual Report*, 1904-05; "The Meeting of the I.C.W. Executive Committee in Paris" [June 15-18, 1906], *ICW Annual Report*, 1905-06. Lady Aberdeen responded to the publication and distribution by the National Council of Women of Norway of a pamphlet explaining the situation between Sweden and Norway by writing to constituent councils: "I am sure that I need not remind you that it would be undesirable for any of our Councils to pass a resolution, or express an opinion, regarding the internal political affairs of any Country." Lady Aberdeen to Marie Stritt, July 11, 1905, 80-309(2), Helene-Lange-Archiv, LB. Likewise, in 1932, when the Greek National Council of Women sent out a letter about the Cyprus situation, Aberdeen wrote all presidents of National Councils to remind them of the constitutional ban on involvement with such conflicts. Lady Aberdeen to Presidents [German], February 17, 1932, 85-334(1), Helene-Lange-Archiv.

⁶⁰ Minutes, May 1, 1909, IWSA, *Report of the Fifth Conference and First Quinquennial, London, England, 1909* (London, 1909).

Zurich congress that gave birth to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom barred debate on national responsibility for or conduct of the war.⁶¹ Despite this rule, the WILPF prided itself, in contrast to the other two organizations, on its willingness to meet during World War I, to speak out against fascism in the 1930s, and to take strong positions on the eve of World War II.⁶² The ICW reported, with regard to the interorganizational Conference on Prevention of the Causes of War held in 1924, that the WILPF "did not feel able to actively co-operate whith [*sic*] us when our Board of Officers passed a resolution asking all speakers 'to refrain from mentioning incidents of the last War by way of illustration, or any of the political controversies arising therefrom.'"⁶³ The fear that transnational organizations might infringe on the autonomy of national sections reflected the continued salience of national identities.

Indeed, during World War I, some women, in a fervor of nationalism, had seemed wholly to abandon internationalism. French women's organizations cut their ties to international groups. Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger wrote in an open letter to "Sisters of the Union" (Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes), published in *Jus Suffragii*, that this was no time for feminist demonstrations against the war, that Frenchwomen should show "that we are worthy to help to direct our country since we are capable of serving it."⁶⁴ The Central Committee of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes protested the inclusion of its name on a peace petition presented to U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, pointing out that "those who are fighting for our country and for our homes need all of our encouragement and all of our moral force."⁶⁵ And the French groups refused to send delegates to the Hague Congress. When pacifist and feminist Gabrielle Duchêne founded a French affiliate of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, the leadership of the French National Council of Women asked her to resign.⁶⁶

In Britain, Millicent Garrett Fawcett of the mainstream National Union of Women Suffrage Societies and Emmeline Pankhurst of the militant Women's

⁶¹ ICWPP, *Report*. See the proposal for this policy in Chrystal Macmillan to "Dear ———," December 12, 1914, box A-50, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL. On the 1919 congress, see [Emily Balch] to [Matilda] Widegren, November 27, 1919, reel 1, WILPF Papers.

⁶² See, for example, Jane Addams to Kathleen Courtney, August 15, 1932, reel 24, Addams Papers; Olga Misar to Camille Drevet, September 13, 1932, reel 10, WILPF Papers; Minutes, International Executive Committee, August–September 1934, reel 10, WILPF Papers; "Replies from International Organisations to W.I.L.P.F. Proposal re Campaign in Support of Initiative on the Lines of President Roosevelt's Message" [1939], reel 11, WILPF Papers.

⁶³ "President's Report," ICW, "Combined Third and Fourth Annual Report of the Seventh Quinquennial Period," 1922–24, ICW Papers, ICW HQ.

⁶⁴ "French Suffragists and the War," letter from de Witt Schlumberger to Sisters of the Union, *Jus Suffragii*, 8 (September 1, 1914). At the same time, Schlumberger objected to the portrayal of French women as opposed to international collaboration; see copy of extract from "La Revue," September 15, 1915 [French], Dossier de Witt Schlumberger, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, Paris.

⁶⁵ Le Bureau du Comité Central, l'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes to Carrie Chapman Catt [French], December 23, 1914, reel 20, NAWSA Papers, LC. Catt refused to take this protest seriously; Carrie Chapman Catt to Mme. Schlumberger, January 15, 1915, reel 20, NAWSA Papers. Anna Howard Shaw thought the French women were making a mountain out of a molehill; Shaw to Aletta Jacobs, February 15, 1915, box 2, Jacobs Papers, ILAV.

⁶⁶ "Some Letters from Those Not Adhering to the Congress," ICWPP, *Report*; Mme. Pichon Landry, "French Women and the Hague Congress," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (June 1, 1915); on Duchêne, see Klejman and Rochefort, *L'égalité en marche*, 192.

Social and Political Union both refused to support the 1915 Hague Congress, although other British women did answer the call.⁶⁷ A Belgian woman who attended but did not vote on the resolution calling for the end of the war explained why: "In spite of the fact that my woman's heart knows that the war cannot continue, we cannot demand peace at any price. First of all, we must be given back our country, our prosperity, our well-being. That is all that I have thought of up to now. I cannot think as all of you do; I am Belgian above all."⁶⁸

On the other side of the battle lines, women also expressed fierce loyalty as members of their nations. The Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine refused to participate at The Hague because, as Gertrud Bäumer explained, "It is obvious to us that during a national struggle for existence, we women belong to our people and *only* to them."⁶⁹ The German women who did attend met with frosty disapproval at home.⁷⁰ Although women of the belligerent nations sat down together at The Hague, their brave attempt to make peace gave rise to some vigorous expressions of nationalism in conflict with, and superseding, internationalism.

Other women in the international movement agreed that the two identities might clash but sought to replace nationalism with internationalism. Sometimes, as an expression of their international consciousness, they repudiated the policies of their own governments. In contrast to the French and German women who metaphorically wrapped themselves in their respective national flags during and immediately after World War I, others engaged in repeated symbolic displays of bonds of what they called "sisterhood." *Jus Suffragii* published an open letter from German women in December 1914 calling on "our sister-women" to recognize that women in wartime share the same fate.⁷¹ French women—Gabrielle Duchêne among them—who regretted the refusal of their national organizations to support the Hague Congress sent an open letter to German women, prompting a return greeting to "our French sisters."⁷² At the postwar Zurich congress of the

⁶⁷ Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "Ought There to Be an International Congress of Women in the Near Future," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (January 1, 1915); "Mrs. Pankhurst Won't Go," *New York Times*, April 8, 1915. Italian women also objected to the congress. See Elma Solens to Rosika Schwimmer [French], March 20, 1915, box A-56, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Gabriella Spolletti Rasponi to Lady Aberdeen [French], May 5, 1915, box 10, ICW Papers, NCW-GB HQ.

⁶⁸ "Report of Business Sessions" [French], April 30, 1915, ICWPP, *Report*, 136. Jane Brigode, from the Fédération Belge pour le Suffrage des Femmes, was offended by Aletta Jacobs' invitation to the Hague Congress; Aletta Jacobs to Jane Brigode, January 1919, reel 36, WILPF Papers. The exchange of letters is printed in *Internationaal*, 4 (January–February–March 1919).

⁶⁹ Gertrud Bäumer, April 4, 1915, "Some Letters from Those Not Adhering to the Congress" [German], ICWPP, *Report*, 306–10. See also Marie Stritt and Alma Dzialoszynski, "Answer by the Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht to the Christmas Greeting from English Women," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (April 1, 1915). Gerhard, *Unerhört*, discusses German women's responses, 311.

⁷⁰ "Internationaler Frauenkongress 1915" [German], reel 1, WILPF Papers. Austrian women also refused to participate. See Ernestine von Fürth, "Opinions of Some Who Refused to Participate," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (June 1, 1915).

⁷¹ "To the International Woman Suffrage Alliance," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (December 1, 1914).

⁷² "Copy of Letter of the French Committee to German Women" [French, 1915], reel 110, WILPF Papers; Lida Gustava Heymann and Anita Augspurg, "Antwort des Deutschen Komitees auf einem Schreiben des Französischen Komitees, No. 1," August 20, 1915, box 30, Andrews Papers, Schlesinger Library; Frida Perlen, "Reply on Behalf of the German Committee to the Letter of the French Committee, No. 2" [1915], box A-62, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL. See also "Greetings from Suffragists," *Jus Suffragii*, 10 (February 1, 1916); Helene Lecher-Rohthorn to Aletta Jacobs, April 1916, *Internationaal*, 1 (May–June–July 1916); "Deutsche Frauen an französischen

Women's International League, French women unable to attend addressed their "German sisters," refusing to be enemies: "Because we are the same, because we are a single humanity, because our work, our sorrows and our joys are the same, because our children are the same children, we protest against the murderous invention of a 'hereditary enemy.'" ⁷³ In what became a symbol of the possibilities of internationalism, Lida Gustava Heymann greeted newly arrived French delegate Jeanne Mélin with a bouquet of roses and an outstretched hand, which Mélin clasped in friendship. ⁷⁴

Similarly, when the Woman Suffrage Alliance reconvened after the war, Frenchwoman Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger and German Marie Stritt sat side by side as an embodiment of solidarity. ⁷⁵ Re-creating the scene between Heymann and Mélin, a French woman publicly embraced a German delegate who made a plea for peace at the 1926 IAW congress in Paris. ⁷⁶ And, in 1931, the French and German sections of the WILPF issued a joint appeal to their governments and to the president of the Disarmament Conference convened by the League of Nations, stating their common desires: "Our peoples want *work* and *bread*. They want *peace* and *justice*." ⁷⁷ Such displays continued throughout the years between the wars. ⁷⁸

Members of the WILPF in particular took great pride in transcending nationalism. Explaining the group's philosophy to an inquiring Cuban woman, secretary Mary Sheepshanks in 1930 recounted tales of the German national section planting trees in devastated areas of France, the French section protesting its government's occupation of the Ruhr, and the British section objecting to the treatment of Ireland. In fact, at the 1919 Zurich congress, German women denounced the invasion of Belgium, and Allied women spoke out against the blockade of Germany. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese

Frauen," May 1916, *Internationaal*, 1 (May-June-July 1916); "Schwestern in den kriegführenden Ländern!" [1916], box A-84, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection. English women addressed an open Christmas letter to the women of Germany and Austria in 1915, and *Jus Suffragii* published both the original letter and a reply; see "Open Christmas Letter to the Women of Germany and Austria," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (January 1, 1915); and 9 (March 1, 1915).

⁷³ "Extract from the Forthcoming Report of the International Congress of Women" [French], May 12-17, 1919, reel 17, WILPF Papers; "Zum Internationalen Frauenkongress" [1919], reel 17, WILPF Papers.

⁷⁴ "Sechster Verhandlungstag" [1919], reel 17, WILPF Papers; "Compte rendu de la conference internationale des femmes à Zurich" [1919], reel 17, WILPF Papers.

⁷⁵ Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York, 1987).

⁷⁶ Alice Park, diary entry, June 3, 1926, box 25, Park Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, California; Extract from letter of Editha Phelps to Rosika Schwimmer, June 7, 1926, Mien van Wulften Palthe-Broese van Groenau Papers, Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging.

⁷⁷ "Communiqué," Section Française de la Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté [1931], F Rés. 296, Dossiers Gabrielle Duchêne, BDIC.

⁷⁸ See, for example, "Letter Sent by the French Section to the Women of the German Section," *Bulletin*, January and February 1923, reel 110, WILPF Papers; Andrée Jouve [French], "Messages of Europe, Christmas 1924," reel 18, WILPF Papers; "Geneva Headquarters," *Pax*, 1 (October 1926); Matilda Widegren to Jane Addams, July 25, 1927, reel 19, Addams Papers, which refers to a plan of Heymann's to form a permanent committee of French and German women; "The International Executive Committee," *Pax*, 6 (May 1931); "Germany to France," *Pax*, 6 (August 1931); "Appeal of German and French Women to Their Governments," *Pax*, 8 (February 1933); Gabrielle Duchêne, "Frida Perlen," *Pax*, 9 (February 1934).

section apologized to their "Chinese sisters" for their country's actions.⁷⁹ It became a "tradition in the Women's International League that, if a wrong has been done, it should be the Section belonging to the country which does the wrong that should appeal for right."⁸⁰ In this way, members validated their identity as internationally minded women.

Proposals to do away with nation-based organizing within the WILPF also expressed a strong international consciousness. As early as 1915, a British woman wrote to Aletta Jacobs in Amsterdam to say that she and some of her friends wanted to belong to the WILPF without joining the British section, since there "is always a danger . . . of the national side being developed at the expense of the international." In response to this kind of concern, the 1924 congress resolved to organize a World Section.⁸¹ Such a group might simply serve the purpose of including women living in countries of which they were not citizens, individuals from countries with no national section, or women who did not get along with their own national groups. But some advocates hoped to sweep away national boundaries altogether. According to international secretary Madeleine Doty, who sought to get the World Section off the ground in 1930, the WILPF ought "to have a group in its midst who belonged to no nation and called themselves world citizens."⁸² Thinking along the same lines, the author of a draft report on a "Suprainternational Republic" proposed what she called a "Mondial association" in the WILPF that might hold regional meetings to facilitate contact but whose sections would be named for geographical features that ignored national boundaries or for "great men who were conspicuously non-nationalistic."⁸³

Despite continuing discussion, Catherine Marshall referred in 1935 to the World Section as "a still-born child."⁸⁴ Throughout the 1920s, conflict raged within the WILPF over the relationship of national sections to the international structures. A critical issue concerned the method of electing the Executive Committee: one faction sought to maintain election by the international congress, another to institute a system of election by national sections. Advocates of the status quo insisted that the new procedure, by introducing national representation, would "*destroy the international spirit* that has always preserved our League up

⁷⁹ [Mary Sheepshanks] to Marie Ursule Ferrari [French], August 13, 1930, reel 21, WILPF Papers; "Towards Peace and Freedom," August 1919, reel 17, WILPF Papers; "Women and War in the Far East," *Pax*, 7 (May 1932); see also Tomi Wada Kora to Jane Addams, December 1, 1931, reel 22, Addams Papers; Edith Pye to Jane Addams, December 10, 1931, reel 22, Addams Papers.

⁸⁰ "A New Peace: Report of the International Conference of Women at The Hague, 7 to 9 December, 1922," reel 9, WILPF Papers.

⁸¹ Sophie Sturge to Aletta Jacobs, November 8 [1915], reel 9, WILPF Papers; Minutes, WILPF Executive Committee Meeting, Swarthmore, April 25–29, 1924, and Washington, May 8, 1924, reel 9, WILPF Papers; Vilma Glücklich to Jane Addams, October 8, 1924, reel 16, Addams Papers; M[yrrha] T[unas], "National Sections: 1924," reel 2, WILPF Papers; "The World Section," *Pax*, 2 (November 1926).

⁸² Madeleine Z. Doty, "The W.I.L. World Section," *Pax*, 5 (January 1930). See responses from Lida Gustava Heymann, "The World Section of the W.I.L.," *Pax*, 5 (March 1930); and from Irma Gladys Kerp, "The World Section of the W.I.L.," *Pax*, 5 (April 1930).

⁸³ "Suprainternational Republic," n.d., reel 8, Emily Greene Balch Papers, microfilm edition, Scholarly Resources.

⁸⁴ Minutes, International Executive Committee, London, March 25–30, 1935, reel 11, WILPF Papers. See also Minutes, 8th International Congress, Zurich, September 3–8, 1934, reel 20, WILPF Papers; "World Section," *Pax*, 9 (October–November 1934).

to now.”⁸⁵ Like supporters of the World Section, these members raised international consciousness above—even called for the elimination of—national thinking.

Still other women in the international movement maintained both national and international identities without tension, conceptualizing the two as complementary rather than contradictory. Emily Greene Balch, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946, described “international women” as “lovers of our own lands, . . . citizens of the world.” The German member of the preparatory committee for the Hague Congress described the triumphal international gathering: “All of the German women who attended the Congress returned home with the conviction that they served their Fatherland well.”⁸⁶

The coexistence of national and international consciousness took on special significance for women from countries newly free from imperialist domination.⁸⁷ For them, national liberation was a prerequisite for internationalism, a view that women from long-established and often imperialist nations found hard to understand. Margery Corbett Ashby, for example, the longtime British president of the IAW, found the feminist movements in India and Egypt “intensely nationalist.”⁸⁸ But women involved in both a struggle for independence and international women’s organizations often saw no conflict. A woman from the Philippines wrote that the WILPF was “in keeping not only with the objects most dear to our women hearts but also to the aspirations of my people, to have freedom.” An Arab woman at the Istanbul congress of the International Alliance of Women in 1935 warned women from the great powers that “no amount of effort on your part will ever achieve your high aim while imperialism reigns in any corner of the world.” And Huda Shaarawi, who served on the board of the Alliance of Women, maintained in 1935 that women from the East, like women from the West, ardently desired peace, “but they want it based on justice and respect for the rights of the people.”⁸⁹

How difficult dialogue could be across this chasm is illustrated by a controversy over the admittance of an Egyptian section to the WILPF in 1937. Provisionally accepted in April, this section sent proposals for the upcoming conference in Czechoslovakia, making clear that it could not accept disarmament until Egypt had the capability to defend itself and that the issue of limiting and regulating state sovereignty had different ramifications for Egypt than for Britain. “[T]he

⁸⁵ “Raisons pour lesquelles nous restons fermement attachées à la constitution actuelle” [1927], Fol Rés. 206, Dossiers Gabrielle Duchêne, BDIC.

⁸⁶ See Mercedes M. Randall, *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch* (New York, 1964), 7; Anita Augspurg, Lida Gustava Heymann, Frida Perlen, and Elise von Schlumberger, “Internationaler Frauenkongress 1915” [1915], reel 1, WILPF Papers.

⁸⁷ I am indebted to Mala Mathrani, whose Ohio State dissertation in progress, “Nationalism or Internationalism?” explores this relationship in the Indian context, for first bringing to my attention the possibility of viewing nationalism and internationalism as complementary.

⁸⁸ Margery Corbett Ashby to Josephine Schain, February 5, 1935, box 4, Schain Papers, SSC; Ashby also described Huda Shaarawi (referred to in IAW documents as “Hoda Charaoui”) as “terrifically nationalist”; Ashby to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 9, 1926, reel 11, NAWSA Papers, LC.

⁸⁹ Sofia R. de Veyra to Emily Greene Balch, June 3, 1920, reel 1, WILPF Papers; “Delegates and Friends,” carbon copy of speech at Istanbul Congress, 1935, box 1, International Alliance of Women Papers, Sophia Smith Collection; “L’Orient et l’Occident en coopération,” *La République*, April 20, 1935, box 484, Ashby Papers, FL.

great imperialist powers . . . have often abused their state sovereignty to conduct an egoistic politics dangerous to peace," the Egyptian representative asserted.⁹⁰

This position provoked consternation in the Geneva headquarters, since the joint chairmen did not want to discourage the section but could not accept its support of the Egyptian army.⁹¹ In response to a letter from Geneva explaining that if the section advocated armament it would not be in accord with the principles of the WILPF, Egyptian spokeswoman Alice Jacot denied any conflict, insisting that universal disarmament did not mean unilateral disarmament, without regard for whether a country were weak or strong, free or oppressed, aggressive or pacifist.⁹²

At the request of the Egyptian section, the Executive Committee took up the question. Anna Tuby explained for Egypt that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty called, among other things, for occupation by the British until Egypt could itself defend the Suez Canal, leaving Egyptian women with the unpleasant choice of supporting an Egyptian national army or the British occupation. Egyptian women advocated the complete independence of Egypt, which alone would make possible peace and disarmament. In the end, the Executive Committee voted to admit the section.⁹³ It is clear from this incident that Egyptian women had a very different perspective on the meaning of disarmament, sovereignty, and internationalism than did women from countries with secure national identities and independence.

THE EXPANSION OF THE MULTINATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS beyond Europe and the "neo-Europes" in the 1920s and 1930s brought new challenges to the formation of an international consciousness. Although women embraced competing frameworks for the relationship of international to national identities, they all shared a common devotion, whether weak or strong, to a bond that stretched across national borders. This consciousness of themselves as internationally minded activists constituted an important aspect of their collective identity.

Because transnationally organized women were not usually in everyday contact with one another, politicization of everyday life (the third component of collective identity) manifested itself primarily during the periodic international congresses sponsored by the different groups. At such gatherings, the cultural displays, organizational symbols, and personal interactions expressed women's international-mindedness.

Two different kinds of cultural practices at congresses created visual images of the merging of discrete national loyalties into an international identity.⁹⁴ One was

⁹⁰ A[lice] Jacot to "Madame" [French], April 15, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Egyptian section, "Propositions pour le Congrès de Luhacovice" [April 1937], reel 2, WILPF Papers.

⁹¹ Lotti Birch to Clara Ragaz and Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann [German], May 1, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann to Lotti Birch [German], May 7, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Clara Ragaz to Alice Jacot [French], May 12, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Lotti Birch to Congress Committee [German], May 12, 1937, reel 21, WILPF Papers; Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann to Clara Ragaz [German], May 20, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers.

⁹² Alice Jacot to Clara Ragaz [French], May 22, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers.

⁹³ Clara Ragaz to Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann [German], June 24, 1937, reel 3, WILPF Papers; Minutes, Executive Committee Meeting, July 26–August 3, 1937, reel 21, WILPF Papers.

⁹⁴ Bosch, *Politics and Friendship*, 18–19, describes the IWSA congresses as "cultural manifestations

the use of national flags in international ceremonies. At the 1906 International Woman Suffrage Alliance conference, according to the official report, the "international character of the meeting was indicated by little silken national flags which marked the seats of each delegation." The Stockholm hall that sheltered an ICW meeting in 1911 was likewise decked out with flags of the constituent countries in order of affiliation. In an added ritual, each National Council president stood up to speak, accompanied by a rendition of her country's anthem. Much to the horror of the German international secretary, Alice Salomon, who had taken great pains to get everything right, the orchestra struck up the German anthem when the French president arose, a mistake Salomon feared would smack of German chauvinism.⁹⁵ Faux pas aside, flags and national anthems at international congresses both expressed national loyalties and symbolized the process of bringing different nationalities together under the umbrella of internationalism.

So, too, did a second variety of cultural display, the sharing of national cultural traditions at global gatherings. One of the most popular forms of entertainment was the performance, in national dress, of a traditional song or dance. Sometimes, the committees organizing international congresses asked delegates to wear national costumes or colors.⁹⁶ One woman's description of the 1915 Hague Congress expresses the belief that national cultural forms could promote rather than undermine internationalism: "We have caught a glimpse of a beautiful land of the future where every nation and every individual shall give their tribute to

of the political ideal of international sisterhood," emphasizing that the romanticization of difference supported the idea of an essential unity and equality of women. Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 49–50, also emphasizes the use of hymns, emblems, slogans, badges, flags, and banners to strengthen the notion of women united in temperance work around the globe.

⁹⁵ "Arrangements for the Conference," *Report, Second and Third Conferences of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance* (Copenhagen, 1906); Salomon, "Character Is Destiny," 129–30, Salomon Papers, LBI. The 1925 ICW congress in Washington also opened with a ceremony in which each national representative came onto the platform accompanied by her national flag; see Eva Perry Moore to Madame President, December 20, 1924, 84–331(6), Helene-Lange-Archiv, LB.

⁹⁶ Longtime Dutch IWSA activist Rosa Manus, for example, first came to the attention of IWSA leadership when she participated in a dance in Dutch costume at the 1908 Amsterdam conference; see Carrie Chapman Catt to Friends of Rosa Manus, July 10, 1942, Catt Papers, IIAV. Other examples include a lecture-recital on Irish music at the 1926 WILPF congress in Dublin, "Fifth Biennial International Congress of the WILPF," July 8–15, 1926, reel 19, WILPF Papers; an evening of Austrian folk songs and folk dances at the ICW Quinquennial in Vienna in 1930, "Vienna Conference News," *ICW Bulletin*, 8 (March 1930); a program of Sinhalese and Indian folk songs and other cultural forms at the IWSA Istanbul congress in 1935; "Savitri," program of Istanbul Congress, 1935, box 484, Ashby Papers, FL; a performance by Danish dancers and exhibition of Danish arts and crafts at the 1939 Copenhagen IWSA Congress, Minutes, meeting of International Committee, London, July 8–9, 1938, International Alliance of Women Papers, Fawcett Library [hereafter, IAW, FL].

The Swedish auxiliary of the IWSA asked delegates to wear the colors of their country to the 1911 congress, *Jus Suffragii*, 5 (April 15, 1911); Rosa Manus requested that the presidents of national groups wear a ribbon in the colors of their country for a peace meeting on the last evening of the 1926 Paris IWSA congress, Rosa Manus to Presidents, *Jus Suffragii*, 20 (January 1926); the Irish section of WILPF asked delegates to wear national costume or a white dress with a ribbon in the colors of their country to the 1926 Dublin congress, [Madeleine Doty] to Delegates to Congress, June 10, 1926, reel 19, WILPF Papers; the Joint Standing Committee proposed to ask representatives to wear national costumes at a future dinner, Minutes, Joint Standing Committee, September 7, 1928, Liaison Committee Papers, IISG.

the life of the whole, and get it back enlarged and embellished . . . , where every one, every nation, and every individual, is enriched by the riches of all others."⁹⁷

Using national symbols in these ways mirrored the perspectives on internationalism that gave priority to nationalism or saw the two as complementary. So, too, did the creation of organizational badges and banners, although these might also serve as an alternative to conventional national symbols, in a sense elevating international—or organizational—identity. The ICW set up a committee to develop a badge sometime after the congress in 1899 and finally, in 1908, adopted a design of the intertwined letters "ICW" modeled on a brooch of Susan B. Anthony's, passed on at her death to Lady Aberdeen. Throughout the long process, various National Councils submitted and resubmitted designs, while committees evaluated the symbolic, artistic, and practical aspects of each. The badge, intended to convey a sense of harmony arising from diversity, could, president May Wright Sewall argued, serve as an effective means of propaganda if worn by members scattered over the face of the earth.⁹⁸ The ICW also created a banner in 1925 to replace an earlier one lost in 1914 with the outbreak of war in Europe. Made of silk in the organizational colors of white, gold, and purple, the new standard displayed the Golden Rule printed in Latin, with sunbeams streaming down from the motto onto a map of the world. According to Anna Backer, who conceptualized and presented the banner, the design symbolized "the unity of women of all nationalities, races and creeds."⁹⁹

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance also worked to find appropriate symbols. Neither the founding congress in 1904 nor correspondence afterward hit upon the perfect embodiment of internationalism, but in 1906 the conference in Copenhagen adopted a badge portraying the figure of justice and the words "Jus Suffragii." "In order that this badge shall be truly international," according to the conference report, which also noted that it would be made of bronze in order to be affordable to all women, "suffragists throughout the world should be encouraged to purchase and to wear it."¹⁰⁰ In 1928, the IAW announced a competition for a new design to reflect its new direction in the aftermath of the war, but ten years later a member of the International Executive Committee

⁹⁷ Hilma Bovelius, "What an International Congress Means," *Jus Suffragii*, 9 (April 1, 1915).

⁹⁸ "Editor's Preface to the Minutes of the Hague Executive" [1901], "Minutes of Executive Committee," July 10–12, 1902, "Minutes of Third Day's Meeting" [August 19, 1903], May Wright Sewall, "The Report on Council Insignia" [August 17–19, 1903], Minutes, adjourned business meeting of ICW, June 13, 1904, May Wright Sewall, "Introduction to Volume I," all in ICW, *Report of Transactions during the Third Quinquennial Term*, vol. 1; Minutes, ICW Executive Committee, August 18, 1903, 80–319(2), Helene-Lange-Archiv, LB; May Wright Sewall to Co-Workers, December 31, 1903, 83–329(5), Helene-Lange-Archiv; Ishbel Aberdeen, "President's Report," *ICW Annual Report*, 1905–06; "The Delegates at Hotel Witsburg" [informal Executive Committee meeting, June 1907], *ICW Annual Report*, 1906–07; May Wright Sewall to Marie Stritt, August 14, 1908, 84–330(2), Helene-Lange-Archiv; "Business Transacted at the Special Session of the ICW," September 1–5, 1908, *ICW Annual Report*, 1907–08; *ICW Annual Report*, 1913–14.

⁹⁹ Minutes, first business meeting of the Quinquennial Council, May 6, 1925, "Report on the Quinquennial Meeting," Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, ed., ICW HQ. See also "Editorial Notes," *ICW Bulletin*, 3 (November–December 1924); and Ishbel Aberdeen and Temair, "President's Memorandum," *ICW Bulletin*, 3 (June–July 1925).

¹⁰⁰ IWSA, *Report, Second and Third Conferences of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance*. See also Carrie Chapman Catt to Vilma Glücklich, September 29, 1905, box A-7, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; *Jus Suffragii*, 4 (October 15, 1909).



The Golden Rule in Latin on the ICW Banner, presented on May 6, 1925, by Fru Anna Backer. Courtesy of the International Council of Women.

argued that "fashions have somewhat changed" and "people do not now buy or wear such things to the same extent as formerly."¹⁰¹ The WILPF also adopted a badge, this one displaying the word "Pax." The Zurich congress in 1919 voted against a membership symbol, but the 1921 congress accepted it so that, as an Englishwoman argued, "we should then recognise each other in any country as sisters of the W.I.L."¹⁰²

Displaying an organizational symbol at home, in everyday life, provided the opportunity, in theory, for women anywhere in the world to identify with internationalism, but there is no indication in the sources that this happened or that badges played the propaganda function their advocates attributed to them. Such symbolic displays, at least in the early years, did, however, serve as an expression of international identity and organizational membership at the periodic gatherings of women from around the world.

Personal interaction at congresses, meetings, and organizational headquarters solidified the notion that national borders could not separate women committed to internationalism. Although scenes of wrenching conflict, congresses also remained in women's memories as inspiring occasions. German ICW member Marie Stritt recalled the 1899 London congress in a 1927 tribute to Lady Aberdeen: "Almost 30 years have gone by since then; life with its passionate desires and battles lies behind me—but the welcome memory of those wonderful days and weeks in London is today as alive for me as it was then." Irishwoman Louie Bennett, in anticipation of the 1934 WILPF congress, also turned her eyes to the past: "I always look back to our first Zurich Congress as an event—an inspiration—a source of refreshment." Estonian delegate Aino Kallas found the most important thing about the 1925 ICW congress in Washington to be "the personal touch." "The world's map is, so to speak, now peopled for me . . . There are friendly faces in all corners of the World, hands which are ready to help, kind voices calling from everywhere, from Iceland to South Africa." And Karleen Baker, editor of the WILPF journal *Pax*, asserted that "it is these friendships made between members in different countries that can be counted as one of the most fruitful results of any international gathering."¹⁰³

Interaction at congresses or meetings materialized in friendships across the borders of nationality, sometimes expressed in terms of family metaphors. Such relationships extended into women's everyday lives. When Lady Aberdeen died in 1939, the new ICW president, Belgian baroness Marthe Boël, described herself as one of "Aberdeen's daughters." Other members referred to Aberdeen as "Our Grannie." Rosa Manus addressed Carrie Chapman Catt first as "my dearest stepmother" and later as "Mother Carrie." When Manus's mother died, Rosa

¹⁰¹ "Competition for a New Alliance Emblem," *Jus Suffragii*, 22 (June 1928); Minutes, IAW International Committee, July 8–9, 1938, IAW Papers, FL.

¹⁰² Minutes, Third International WILPF Congress, July 10–16, 1921, reel 18, WILPF Papers. See also Eleanor M. Moore to Rosa Manus, March 3, 1917, reel 17, WILPF Papers; *Internationaal*, 3 (January–February–March 1918); "Resolutions Passed at the Third Congress of the WILPF," July 10–17, 1921, reel 18, WILPF Papers.

¹⁰³ Marie Stritt to Lady Aberdeen [German], December 3, 1927, 78–315(1), Helene-Lange-Archiv, LB; Louie Bennett to Gertrud [Baer], May 8, 1934, reel 20, WILPF Papers; "Gleanings from the Council Meetings," *ICW Bulletin*, 3 (June–July 1925); Karleen Baker, "Ninth International Congress of the W.I.L.P.F.," *Pax*, 12 (October 15, 1937).

Manus wrote Catt that "I always thought of you both on the same level and now YOU ARE THE ONLY ONE." Manus faced competition from Bertha Lutz of Brazil, who addressed Catt as "Dear (Step-) mother Mrs. Catt," "My dear (mother) Mrs. Catt," and "My dear mother (not step) Mrs. Catt," and signed herself as Catt's "Brazilian daughter." Lutz pulled no punches when she wrote to Manus: "I am not going to put step-sister, because that either presupposes that you are only a step-daughter, which you won't accept, or that I am, and that I also can not brook. So be 'sister' straight away." Within the WILPF, Jane Addams also took the role of "our beloved mother," the "dear lovable Mother whose children were from every clime and every country."¹⁰⁴

The "daughters" of revered leaders formed attachments among themselves that tied together an international community, though one almost exclusively composed of women of European origin. Friendships blossomed in common work and in turn prepared the ground for continued progress toward organizational goals. Women addressed each other with terms of endearment ("and for you a sisterly kiss," "a kiss from your Martina"¹⁰⁵), traveled together on behalf of their organizations, paid visits to each other's homes, worried about each other, and put pen to paper to express the importance of their friendships. After a disagreement, Aletta Jacobs wrote to Emily Greene Balch: "But, my dear, do not you know that only dear friends are scolded? Everyone has the need to scold now and then and if you have a dear husband, you use him for that purpose. But if you have not a wife or a husband you must use your dear friends for it."¹⁰⁶ Like symbolic expressions, transnational friendships and the formation of fictive families challenged the idea that one's closest ties fell within the borders of one's country. In these cases, internationalism, in the form of organizational loyalties, took on greater salience, even rivaling national identities.

THE INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE IDENTITY that was created and sustained within these organizations—the boundaries, the consciousness of internationalism, and

¹⁰⁴ Marthe Boël, "A Message of Goodbye," *ICW Bulletin*, 17 (May 1939); Karen M. Glaesel, "Our Grannie," *ICW Bulletin*, 17 (May 1939); Rosa Manus to Lucy Anthony, December 26, 1920, box 18, Dillon Collection, Schlesinger Library; Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, April 5, 1932, reel 4, Catt Papers, LC; Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, October 5, 1932, reel 4, Catt Papers, LC; Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, February 21, 1939, reel 4, Catt Papers, LC; Bertha Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt, August 25, 1933, reel 12, NAWSA Papers, LC; Bertha Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt, February 12, 1934, reel 12, NAWSA Papers; Bertha Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt, April 12, 1936, reel 12, NAWSA Papers; "Birthday Memorial Book," 1929, Catt Papers, IIAV; Bertha Lutz to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 29, 1931, reel 12, NAWSA Papers; Bertha Lutz to Rosa Manus, November 20, 1928, Manus Papers, IIAV; Marguerite Gobat to Jane Addams, October 3, 1929, reel 20, Addams Papers; "Messages of Europe, Christmas 1924," reel 18, WILPF Papers.

¹⁰⁵ Aletta Jacobs to Rosika Schwimmer [German], November 18, 1903, box A-4, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, NYPL; Martina Kramers to Rosika Schwimmer, October 17, 1911, box A-27, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection.

¹⁰⁶ Aletta Jacobs to Emily Greene Balch, August 10, 1919, reel 36, WILPF Papers. Bosch, *Politics and Friendship*, provides extensive coverage of such relations within the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The records of all of the organizations are replete with discussions of friends traveling together to proselytize around the globe (the most renowned was the "world tour" of Carrie Chapman Catt and Aletta Jacobs in 1911–12), invitations, thank-yous, and reminiscences about visits, inquiries about each other's health and well-being, and direct expressions of the meaning of international friendships.

the politicization of everyday life—served as the glue that held together these diverse women. The process of defining “who we are” was a contested one, challenged over time by competing ideas of why and how women were different from men, what the proper relationship between nationalism and internationalism should be, and how best to express a commitment to transcending or complementing national identities. Changes in women’s lives in industrialized societies at the turn of the century complicated the process, especially the increasing movement of women into the public world manifested in enfranchisement and the erosion of social sex-segregation, as well as the inclusion of members and national sections from dependent and formerly colonial countries in the 1920s and 1930s.

We can see the ways in which the limitations to universalism that were embedded in the functioning of the international women’s movement helped shape collective identity. Euro-American assumptions, based on a specific history of gender differentiation in industrialized societies, underlay both the conceptualization of difference between women and men and the tradition of separatist organizing.¹⁰⁷ The notion of transcending nationalism assumed an independent, secure, and perhaps even powerful national existence. And the chance to partake of symbolic representations and personal interaction depended heavily on the ability to travel, to speak and understand one of the three official languages, and to be accepted as part of the “international family.”

Despite the realities of power politics, this international collective identity held the potential for wider appeal. If the extension of political rights to women in some parts of the world around the time of World War I divided rather than united women, and if appeals based on women’s social roles in the home struck no chords in societies in which women played central roles in agriculture or trade, women could nevertheless unite through their universal roles as mothers and the reality of worldwide violence against women. The perspectives of women from countries struggling for independence in the interwar period shed fresh light on the meaning of internationalism. The rituals of belonging, especially if congresses broke out of the narrow orbit of the traditional host cities (as they finally did after World War II), could extend far more broadly.

The initial steps in the direction of a more universal collective identity may in themselves have been insignificant, but their potential demands attention. Two aspects seem hopeful. First, in line with the postmodernist and feminist recognition of multiple identities and with Hollinger’s proposal for a “postethnic perspective” that attempts to find commonalities among different identity communities, it is clear that these women’s international collective identities, based on gender, could coexist with their identities as Germans or Egyptians, pacifists or

¹⁰⁷ My thinking on these issues has been much influenced by the scholarship of U.S. women of color who have critiqued the Eurocentric bias of these aspects of feminist thought and practice. See, for some of the classic statements, The Combahee River Collective, “A Black Feminist Statement,” in Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1982), 13–22; bell hooks, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (Boston, 1984); the essays in Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, Mass., 1981); Barbara Smith, “Notes for Yet Another Paper on Black Feminism, Or Will the Real Enemy Please Stand Up?” *Conditions: Five* (1979): 123–27.

socialists or feminists, Christians or Jews, professional women or workers.¹⁰⁸ If forging bonds across cultures can build on, rather than challenge, existing loyalties, the task of making international connections does not seem so impossible. Second, if we recognize that all ties among groups of people are constructed, not “natural,” we can contemplate ways that transnational actors—organizations, institutions, and governments—can design the means to facilitate the creation of a variety of international collective identities. Women within the ICW, IAW, and WILPF might not have chosen these words to describe what they did, but they recognized that they could foster internationalism through such avenues as the socialization of children, education in the history, culture, and languages of other nations, and the gatherings of women from across the globe. If national hatred could be taught, so, too, they believed, could international understanding and love. Despite the limitations, women’s internationalism in the period before World War II points the way to one form of global identity to add to the more parochial views we have of ourselves as we move into the twenty-first century.

¹⁰⁸ Hollinger, “How Wide the Circle of the ‘We,’” 328–37. For a lucid discussion of the issue of identity from a cultural studies perspective, see Duggan, “Trials of Alice Mitchell.”

“Like Banquo’s Ghost, It Will Not Down”: The Race Question and the American Railroad Brotherhoods, 1880–1920

ERIC ARNESEN

LOCOMOTIVE FIREMAN W. H. STOVER, OF BRISTOL, VIRGINIA, appealed to the U.S. Railroad Administration in May 1918 to “correct a wrong and an injustice” that had been committed against him. Stover had worked on the Appalachia Division of the Southern Railway for the past eight years. As the fireman with the longest record of service, he felt entitled, under the railroad’s seniority rule, to his first choice of runs. Such a change would have increased his monthly salary from \$68 to \$98. But because he was “a colored man,” he maintained, the railroad had “disregarded” the rule.¹ Stover directed his plea to the federal government, which had assumed operating control over the nation’s vast railroad system during World War I. This petition was his last resort.

The Southern Railway, in fact, was in compliance with its own seniority rules. What stood in the way of Stover’s advancement was a carefully crafted system of racial quotas—known as percentage agreements—contained in the contract between the Southern Railway and the all-white Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. By World War I, the Southern Railway, like many other railroad companies in the American South, operated a dual seniority system based on race. Stover, though the most senior fireman on the division, technically was not entitled to his first choice of runs. Because “no discrimination is intentionally being made against colored firemen,” Railroad Administration personnel rejected the complainant’s request for intervention.²

Stover’s plight illuminates the racial subordination that was a central feature in the experience of black railroad workers in the United States from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century. A wide range of commentators—black railroadmen, contemporary black scholars, novelists, and activists, white liberals and radicals, and historians—have shared a blunt assessment of the

For their careful reading and critical comments, I would like to thank Katrin Schultheiss, Bruce Nelson, Daniel Letwin, Colin Davis, David Roediger, Paul Taillon, Karen Sawislak, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR*. I am also grateful to the Office of Social Science Research and the Institute for the Humanities at the University of Illinois at Chicago for research support.

¹ W. H. Stover to W. G. McAdoo, May 1, 1918, in File No. 160, “Southern Railway v. W. H. Stover, Bristol, Va.,” Records of the Division of Labor, Case Files of G. W. W. Hanger, Assistant Director, Division of Labor, 1918–1920, United States Railroad Administration, Record Group 14, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

² W. S. Carter to W. H. Stover, May 22, 1918, in File No. 160, “Southern Railway v. W. H. Stover, Bristol, Va.”

railroad brotherhoods' stance toward African-American workers on the railroads: white unions staunchly opposed black advancement, and often the very presence of blacks, in their trades. The goal of the "Big Four" brotherhoods of firemen, trainmen, conductors, and engineers was, in the words of black civil rights attorney Charles Hamilton Houston in 1949, to "have the railroad train and engine service tied up tight for a white monopoly, for a 'Nordic closed shop.'"³ Toward that end, white railroad brotherhoods devised a number of mechanisms to restrict or eliminate black competition. In Stover's case, the mechanism took the form of containment—the restriction of blacks through separate seniority lists and the maintenance of racial quotas on specific divisions of the railroad. At other times, white brotherhood men advocated the complete elimination of their black counterparts, relying on tactics that included strikes, selective violence, legislative lobbying, and contract negotiations. The racial beliefs and practices that were an integral part of the world of the members of two white railroad brotherhoods—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (which represented brakemen)—form the subject of this article.

In recent years, historians of labor and the African-American experience have begun to explore the racial dimension of white workers' identity, institutions, and strategies. During the 1980s, critics of the new labor history, such as Herbert Hill and Nell Irvin Painter, claimed that the field had a "race problem," that its practitioners were romanticizing white labor's struggles while ignoring its role in subordinating or excluding African-American and other non-white workers from both the trade union movement and the labor market.⁴ If the first wave of the new labor history paid relatively little attention to the racial perspectives and programs of white workers, the second wave since the mid-1980s has actively embraced the subject. Even as Hill, Painter, and others were leveling their charges, numerous scholars were already at work on case studies documenting patterns of working-

³ Charles H. Houston, "Foul Employment Practice on the Rails," *The Crisis*, 56 (October 1949): 270. In the late 1930s and 1940s, Houston was actively involved in judicial cases challenging the exclusionary policies of the white brotherhoods. See Genna Rae McNeil, *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Philadelphia, 1983), 156–75. Also see Ira De A. Reid, Director, Department of Research and Investigations of the National Urban League, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions* (New York, 1930), 54–58; "The Elimination of Negro Firemen on American Railways—A Study of the Evidence Adduced at the Hearing before the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices," *Lawyers Guild Review*, 4 (March–April 1944): 32–37; Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York, 1944), 48–101; Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement* (1931; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 284–315; Herbert Hill, *Black Labor and the American Legal System: Race, Work, and the Law* (Madison, Wis., 1985), 334–72; Howard W. Risher, Jr., *The Negro in the Railroad Industry* (Philadelphia, 1971); Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (New York, 1948), 118–41; Lloyd Brown, *Iron City* (New York, 1952), 148–69.

⁴ Herbert Hill, "Myth-Making as Labor History: Herbert Gutman and the United Mine Workers of America," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2 (Winter 1988): 132–33; Nell Irvin Painter, "The New Labor History and the Historical Moment," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2 (Spring 1989): 369; Painter, "Black Workers from Reconstruction to the Great Depression," in Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley, eds., *Working for Democracy: American Workers from the Revolution to the Present* (Urbana, Ill., 1985), 63–71; Noel Ignatiev, "The Paradox of the White Worker: Studies in Race Formation," *Labour/Le travail*, 30 (Fall 1992): 234. Also see David Roediger, "'Labor in White Skin': Race and Working-Class History," in Mike Davis and Michael Sprinker, eds., *Reshaping the U.S. Left: Popular Struggles in the 1980s* (London, 1988), 289; Roediger, "Notes on Working Class Racism," *New Politics*, 2 (Summer 1989): 61–66.

class race relations and racial subordination. Today, such diverse occupations and industries as steel and auto manufacturing, coal mining, nursing, domestic service, longshoring, meat packing, and tobacco processing, in cities such as Atlanta, New Orleans, Mobile, Winston-Salem, Birmingham, Richmond, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Seattle, have all received scholarly treatment that casts light on the racial attitudes and practices of white workers, in and out of unions. By 1990, Jacqueline Dowd Hall could characterize the field of southern labor history—in which issues of race and labor figure prominently—as “a cottage industry” and a “major trend”; in 1993, Robin D. G. Kelly described the literature on organized labor, black urban workers, and southern working-class politics as “voluminous.”⁵

The new works on race and labor follow no single model and share no consensus regarding the best questions to pose, methods to follow, or the answers offered. Most concur that racial egalitarianism was relatively uncommon, that biracial unions, where they existed, rested on pragmatic and often fragile foundations, and that there existed a diverse range of union racial practices.⁶ A number of issues, however, continue to divide historians of race and labor: How, and to what extent, did the labor movement advance or undermine the position of black workers? What were the motivations of white unionists in adopting their policies toward non-whites? Did a consciousness of race generally undermine or overwhelm a consciousness of class? Are biracial coalitions, certainly imperfect by today's standards, to be appreciated for their deviation from a strict rule of racial exclusion, or should they be condemned for reproducing racial divisions? Historians also implicitly disagree on two additional questions. Given the white trade union movement's active role in the construction of working-class racism, could it have chosen differently? And were black workers primarily victims of white union racism or agents engaged in their own struggles against both employers and white labor?⁷ Where historians differ most sharply is in the tone of their evaluations. For some, the glass is half full; for others, nine-tenths empty. Whatever answers historians offer, late twentieth-century political sensibilities continue to inform their accounts of the relationship between organized labor and non-white minorities.⁸

⁵ Comments by Jacqueline Dowd Hall, “Prospects in Southern Studies: A Symposium,” *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Southern Research Report*, No. 1 (Spring 1990): 32; Robin D. G. Kelly, “We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of American History*, 80 (June 1993): 89.

⁶ Michael Goldfield, “Race and the CIO: The Possibilities for Racial Egalitarianism during the 1930s and 1940s,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 44 (Fall 1993): 3.

⁷ See Eric Arnesen, “Following the Color Line of Labor: Black Workers and the Labor Movement before 1930,” *Radical History Review*, 55 (Winter 1993): 43–87.

⁸ For the case of the packinghouse and steel industries, the first approach that evaluates biracial union alliances more positively is exemplified by Rick Halpern, “Race, Ethnicity, and Union in the Chicago Stockyards, 1917–1922,” *International Review of Social History*, 37 (1992): 25–48; James R. Barrett, *Life and Work in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers 1894–1922* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 191–263; and Judith Stein, “Southern Workers in National Unions: Birmingham Steelworkers, 1936–1951,” in Robert H. Zieger, ed., *Organized Labor in the Twentieth-Century South* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1991), 162–222. The second approach, far harsher toward organized white labor, is taken by James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989); William Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970), 124–56; Robert J. Norrell, “Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama,” *Journal of American History*, 73

In recent analyses of the white working class and its relationship to non-white workers, some scholars have stressed racism's economic role: it barred African Americans' access to higher paying skilled positions, thus ensuring a white monopoly of the best jobs. In an immediate sense, whites often benefited directly when blacks suffered racial discrimination, even if, in some accounts, racial divisions undermined the unity necessary to achieve benefits for both groups and, in Alexander Saxton's words, inhibited "working-class challenges to industrial capitalism."⁹ In other studies, racism has operated simultaneously to provide whites with a non-quantifiable advantage—a psychological wage.¹⁰ No matter how oppressed whites were, they nonetheless possessed advantages over black workers, who were even more oppressed. In both perspectives—which often overlap in the historiography—racism is highly functional. It not only served the interests of employers in keeping labor divided, but it offered advantages, real or imagined, to white labor. Recently, some have gone further in an effort to understand how class was constructed in racial (and gendered) terms. Assumptions about race and its corollary, American nationality, were constituent elements of white workers' collective identity, serving as a cultural lens through which whites defined themselves and distanced others.¹¹

Drawing on the history of white locomotive firemen and brakemen, this article advances three basic propositions. First, the identification of the sources and content of white workers' racial thinking allows us to understand better the unfolding dynamics of class and race in specific labor markets and communities. While this is not a novel point, it deserves emphasis, for the sources and contours of white labor's racial beliefs have received considerably less attention in recent literature than the function and effect of race. Painting with a broad brush, historians have too often taken the existence and operation of race and racism for granted: white American workers, mired in racism, pursue a (short-sighted) strategy of maximizing their advantages over black labor for economic or

(December 1986): 669–94. Bruce Nelson adopts a stance midway between these two in his "Organized Labor and the Struggle for Black Equality in Mobile during World War II," *Journal of American History*, 80 (December 1993): 952–88.

⁹ Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1990), 293. Also see Michael Reich, *Racial Inequality: A Political-Economic Analysis* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Robert Asher and Charles Stephenson, "American Capitalism, Labor Organization, and the Racial/Ethnic Factor," in Asher and Stephenson, eds., *Labor Divided: Race and Ethnicity in United States Labor Struggles, 1835–1960* (Albany, N.Y., 1990), 3–27; Alexander Saxton, "Historical Explanations of Racial Inequality," *Marxist Perspectives*, 2 (Summer 1979): 146–68.

¹⁰ For example, see David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991), 11–13; Michael Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 20; W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880* (1935; rpt. edn., New York, 1985), 700.

¹¹ On the construction of racialized and gendered identities, see Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); Paul M. Taillon, "Trouble on the Southern Railroads: White Supremacy and the Georgia 'Race' Strike of 1909" (unpublished paper delivered at the 1994 meeting of the Organization of American Historians); Andrew Neather, "Popular Republicanism, Americanism, and the Roots of Anti-Communism, 1890–1925" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1994); David Roediger, "Race and the Working-Class Past in the United States: Multiple Identities and the Future of Labor History," *International Review of Social History*, 38 (Supplement, 1993): 132–33.

psychological reasons. Racism, in many such accounts, becomes either the central fault line in American history, the *raison d'être* for white labor organizing, or the principal explanation for white labor's actions.¹² These treatments often abstract the notions of race and racism out of their historical context; these notions then serve as free-floating causes, invoked as explanations for why people act, organizations develop, or events unfold as they do. But when they are detached from their moorings in historical context, can race and racism bear the weight of historical causality historians place upon them? Judith Stein's critique of this approach, advanced two decades ago, holds considerable relevance today: when racism is put forth as an explanation "before the investigation is conducted," she maintained, it is "reified, divorced from the concrete and complex experiences of social groups in particular circumstances."¹³

Race—in this case, beliefs about the behavior, character, and capacity of whites, African Americans, and new immigrants—meant different things to different social groups in American society, as Barbara Fields has forcefully reminded us.¹⁴ Not all social groups articulated identical racial beliefs or acted on them in the same way. The racial thinking and practices of white workers often differed from those of middle-class or elite whites, just as their actual experiences differed. While in agreement about the general idea of black subordination, white labor and capital expressed, were affected by, and acted on notions of race and racism in dissimilar ways. To be sure, white working-class racism drew heavily on the racial ideologies of the larger white society. Never isolated culturally, white workers were fully exposed to popular and scientific racism from journalists and scholarly authorities, entertainers' performances, politicians' speeches, party platforms, the pulpits of religious leaders, and the writings of educational authorities. But white labor's racial beliefs and practices were not merely imitations of larger culture constructs, they were also shaped by specific historical and

¹² Examples include William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War* (New York, 1982); Dennis C. Dickerson, *Out of the Crucible: Black Steelworkers in Western Pennsylvania, 1875–1980* (Albany, N.Y., 1986); Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991). A larger, more polemical literature similarly treats race and racism as unproblematic categories. See Hill, "Myth-Making as Labor History"; Herbert Hill, "Black Labor and Affirmative Action: An Historical Perspective," in Steven Shulman and William Darity, Jr., eds., *The Question of Discrimination: Racial Inequality in the U.S. Labor Market* (Middletown, Conn., 1989), 190–267; Steven Shulman, "Racism and the Making of the American Working Class," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2 (Spring 1989): 361–65; Clarence Walker, "How Many Niggers Did Karl Marx Know? Or, A Peculiarity of the Americans," in Walker, *Deromanticizing Black History: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1991).

¹³ Judith Stein, "'Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others': The Political Economy of Racism in the United States," *Science and Society*, 38 (Winter 1974–75): 423–24. Similar arguments are found in Harold D. Woodman, "Economic Reconstruction and the Rise of the New South, 1865–1900," in John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds., *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987), 260; Daniel Letwin, "Race, Class, and Industrialization in the New South: Black and White Coal Miners in the Birmingham District of Alabama, 1878–1897" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1991), 3; Barbara Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York, 1982), 144, 155–57.

¹⁴ Fields, "Ideology and Race," 143–77; Barbara Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review*, 181 (May–June 1990): 95–118. Also see Judith Stein, "Defining the Race 1890–1930," in Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York, 1989), 77–80.

structural circumstances, firmly established in their workplaces and communities. Alexander Saxton is right to call attention to racism's class-specific character, whereby white workers' own organizations "independently generated racism." Yet the notion of "class specific" racism itself can be misleading, for it suggests that members of a class share a particular perspective reflective of a common interest. The white working class, geographically diverse and fragmented hierarchically along occupational and other lines, exhibited no monolithic approach toward African Americans. Some white southern coal miners, timber workers, and longshoremen, for example, developed racial practices very different from those of railroad workers, skilled shipbuilders, metal workers, and building tradesmen. As Dana Frank has argued in her study of Seattle labor in the 1920s, race was "no simple, ahistoric matter, nor was it negotiated and interpreted along a single axis."¹⁵

A second and closely related issue is the need to account for the strength and staying power of white labor's racial beliefs. Race, as numerous historians have argued, served many purposes. In addition to advancing economic interests and offering considerable psychological satisfaction, notions of race and nationality functioned as part of an interpretive framework that allowed white workers to understand the larger social and economic transformations of American society in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Employer assaults against white trade unions' power, the transformation of the labor process that produced considerable deskilling in some economic sectors, the prospect and reality of unemployment and underemployment, growing corporate concentration in the economy and influence in politics, increased immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Mexico—all of these developments could be expressed, and partially comprehended, in terms of race and nationality. By conflating the causes and consequences of the ever-changing racial composition of the American work force with those of the conflicts of social class, white workers framed their economic anxieties in a cultural mode that resonated deeply in their union halls and in their communities. At stake in the outcome was not just their economic position but their status as whites and as Americans as well.

Finally, this essay draws an analytic distinction between the categories of racial belief and racial practice. The racial beliefs of white locomotive firemen and brakemen changed relatively little over the four decades spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries covered in this article. In their union journals and organizers' reports, in speeches and resolutions at brotherhood conventions, in testimony before government bodies, and in statements to the press, union leaders and white rank-and-filers alike painted an overwhelmingly negative portrait of African Americans and the threat they posed not only to brotherhood members but also to the nation's very future. But white railroad men, like white labor generally, did not always act on their critique in the same way; their racism generated no uniform set of strategies to address their real or perceived problems. Knowing what white railroaders thought about African Americans reveals little about what course of action they ultimately pursued. How

¹⁵ Dana Frank, *Purchasing Power: Consumer Organizing, Gender, and the Seattle Labor Movement, 1919–1929* (New York, 1994), 9.

and why did white railroaders adopt the particular strategies that they did, when they did? Under what circumstances did their racial strategies succeed? Focusing on the sources, contours, and staying power of white racial ideology on the one hand and on white labor's organizational strategies for achieving its goals on the other, this article reconstructs the forces producing the widespread employment discrimination that denied locomotive fireman W. H. Stover and thousands of his fellow African-American railroad workers the opportunities they sought and deserved.

FROM ITS BEGINNINGS, THE AMERICAN RAILWAY LABOR FORCE, with its multiple gradations of skill, prestige, and arduousness, was segmented along racial lines. In the unskilled construction and maintenance sectors of the industry, African Americans and immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Mexico dominated the crews that graded the road beds, laid the track, and ensured its upkeep over rail networks that extended tens of thousands of miles by the nineteenth century's end. The first two generations of railroad labor in the mid-nineteenth century drew on Irish and German immigrants in the Northeast, Mid-Atlantic, and Midwest. In the antebellum era, the relatively small railroad systems of the South depended almost exclusively on slave labor to lay and repair track; the spate of southern railroad building in the postbellum era required the labor of newly emancipated African-American men, who found wage labor on construction and track crews an attractive alternative to sharecropping on plantations. The construction of the transcontinental railroad utilized the physical energies—and often took the lives—of Chinese immigrants in the 1860s and 1870s; in the Northwest, the Great Northern and other railroads relied heavily on Japanese contract laborers in the last quarter of the century; and Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans found employment as laborers on track crews of the Southwest and the Plains States, particularly after the turn of the century.¹⁶

A different relationship between skill and ethnicity prevailed in the more

¹⁶ Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970), 28; Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1986), 136–42, 164–66, 182; Stephen Ray Henson, "Industrial Workers in the Mid Nineteenth-Century South: Atlanta Railwaymen, 1840–1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1982), 24–25, 109–14; Jonathan W. McLeod, *Workers and Workplace Dynamics in Reconstruction Era Atlanta: A Case Study* (Los Angeles, 1989), 28–29, 33–34. A sample of the literature on Mexican, Mexican-American, and Asian immigrant railroad workers includes Victor S. Clark, "Mexican Labor in the United States," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, 78 (September 1908): 466, 477–82; Paul S. Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region," *University of California Publications in Economics*, 7 (March 1932): 62–66, 82–86; Michael M. Smith, "Beyond the Borderlands: Mexican Labor in the Central Plains, 1900–1930," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 1 (Fall 1981): 240, 243–44; Michael M. Smith, "Mexicans in Kansas City: The First Generation, 1900–1920," *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies*, 2 (1989): 32, 34–36; Robert Oppenheimer, "Acculturation or Assimilation: Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 16 (October 1985): 432–44; Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880–1920* (New Haven, Conn., 1981); Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants 1885–1924* (New York, 1988), 57–90; W. Thomas White, "Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Railroad Work Force: The Case of the Far Northwest, 1883–1918," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 16 (July 1985): 265–83; William Thomas White, "A History of Railroad Workers in the Pacific Northwest, 1883–1934" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1981).

privileged positions in the operating department (also known as the running trades) on board the locomotive engines and on passenger and freight cars. Engineers and conductors, whose wages, authority, and autonomy rendered them something of a labor aristocracy, were the most highly paid and independent of railroad workers. Engineers had to possess considerable technical knowledge, experience, and strength to direct the physical operation of the train. The conductor was in charge of supervising other personnel, including brakemen and porters, as well as overseeing freight.¹⁷ Working beneath engineers and conductors were lower-paid locomotive firemen and brakemen (also called trainmen). Firemen rode in the engine alongside the engineer and were responsible for feeding coal into the engine's boiler, while brakemen performed the dangerous work of setting hand brakes (before the introduction of air brakes in the 1890s) and the coupling of rail cars with a link and pin.¹⁸

Men employed in the running trades were far more ethnically and racially homogeneous than were laborers in the construction and maintenance-of-way departments. Throughout the nation until the 1950s and 1960s, only white men could work as conductors and locomotive engineers. Outside the South, the positions of fireman and brakeman were initially filled by native-born white Americans or immigrants from Northern Europe, and these jobs remained overwhelmingly white in subsequent decades. In the North and West, whites, who were well entrenched in these positions, insisted on a sharp color line, which railroad managers usually adhered to without much complaint. This effectively barred blacks from becoming engineers, conductors, firemen, and, to a lesser extent, brakemen (although blacks sometimes performed brakemen's work as "porter brakemen"—a distinct category that combined on-board service with brakemen's tasks). At the turn of the century, one critic noted, of "the thousands of miles of railway in the North, with its tens of thousands of manipulators, the only work, as a rule, . . . open to negroes is that of porters on trains—the most menial and ill-paid occupation within the gift of a railway corporation."¹⁹

A somewhat different racial division of labor prevailed below the Mason-Dixon line, where African-American men encountered a wider range of railroad employment options. In the antebellum era, slaves, either rented or owned by southern railroads, served not only as construction laborers and station helpers but as brakemen and firemen as well. After the Civil War, blacks retained a hold on a portion of those operating positions, despite an influx of whites into more

¹⁷ Shelton Stromquist, *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 105–06.

¹⁸ O. H. Kirkpatrick, *Working on the Railroad* (Philadelphia, 1949), 115, 120–25; "Fatality among Brakemen," *Seattle Sunday Star*, March 23, 1884. Also see Albro Martin, *Railroads Triumphant: The Growth, Rejection and Rebirth of a Vital American Force* (New York, 1992), 308.

¹⁹ Walter Licht, *Working for the Railroad: The Organization of Work in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); James Samuel Stemons, "Open Letters: The Industrial Color-Line in the North," *The Century Magazine*, 60 (1900): 477–78; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (New York, 1977), 365–66; Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), 104–07; Joel Seidman, *The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen: The Internal Political Life of a National Union* (New York, 1962), 9–10. On African-American shop workers, see Colin J. Davis, "The 1922 Railroad Shopmen's Strike in the Southeast: A Study of Success and Failure," in Zieger, *Organized Labor in the Twentieth-Century South*, 113–43.

skilled jobs. By the turn of the century, blacks constituted the vast majority of firemen and brakemen on the Gulf Coast lines; they made up some 90 percent of the firemen on the Seaboard Air line and the majority of such positions on some divisions of the Illinois Central, the Southern, and the Louisville & Nashville railroads in the South.²⁰ From the 1890s to roughly 1930, blacks outnumbered whites as locomotive firemen on Georgia's railroads, holding 60 percent or more of these positions. "It is an every-day occurrence in the South," one observer noted in 1900, "to see white locomotive engineers and colored firemen seated in the same cab."²¹

By the late nineteenth century, numerous trade unions represented white workers in a variety of the crafts and other occupational groupings on the nation's railroads. Known informally as the "Big Four," the largest white railroad brotherhoods—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors of America, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—were organized in the 1860s and 1870s. From their inception, race was written into the very definition of their union membership. The engineers' brotherhood officially restricted its membership to white men, as did the Locomotive Firemen and numerous other railway unions. Any applicant for membership had to be "white born, of good moral character, sober and industrious, sound in body and limb, and not less than eighteen years of age, and able to read and write the English language."²²

The brotherhoods' achievement of improved conditions and their climb toward organizational recognition proved difficult and uneven in the late nineteenth century. Railroad work could be dangerous: accident and death rates in the operating service remained high, yet few corporate medical or welfare programs assumed responsibility for a victim's recovery or the financial plight of family survivors. The origins of the brotherhoods owed much to their members' need for benevolent and insurance programs, and, accordingly, the organizations provided medical and death benefits for members and their families.²³ Yet issues

²⁰ Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 28; Licht, *Working for the Railroad*, 42, 65–69; Benn, Nashville, "The Sunny South," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 11 (September 1887): 546–47. Black railroad employment, both skilled and unskilled, remained heavily concentrated in the South, even after World War I. See "Negro Workers on Steam Railway Lines of the United States," *Savannah Tribune*, October 1, 1924; "Employment of Negroes on Railroads," *Monthly Labor Review* (November 1924): 16; Commission on Standard Workday of Railroad Employees, *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 413; *The Colored American Magazine*, 11 (July 1906): 68; "Train Crews All White," *The Colored American Magazine*, 13 (October 1907): 254–55; Edward Aaron Gaston, Jr., "A History of the Negro Wage Earner in Georgia, 1890–1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1957), 237–42.

²¹ Stemons, "Open Letters," 478; Unlucky, "St. Augustine, Florida," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 18 (March 1901): 213–14.

²² *Constitution of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen* (September 1888), 40–41, at the Department of Labor Library, Washington, D.C. Also see Constitution (September 1892), Section 113, p. 40, quoted in Samuel McCune Lindsay, "Report on Railway Labor in the United States," in *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Labor Organizations, Labor Disputes, and Arbitration, and on Railway Labor*, No. 17 of the Commission's Reports (Washington, 1901), 823, 839; Pier Luigi Gregory DePaola, "Management and Organized Labor Relations of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad during the Depression Year 1893" (M.A. thesis, University of Louisville, 1968), 13; Reed C. Richardson, *The Locomotive Engineer 1863–1963: A Century of Labor Relations and Work Rules* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), 189.

²³ "Historical Sketch of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 54 (June 1913): 816. Also see Kurt Wetzell, "Railroad Manage-

of power quickly commanded their attention. Railroad companies could be harsh employers, demanding long hours under poor conditions for low pay. Some of the most tumultuous labor conflicts of the late nineteenth century—in 1877, 1885–1886, and 1894—centered on the railroads. In many instances, bitterly fought railroad strikes collapsed in the face of massive corporate, state, and federal repression, and failed strikers often found themselves effectively black-listed out of the industry.²⁴ Brotherhood leaders drew conservative lessons from these defeats, discouraging overt class conflict, decrying any sympathetic action on behalf of other aggrieved workers, and generally holding their organizations aloof from the affairs of other labor associations. In some cases, their caution paid dividends, for brotherhood members' skills, discipline, and organization, as well as their strategic position in a nationally vital industry, eventually enabled some to command impressive wages, impose elaborate work rules, and enforce adherence to strict seniority systems governing promotion and layoffs. By the early twentieth century, although the brotherhoods had adopted a more confrontational stance toward railroad employers, they retained their tendency to stand apart from the larger trade union movement.²⁵

Drawing on a conservative vision common among late nineteenth-century skilled trade unionists, brotherhood members promoted an ideology of self-improvement and intense craft pride. The four cardinal principles were "Protection, Charity, Sobriety, and Industry." M. J. Boling, of Wilmington, North Carolina, proudly explained in 1893 that once, "the calling of the locomotive fireman was considered low, but to-day it is looked upon as being worthy and honorable," attributing this improvement to the brotherhood's success in raising "the standard of morality; no drunkard or person of dissipated habits can gain admission to the order." The growth of the firemen's association and the spread

ment's Response to Operating Employees' Accidents, 1890–1913," *Labor History*, 21 (Summer 1980): 351–68. The Locomotive Engineers were organized in 1863, the Conductors in 1868, the Firemen in 1873, and the Trainmen in 1883. For an overview, see U.S. Department of Labor, "Handbook of American Trade-Unions," *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 420 (Washington, D.C., 1926).

²⁴ On the hazards of railroading, see "Railroading More Deadly Than War," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 17 (October 1900): 884–86; "Switchman Ground to Pieces in I.C. Yards," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 27, 1911. A selection of the extensive literature on late nineteenth-century conflict on the railroads includes Herbert G. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads in 1873–1874: Prelude to the 1877 Crisis?" *Labor History*, 2 (Spring 1961): 215–35; Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Story of American Railroads* (New York, 1947), 244–59; O. D. Boyle, *History of Railroad Strikes* (Washington, D.C., 1935).

²⁵ "Principles of the Brotherhood, Eloquent Address by Grand Master Sargent at the Opera House," in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Daily Telegraph*, September 11, 1894, in *Terence Vincent Powderly Papers, 1864–1937*, and *John William Hayes Papers, 1880–1921*, *The Knights of Labor*, microfilm, Catholic University of America, Reel 69; Cloyd Herbert Finch, Jr., "Organized Labor in Louisville, Kentucky 1880–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1965), 29–30; Kate Born, "Organized Labor in Memphis, Tennessee, 1826–1901," *Western Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, 21 (1967): 75. Uncritical histories of the brotherhoods and other railway unions include Richardson, *Locomotive Engineer*; Leonard Painter, *Through Fifty Years with the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America* (Kansas City, 1941); Nixon Denton, *History of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1965); D. W. Hertel, *History of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes: Its Birth and Growth 1887–1955* (Washington, D.C., 1955). Also see Archibald M. McIsaac, *The Order of Railroad Telegraphers: A Study in Trade Unionism and Collective Bargaining* (Princeton, N.J., 1933); Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States* (New York, 1922), 184.

of its "conservative principles" in the South, one Nashville man reported in 1887, is "enabling every white born fireman to do justice to himself and family."²⁶ Brotherhood lodges not only provided insurance plans and entertainment but also encouraged moral and personal uplift, emphasizing the importance of both individual character and collective comportment. Workers in the operating trades expressed considerable pride in their mechanical competence and mastery of technological innovations. "Railroading is rapidly advancing into the dignity of a profession," noted veteran conductor Charles B. George in 1887, "requiring a knowledge of many branches of science, training of a high order, and careful application as well as unselfish devotion to public and corporate interests." Large sections of monthly union journals were devoted to explaining railroad technology and the latest innovations and to preparing workers to pass qualifying exams.²⁷ If the work of brakemen and firemen was dangerous, dirty, and arduous, some psychological compensation lay in the sense of skill and command of scientific knowledge the job required.

Self-improvement, sobriety, and technical education were not merely abstract virtues, they were also requirements for advancement up the railroads' occupational ladder. The possibility of social mobility was built into the structure of employment. A brakeman might eventually rise to become a conductor, while the locomotive fireman, as one nineteenth-century biographer explained, "was the engineer in embryo." The positions of conductor and engineer were more prestigious, often physically less strenuous, and substantially better paid. (Engineers, for example, earned roughly twice the firemen's wages.) But occupational mobility was not equally available to all railroad workers. Conductors' and engineers' jobs were off-limits to black workers at virtually all times and in all places. The prospective black worker "presents himself to the proper authorities as a person qualified for the work," complained the Reverend R. C. Ransom of the African Methodist Episcopal church in 1888, "but he is informed that he may not hope to enter there, that upon their engines white men hold the throttle, lift the tickets and manage the trains."²⁸ While the practice of excluding blacks from such jobs antedated the rise of trade unionism on the railroads, by the late nineteenth century the brotherhoods and railroad management shared responsibility for

²⁶ B. R. Lacy, Commissioner, *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina, For the Year 1893* (Raleigh, 1894), 103–05; James H. Ducker, *Men of the Steel Rails: Workers on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad 1869–1900* (Lincoln, Neb., 1983), 53–56, 113; Samuel McCune Lindsay, "Report on Railway Labor in the United States," in *Reports of the Industrial Commission . . . on Railway Labor*, Report 17, 834; Benn, "Sunny South," 546. On the perspectives of elite craft workers, see Andrew Dawson, "The Parameters of Craft Consciousness: The Social Outlook of the Skilled Worker, 1890–1920," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *American Labor and Immigration History, 1877–1920s: Recent European Research* (Urbana, Ill., 1983): 135–55.

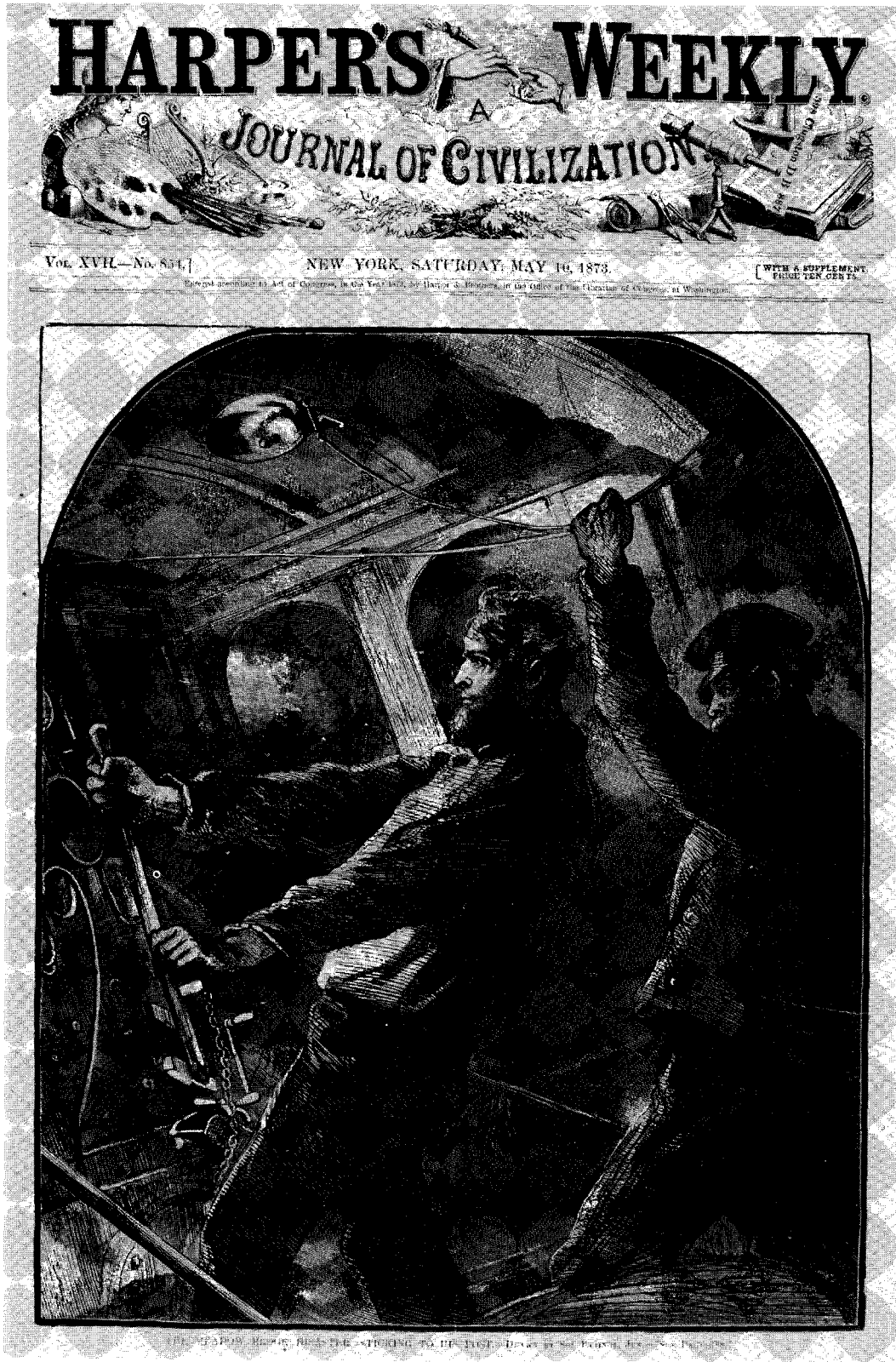
²⁷ Charles B. George, *Forty Years on the Rail: Reminiscences of a Veteran Conductor* (Chicago, 1887), 166; R. A. Bennett, "The Negro Question," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 48 (January 1910): 126–28; "Educational Training for Railroad Service," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 18 (February 1901): 101–03.

²⁸ Justin D. Fulton, *Sam Hobart, the Locomotive Engineer: A Workingman's Solution of the Labor Problem* (New York, 1883), 28; R. C. Ransom, "Closing the Doors of Various Trades against Colored People," *Christian Recorder*, June 28, 1888. On the requirements for occupational advancement, see W. Fred Cottrell, *The Railroad* (Stanford, Calif., 1940), 18–19; Henson, "Industrial Workers in the Mid Nineteenth-Century South," 74, 120–23.

maintaining this exclusion. The conductors' and engineers' unions barred blacks as members and had never tolerated black competition in their fields. Railroad managers, for their part, would not propose placing blacks in positions of such authority, respect, and prestige, which required literacy, specialized technical knowledge, and a capacity to oversee the labor of the men beneath them. Even where unions were weak or nonexistent, managers kept the top positions an all-white preserve. Prevailing white notions about black workers' character, intelligence, and appropriate place in the economic hierarchy prevented African Americans from assuming such roles. The locomotive engineer had to possess "not only physical courage, but a moral stamina and mental quickness beyond the average man . . . He must be a man of iron will, able to withstand pressure and outside influence in the hour of danger," conductor Charles George concluded. In the mainstream of late nineteenth-century racial thinking, white workers, managers, and writers declared blacks wholly unqualified to fill any job requiring those moral and mental attributes. Both "his color and mental capacity" rendered "Mr. Nigger" . . . lacking in the qualifications requisite to the requirements demanded of an engineer," concluded Third Vice President A. P. Kelly, of the firemen's brotherhood in 1909. "Southern society would never tolerate the negro as locomotive engineers."²⁹

African Americans were neither the only objects of white railroad workers' disdain nor the only group targeted for exclusion from the brotherhoods and the railroad labor force. From the 1880s through the 1920s, brotherhood members, like their skilled craft union counterparts in the American Federation of Labor (AFL), scorned new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, from Mexico, and above all, from China and Japan. Drawing on a powerful nativist tradition, they assembled their evidence from popular and political culture, citing and reprinting in their own journals condemnations of new immigrants by U.S. and Canadian governmental commissions, investigative journalists, and academics. New immigrants, brotherhood members argued, were simply "birds of passage" with no commitment to the United States. "[A]bsolutely ignorant of American institutions" or "entirely oblivious as to the history of the country," these unassimilable men and women had neither "education, money nor knowledge of what constitutes decent living, as Americans understand it." The very words that white craft workers employed to describe the purported threat—"hordes," "vast surplus," "dregs," "beasts of burden," "flood," "deluge," and "tidal wave"—were steeped in the language of moral excess, social marginality, and natural disaster. On a more immediate level, these newcomers were pauper

²⁹ George, *Forty Years on the Rail*, 175; "Southern Federated Board," in "President's Report to the Twelfth Biennial Convention," *Report of Grand Lodge Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Twelfth Annual Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 1910* (n.p., n.d.), 181; A. Philip Randolph, "The Crisis of Negro Railroad Workers," *American Federationist*, 46 (August 1939): 808; "Georgia Railroad Strike," *Seattle Union Record*, July 24, 1909. Also see *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 17 (June 1900): 499; Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago, 1922), 409; Testimony of Sidney S. Alderman, March 2, 1944, *Hearings before the Special Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies, House of Representatives*, 78th Congress, 1st and 2d Sessions, Part 2, 2133–34; "Discrimination in R.R. Employment," *Traffic World*, 72 (September 18 and December 18, 1943): 655 and 1535 respectively.



"The Meadow Brook Disaster—Sticking to His Post.—Drawn by Sol Eytinge, Jun.," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, May 10, 1873, cover. Courtesy of Special Collections, the University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.

laborers who, content to live in "misery and squalor," transformed cities into congested wastelands, producing "death, disease, destitution."³⁰

This language expressed an intense, deeply rooted fear of the intertwined consequences of capitalist industrialization, continued immigration, and the future of the nation. The brotherhoods' economic critique was straightforward. White male craft workers, maintaining what they believed to be (and what in fact often was) a precarious hold on their political and economic autonomy, linked the changing composition of the labor force to a corporate assault on their prerogatives. In their eyes, the new immigrants, blacks, and capital together posed a multifaceted challenge to their entire way of life. At the turn of the century, brotherhood men argued that they had entered a new era of economic concentration in which capital—alternatively described as "Big Business," the "Interests," the "Plutocracy," "the money gluttons," and the "aristocracy of wealth"—advocated unrestricted immigration and a use of black and new immigrant labor that was "violative of American ideals." It sought to "force upon the workers of the new world"—where labor had long been honorable—"the conditions and impositions of the old." That is, no longer would immigrant labor be raised to the level of American workers; rather, the converse would hold true if employers had their way. "Between the cheap negro labor and the cheap foreign labor, " one white fireman bitterly complained, "the intelligent American workingman is threatened in his desire to live and enjoy the benefits of our laws, to educate and raise up to some honorable calling the family about him without becoming a virtual slave himself, or permitting his family to sink into misery and squalor."³¹ From the brotherhoods' perspective, the new immigrants and African Americans constituted a deadly threat to the wages and working and living conditions of true American workers.

New immigrants, they argued, also posed a dangerous challenge to the political health of the American Republic. Following a long tradition of working-class republican thinking, white railroad workers linked civic virtue to personal autonomy, economic independence, and manhood. Notions of gender and race were inscribed deeply into the concept of republican virtue. Since before the

³⁰ "Twenty-Sixth Convention—Important Resolutions Adopted: Immigration," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 55 (October 1913): 565; "Migratory Laborers and the Padrone System," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 20 (March 1896): 154; "Immigration Tidal Wave Threatens Welfare of American Workers," *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 69 (October 15, 1920): 8; "A Million New Workers Each Year," *Railroad Trainman*, 27 (June 1910): 513; "Protection to American Labor," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 20 (May 1896): 321; "Effects of Immigration," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 23 (November 1897): 404. Fear of new immigrants diminished little over time, and brotherhood anti-immigrant and anti-black rhetoric remained remarkably consistent in these years. Only after the cut-off of European immigration during World War I did the rhetoric turn more toward Asians, the Japanese in particular. The mere prospect of a renewal of Asian immigration in the postwar era was enough to occasion fierce diatribes about the "yellow peril," the failures of the melting pot, and the hazards of "coolie" labor. "Immigration and Prosperity," *Railroad Trainman*, 37 (November 1920): 677–79. In the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, see "The Japanese Immigration Problem," 70 (January 1, 1921): 12–14; "Plan to Market Coolie Labor Same as Steel, Coal, Etc.," 68 (March 15, 1920): 19–20; "They'll Swarm the United States with Chinese Coolies Yet," 63 (November 15, 1917): 5; "Industrial and Commercial Barons Determined to Flood United States with Chinese Coolies," 64 (March 1, 1918): 5.

³¹ "Industrial and Commercial Barons," 5. In the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, see "Wealth and Manhood," 16 (January 1899): 85–86; "The Slums," 15 (July 1898): 582; "Public Meeting of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Fifth Annual Convention," 18 (June 1901): 495.

revolutionary era, virtue—that is, the willingness, essential to maintaining a viable and healthy republic, to transcend individual or parochial interests for the greater good of the community—was a gendered concept that excluded women on the basis of their dependent status and mental and physical character.³² Only men could possess the attributes qualifying them to uphold the republic's interests—but not *all* men. A racialized concept of virtue similarly excluded large numbers of new male immigrants on account of their alleged character, behavior, and in some conceptualizations, race. Denouncing the changing “stock” of immigrants, whose fecundity and refusal to assimilate threatened “to absorb the institutions and traditions of the country and to create a chaotic social and political condition,” one union official warned in 1902 that the United States was “rapidly undergoing a radical racial change.”³³ Brotherhood terminology remained imprecise, however, and no officials or members applied a coherent theory of race to European immigrants; their critical and exaggerated evaluations of immigrants most often centered on their behavior. But whatever the source of immigrant character—historical development, environment, or race—it was clear to brotherhood men that the new immigrants were different from earlier immigrants. The original men and women from Northern Europe were the “home makers and intelligent citizens” who had built up the United States; they easily achieved through hard work and moral demeanor the status of American citizens. The new immigrants, in contrast, were the worst that Europe and Asia had to offer, exhibiting little independence or inherent capacity for virtue. The terms brotherhood men employed to describe them left no room for negotiating their place in the American Republic: they represented a “lower grade of humanity,” “the scum of the earth,” and “human wreckage,” who were collectively turning America into “a dumping ground, a human scrap heap.”³⁴ Fears of multiple dangers to political liberty and economic independence were nothing new. In a period of rapid economic, demographic, and cultural transformation, however, the recycling and updating of these arguments proved useful both in focusing white railroad men's cultural disquietude and in rendering comprehensible the erosion of their social and economic status.

Brotherhood men set themselves apart from new immigrants and African Americans through a process of self-definition in which their notions of American nationality were linked explicitly to beliefs about character and behavior and implicitly to notions of racial difference. As Gwendolyn Mink has observed, with heightened racial and ethnic heterogeneity, the “overlapping characteristics of race, poverty, and dependency” among new immigrants and blacks bred “a moral politics aimed at reclaiming citizenship for old-stock white men only. This politics

³² Ruth H. Bloch, “The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America,” *Signs*, 13 (Autumn 1987): 38; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986), 139–40; Thomas J. Whalen, “The Women God Gave Us,” *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 18 (March 1901): 215–17; Neather, “Popular Republicanism, Americanism, and the Roots of Anti-Communism,” 243–44, 265–71.

³³ “Immigration and What It Means,” *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 19 (June 1902): 477; also see “Plain Statement of Plain Questions,” 18 (May 1901): 415–19.

³⁴ Canuck, “Immigration,” *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 22 (April 1897): 221; “Aliens in the Majority in Basic Industries,” *Railroad Trainman*, 37 (January 1920): 27; “A Million New Workers Each Year,” *Railroad Trainman*, 27 (June 1910): 513.

made race and nationality the new moral ratchets of citizenship.”³⁵ Liberty, independence, and family life, so valued by brotherhood members, were core components in their version of American nationality. Like civic virtue, they, too, were not attainable by all men; white railroad workers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reserved these concepts for themselves. “Shall America be a race of sturdy men,” one union official asked rhetorically in 1919, “or shall we be merely a field of profitable exploitation . . . for the capitalists?” That race of sturdy men—“American white men”—deserved to “rear children and enjoy a white man’s standard of living upon American farms” without having to confront the debilitating competition of cheap foreign labor.³⁶ As this statement suggests, white railroaders further equated “being American” with the attainment of a high standard of living. This was hardly unique to the railroad industry’s labor force. As historian Lawrence Glickman has recently argued, skilled white labor often described the concept of the American standard of living as “an inherent trait” to be nurtured and protected, a “quality ingrained in white wage-earners through years of cultural habit.” Their refusal to submit to low wages set white American workers apart from the new immigrants, whose lives of poverty and exploitation before and after their arrival in the United States allegedly demonstrated their inferiority. White Americans’ very refusal “became understood as an act of national and cultural self-definition . . . [W]hite workers excluded others from the possibility of attaining the supposedly universal goal of the American Standard.”³⁷ Thus brotherhood men articulated a definition of American national identity that possessed vaguely formulated racial criteria: only native-born white Americans or the descendants of old immigrants from Northern Europe—the social basis of the brotherhoods—qualified for true membership in the category “American,” while just about all other groups were excluded.

³⁵ Gwendolyn Mink, “The Lady and the Tramp: Gender, Race, and the Origins of the American Welfare State,” in Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison, Wis., 1990), 93–94. Also see Catherine Collomp, “Unions, Civics, and National Identity: Organized Labor’s Reaction to Immigration, 1881–1897,” *Labor History*, 29 (Fall 1988): 450–74.

³⁶ “Must American Workers Compete with Chinese Labor in the U.S.?” *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen’s Magazine*, 64 (January 1, 1919): 14; “The Japanese Question,” *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen’s Magazine*, 70 (May 1, 1921): 4. On the question of nativism in the labor movement and in American society, key works include Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development: Union, Party, and State, 1875–1920* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860–1925* (1955; rpt. edn., New York, 1963); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971). For a sample of contemporary discussions of the brotherhoods’—and the labor movement’s—opposition to new immigrants, see “Immigration,” *Locomotive Engineers’ Monthly Journal*, 33 (June 1899): 421; in the *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, see “Immigration and the Labor Question,” 20 (April 1896): 249–50; “Two Classes of Immigrants,” 22 (January 1897); “Italian Standard of Wages,” 24 (February 1898): 152–53; “Pauper Labor,” 24 (January 1898): 61–62; “The White Man’s Burden,” 28 (April 1900): 282–93; in the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen’s Magazine*, see “They’ll Swarm the United States with Chinese Coolies Yet,” 5; “Industrial and Commercial Barons Determined to Flood United States with Chinese Coolies,” 5–6; “Japanese Immigration Problem,” 12–14; “Immigration Tidal Wave Threatens Welfare of American Workers,” 8. In *Railroad Trainman*, see “Aliens in the Majority in Basic Industry,” 27–28; “The Melting Pot a Disappointment,” 36 (September 1919): 627–29.

³⁷ Lawrence Glickman, “Inventing the ‘American Standard of Living’: Gender, Race and Working-Class Identity, 1880–1925,” *Labor History*, 34 (Spring–Summer 1993): 226–27. Also see “The American Standard of Living,” *Railroad Trainmen’s Journal*, 19 (September 1902): 682–86; “Protection to American Labor,” *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, 20 (May 1896): 321.

The racial, ethnic, and national consciousness that white workers expressed did not derive from a "need" to stigmatize real or even potential economic competitors. Rather, it represented a cultural dimension of class identity and conflict. For all their fierce opposition to the new immigrants, the brotherhoods faced virtually no economic challenge from unskilled Asians or Europeans, who labored almost exclusively in the construction and maintenance-of-way departments. No rail managers proposed replacing white brotherhood firemen with Japanese firemen in the West, Mexican firemen in the Southwest, or Italian, Hungarian, or Russian firemen in the East, even during periods of labor unrest. Viewing themselves as *American* workers, possessing a cherished and jealously guarded level of skill and political independence, white brotherhood men in the running trades had incorporated distinct racial beliefs into their consciousness of themselves as an occupational group and as a class. This perspective enabled them to identify and express solidarity with other white American workers who were threatened by the new arrivals. These racial views also gave a sharp moral edge to white workers' critique of capitalists' behavior in the labor-management conflicts of the era. Not only had capital encroached on the wages and autonomy of artisans and industrial workers and eroded the political independence of America's producing classes, but it had employed a specific weapon that went beyond economics and politics to threaten the demographic foundation of the nation. The battle against new immigrants and non-whites assumed a more exalted status than a simple fight against economic rivals, for it placed white organized labor at the forefront of a struggle not just to defend its members' security but to protect the nation from ultimate ruin. The brotherhoods' fixation on the racial threat posed by immigrants and African Americans reflected the profound cultural disquietude of a period of rapid social and economic change. It simultaneously allowed its members to claim what they saw as the high ground in the ideological battle against American business.

LIKE THE NEW IMMIGRANTS, black workers appeared to white brotherhood men as a real threat in the intensifying conflict between white labor and capital. Unlike those immigrants, however, black workers did compete with white railroad labor. By the turn of the century, brotherhood leaders were portraying labor's struggle with business in life and death terms, not only for themselves but for the white American working class as a whole and the civilization it had built. Black strikebreakers, they argued, were a powerful weapon in the corporate war against the trade unions; they made possible the operators' "corporate greed" and the "Russianizing [of white] labor in America." For example, when miners in Pana, Illinois, struck in 1898 for "enough money to keep them from starving to death," mine operators simply "imported a lot of niggers from Alabama to take their places." Such a move—in which a white man, the operator, would "willingly take up with a nigger for the purpose of enslaving a white wage earner"—rendered the emancipation of the slaves a "questionable proposition."³⁸ The degradation of

³⁸ *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 15 (October 1898): 852; "The Crime of Competition," *Railroad*

white labor at the hands of capital and its willing pawns, black strikebreakers, was already a reality in the coal fields and elsewhere; it was a problem, brotherhood men feared, that would only intensify over time. "It should be remembered that 'our colored brother' in the South is yet in his 'infancy' as a competitor in the labor market," the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* concluded. "The vast element . . . has lain semi-dormant in lazy lassitude beneath the warm Southern sun." But a "movement is gradually making itself felt that will produce havoc and consternation in localities where white labor and Eastern capital now feel secure."³⁹ There was little doubt that an industrial awakening by blacks would lead to harder times for whites.

Not surprisingly, white railroaders subjected their black counterparts to denigration, repeatedly resorting to stock racial caricatures in articulating their case against black employment. M. E. Dowdy, a Springfield, Missouri, railroadman with much work experience in Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas, concluded that the black fireman was a "person almost devoid of ambition, energy, business ability, and manly qualities, who knows nothing but shovel coal, shine brass (and the engineer's shoes if necessary) . . . [H]is clouded intellect, degeneracy, and dormant perceptive powers are as unyielding to modern education as the tax is heavy on the white people who pay for negro schools."⁴⁰ The list of damning attributes was lengthy: the black fireman was "thick headed and non-progressive," "indolent, untrustworthy, shiftless," "without honor, principle, pride or fair intelligence," was "totally unfit, both socially and mentally," and "so illiterate and ignorant as to be unable to understand the first principles of law and justice."⁴¹

In addition to their low opinion of black intelligence and skill, white brotherhood men deeply resented African-American participation in the labor market, holding it responsible for their own organizational weakness—and for many of their other problems—in the South from the 1880s through the post-World War I era. Compared to their northern counterparts, southern white firemen and brakemen had considerable difficulty maintaining strong union locals. "The white firemen's organization has very little or no strength in the South, compared with the North," complained fireman C. S. Daniel in 1915.⁴² With few union checks on

Trainmen's Journal, 15 (November 1898): 917; "Starving Miners," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 13 (August 1889): 707; "Omens of Strife," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 19 (July 1902): 553. In the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, also see 15 (October 1898): 852; "Negro Domination," 16 (September 1899): 880; "Illinois Miners Win," 15 (December 1898): 1005–06. In *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, see "The Mining Situation," 23 (November 1897); 25 (November 1898): 541–42. On the mining conflicts, see Victor Hicken, "The Virden and Pana Mine Wars of 1898," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 52 (Summer 1959): 263–78.

³⁹ "The Negro and the Labor Question," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 21 (July 1896): 4.

⁴⁰ M. E. Dowdy, "The Negro Fireman," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 30 (March 1901): 441.

⁴¹ In the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, see Member of 522, Shreveport, La., "The Negro and Organized Labor in the South," 33 (September 1902): 426–27; Member of 76, Berkeley, Va., "The Negro Problem," 33 (September 1902): 427; Dilar, Mer Rouge, La., "The Negro and Organized Labor in the South," 33 (September 1902): 435–36; C. E. Pane, Augusta, Ga., "Negro vs. White Firemen," 27 (August 1899): 203–04; W. L. F., Missouri Valley, Ia., "Current Comment," 27 (November 1899): 593–95.

⁴² "Report of Committee on Welfare of the Order, Organizing Non-Union Men," *Proceedings of the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen Beginning June 6, 1910, St. Paul, Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1910), 464, 466; W. W. Slaby, "Report of Special Organizer," *Proceedings of the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen . . . 1910*, 472, 478;

corporate power, wages were lower and conditions worse than those on northern railroads. In brotherhood reasoning, a direct causal chain linked black workers to harsh corporate practices, racially discriminatory hiring practices against whites (on certain railroads), and the brotherhoods' regional weakness. "Owing to the fact that so many locomotive engines" in North Carolina are "manned by negro firemen," white fireman Boling wrote in 1893, "the rich influence of the Brotherhood has never been felt by the corporations and the travelling public."⁴³ On a number of railroads in the southeastern states that employed a large majority of blacks, the handful of white members confronted "conditions not to be found in any other section of the country" on the eve of World War I. Widespread black employment in the South, a white organizer reluctantly concluded, meant that "no concerted movement" for wage increases or improvements could be conducted, for it was "next to impossible to 'standardize' the rates of pay and rules governing employment through concerted action." Only on railroads where white firemen were exclusively employed or where enough whites were employed to maintain a lodge did the union's Joint Protective Boards manage to negotiate wages and conditions comparable to those elsewhere in the nation.⁴⁴

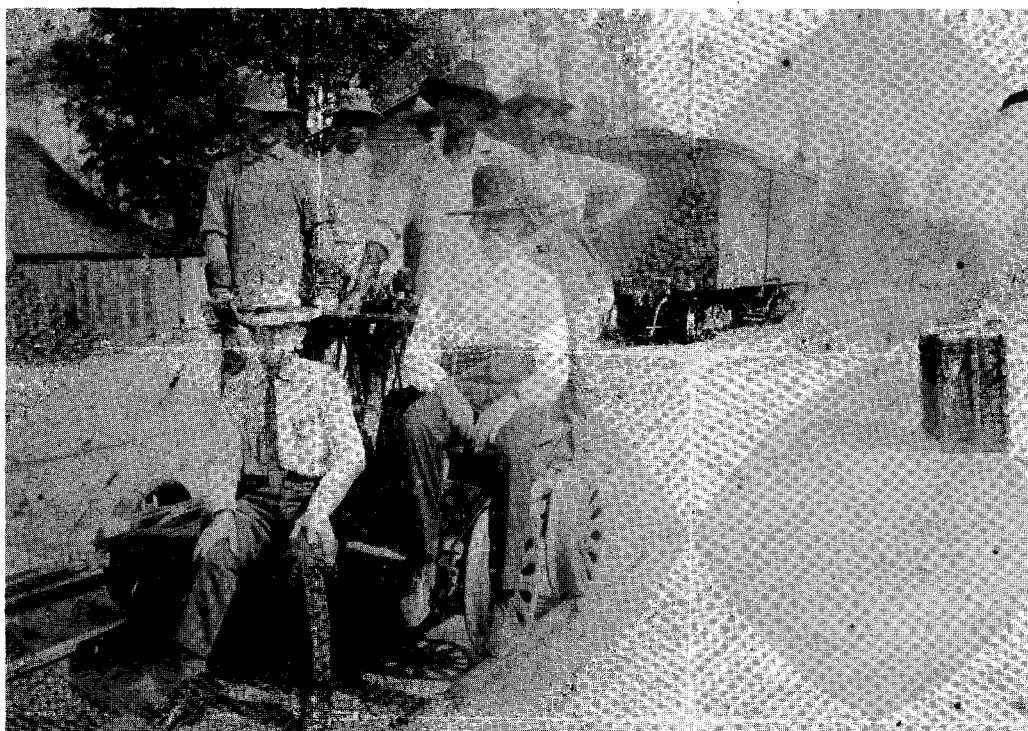
The presence of black firemen on so many southern railroads lowered working standards in yet another way. The long tradition of black subservience and exploitation allowed whites—both managers and white workers in positions of authority—to insist on not just deference from blacks but a far greater range of labor than they usually could exact from whites. In the hierarchical division of labor on board the train, locomotive engineers oversaw the firemen's work. Their shared commitment to white supremacy and the connections between their memberships (over time, firemen often became engineers, and engineers often retained their membership in the firemen's brotherhood after joining the engineers' organization) made it logical that engineers would prefer and support their junior white assistants, but this was not always the case. "The truth of it is, a great many engineers like Negro firemen best," testified North Carolina's commissioner of labor before the U.S. Industrial Commission in 1900. "They treat them differently—make them wait on them. The white man does not do that." Racial conventions affected which tasks white and black firemen might reasonably be expected to carry out. One Florida engineer explained what he saw as the advantages of black firemen:

The colored firemen will do a great amount of work that the white fireman would hesitate before doing. [He] will inspect the under portion of the engine, under the

also printed in "Special Organizer for Southeastern States," *President's Report to the Twelfth Biennial Convention, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen* (1910), 54–61; A. G. Walker, "McDonald, W.Va.," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 20 (October 1903): 774–75.

⁴³ Timothy Shea, "Conditions of the Brotherhood in the South," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 45 (September 1908): 406. Also see C. S. Daniel, Member of Lodge 80, "White Firemen Not Wanted," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 58 (May 1915): 609; Lacy, *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of . . . North Carolina . . . 1893*, 103–04; *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 339.

⁴⁴ C. J. Goff, "The Brotherhood in the South—The Negro Fireman Problem," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 60 (June 1916): 679–82; "Southern Region—Operating Conditions," *Railway Age*, 66 (March 14, 1919): 594.



Rail crew on hand car at the Palmetto depot, Seaboard Air Line, circa 1902–1905. From the Palmetto Hist. Commission, neg. #12,935. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

supervision of the engineer, looking for loose nuts, missing cotter keys, collar pins, etc. . . . [H]e will fill the headlight, signal lights, gage light, oil cans and lubricators, and although against the rules of some roads will fill the rod cups; he will take charge of the tool box, water bucket, cushion, feed cans, red light, etc., that must be carried from one engine to another running in the chain gang down here . . . [H]e will put away properly everything left in his charge, get the engineer a pail of water to wash in, and on being presented with a plug of tobacco or a dime he will take off his cap and say, "thank you, Cap'n."⁴⁵

The subservience expected of blacks extended from the job to the performance of after-hours favors. The black fireman was "a sort of servant for the engineer," a white member noted with resentment in 1914. He "will carry products home" for the engineer that "he buys out on the road, run errands and otherwise serve him in a personal capacity."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ J. C. Hall, Div. 309, "Colored Firemen," *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*, 33 (April 1899): 251–53; also see J. C. Hall, "The Negro Fireman and Promotion," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 27 (July 1899): 81–82.

⁴⁶ Member of Lodge 201, "Employment Conditions in the South," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 57 (December 1914): 748. Also see "The Negro Fireman Question," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 59 (September 1915): 357–58; A. P. Kelly, "Southern Federated Board," in "President's Report to the Twelfth Biennial Convention," *Report of Grand Lodge Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Twelfth Annual Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 1910*, 182; "Argument of W. S. Carter," in *Proceedings, Arbitration between the Eastern Railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, March 26 to April 5, 1913* (New York, 1913), 3: 2365; *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 414–15.

White engineers, who had already achieved the highest status attainable in the railroad labor hierarchy, encountered no direct competition from black workers. Given their authority over their train's operation, more than a few went further and exercised both a professional and personal mastery over their black subordinates. For blacks, white supremacy manifested itself less in the elimination of blacks than in whites' absolute control over them, a control that made engineers' lives considerably easier. They simply demanded of blacks subservience and the performance of extra labor as a condition of employment. Black firemen had little choice but to comply, given the desirability of railroad work and their restricted options outside the industry. (Their response changed abruptly during World War I, however, as they lodged angry complaints with the U.S. Railroad Administration, claiming that this tradition violated wartime regulations mandating equal treatment and pay for all workers, regardless of race, performing the same job.)⁴⁷ Predictably, numerous rank-and-file white firemen denounced the white engineers for their behavior. Engineers' preference for blacks not only undermined white firemen's ability to displace their black competition but constituted a direct challenge to their sense of themselves as skilled, dignified white workers. Blacks might bow and scrape before white authority, but white labor must not. It "is a hard matter to get a white fireman to crawl under one of these dirty old mills . . . to shine engineer's shoes and carry their grip home, and probably a watermelon or sack of potatoes, and at last cut some wood for 'de madam,'" a St. Augustine, Florida, fireman complained. And yet, where white firemen were few and the firemen's brotherhood was weak, managers often left their white employees little alternative but to perform at least the range of on-the-job tasks that blacks engaged in. According to a firemen's official, white workers were required to "clean engines, scour brass, place tools . . . and perform any service that may be required of them" on certain southern railroads. Only on the eve of World War I did previously resistant engineers conclude that "the great number of hours spent daily in the space so small as the cab of a locomotive should be spent in the company of a fellow employe who is socially, morally and intellectually the equal of the engineer."⁴⁸

The issue of wages proved particularly troublesome for southern white brotherhood men. A white brakeman formerly on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad complained that the "paltry salaries" of his southern compatriots could be traced to the fact that on "every crew in the South you will find the 'coon,' a man who is perfectly contented with one dollar a day." W. S. Carter testified in an arbitration hearing in 1913 that the "negro is the cause of wages being cheap in the south . . . There is no other cause."⁴⁹ Black firemen and trainmen did receive lower rates of

⁴⁷ Robert L. Mays to W. S. Carter, July 8, 1919, and the affidavits of Thomas C. Jefferson and Walter Jones, in File: Robert L. Mays, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, in Subject Classified General File of the Division of Labor, U.S. Railroad Administration, R.G. 14, in James Grossman, ed., *Black Workers in the Era of the Great Migration, 1916-1929* (Frederick, Md., 1985), Reel 9.

⁴⁸ A White Fireman, St. Augustine, Florida, "Negro Fireman," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 27 (July 1899): 83; Goff, "Brotherhood in the South," 680-81.

⁴⁹ Ex-L&N Brakeman, "From the South," *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, 16 (April 1899): 346; "Argument of W. S. Carter on Behalf of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, April 4, 1913," in *Proceedings, Arbitration between the Eastern Railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive*

compensation than white workers. Abundant evidence indicates that until 1918—when General Order 27 of the U.S. Railroad Administration equalized wages for blacks and whites performing comparable work—blacks were paid 10 to 20 percent below white rates.⁵⁰ If wage differentials were a badge of white superiority over blacks, they also prevented whites from receiving a proper “white man’s wage,” acting to restrain white wage advancement. As the firemen’s magazine explained in 1896, “Railway officials on Southern roads frankly give as a reason for not advancing the wage of white [union] firemen . . . that they can get the same work done for but little more than half the present scale by resorting to colored labor.” The payment of “‘negro wages’ are making paupers of white people” in the South.⁵¹

As much as white workers might deplore the use of blacks on southern railroads, the railroad companies had good reason to rely on black workers. African-American men were a source not simply of cheap labor but of efficient labor as well. In 1886, James C. Clarke, the president of the Illinois Central and a former slave holder, described his railroad’s black firemen and brakemen in Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana as “smart active men” who “show skill in learning quickly the duties they are to perform.” Disavowing any prejudice on the part of his railroad, Clarke found black workers “generally amiable, docile and obedient . . . There is no better labor among any race in the world.” Railroad companies could extract a greater amount and a wider range of labor out of their black work force, given the tradition of black subordination in the South and a harsher racial climate by the turn of the century. Blacks often worked longer hours than whites, putting in “more preparatory time before a train starts than white employees,” the Eight-Hour Commission found. “In these ways an extra hour may be added to their shifts, for which they get no pay.”⁵²

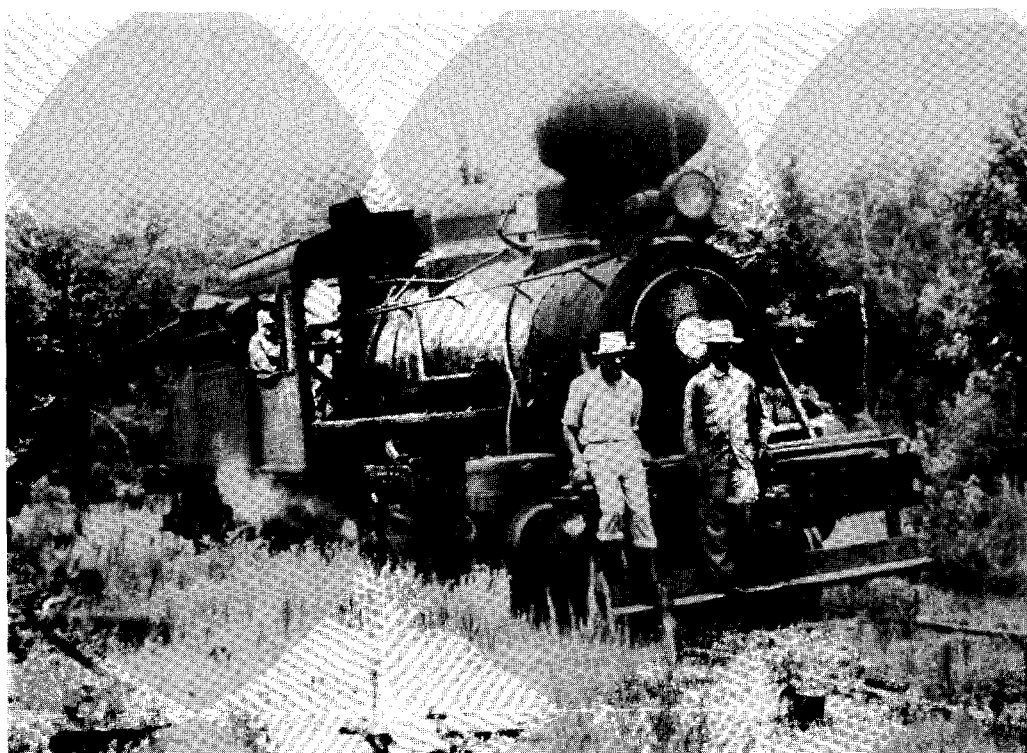
Railroad managers found that they could use black labor to ensure control over their white labor force. Simply put, black labor could serve as a bulwark against white unionism and union power. Brotherhood members, often correctly, attributed their inability to organize whites to the deterrent effect of black competition

Firemen and Enginemen, 3: 2365–66. Also see New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 6, 1913; Samuel T. Graves, “The Negro No Good,” *Railroad Trainmen’s Journal*, 17 (June 1900): 505–06.

⁵⁰ Goff, “Brotherhood in the South,” 681; *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 414; Jack, “The Negro Firemen,” *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, 22 (January 1897): 58, 60; “Georgia Railroad Strike—The Negro as a Citizen,” *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen’s Magazine*, 47 (December 1909): 893; *Atlanta Journal*, June 25, 1909; “Grand Fork,” *Railroad Trainmen’s Journal*, 17 (June 1900): 506–07; W. E. B. Du Bois, ed., *The Negro Artisan: Report of a Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University* (Atlanta, 1902), 115–16; Gaston, “History of the Negro Wage Earner in Georgia,” 238–39.

⁵¹ “The Negro Firemen Problem,” *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, 26 (May 1899): 539–42; “The Negro and the Labor Question,” *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, 21 (July 1896): 4–6; “Negro Wages Must Go,” *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*, 26 (January 1899): 109–10; Frank W. Trainham, “Another Problem,” *Railroad Trainmen’s Journal*, 20 (February 1903): 136.

⁵² J. C. Clarke to T. Morris Chester, April 29, 1886, President’s In-Letters, J. C. Clarke, January 1–April 30, 1886, IC5.2, Illinois Central Papers, Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago; *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 414. Also see David L. Lightner, *Labor on the Illinois Central Railroad 1852–1900: The Evolution of an Industrial Environment* (New York, 1977); C. M. Kittle, Federal Manager, to B. L. Winchell, January 18, 1919, in Records of the Division of Labor, Case Files of G. W. W. Hanger, Assistant Director, Division of Labor, 1918–1920, U.S. Railroad Administration, R.G. 14; *Report of the Industrial Commission*, Report 17, 217 (also cited in Du Bois, *Negro Artisan*, 169).



Engine 100 near Century, Alger-Sullivan Lumber Company Railroad, August 5, 1942. Owned by Don Hensley. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

and their loss of southern strikes to black strikebreakers. Following the defeat of white firemen and switchmen in the mid-1890s in strikes against the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, the company installed non-union blacks in most of the positions of brakemen, switchmen, and firemen on its Birmingham division to forestall renewed union agitation; subsequent efforts by the white brotherhoods to remove blacks from train crews failed.⁵³ Few railroads in the Southeast employed any new white firemen at all in the immediate aftermath of the failed 1909 strike by white Georgia firemen, perhaps as punishment but more likely as a form of insurance against future union trouble. Union officials contended that employers "want to be in a position to play negro labor against white labor, thus preventing labor troubles by the operation of a sort of alternating scheme."⁵⁴

⁵³ Paul Worthman, "Black Workers and Labor Unions in Birmingham, Alabama, 1897-1904," *Labor History*, 10 (Summer 1969): 375-407; Reid, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, 57. The employer practice of recomposing the labor force along new racial and ethnic lines to forestall unionization was hardly unique to the South or the railroad industry. See White, "Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Railroad Work Force," 265-83; Yuji Ichioka, "Asian Immigrant Coal Miners and the United Mine Workers of America: Race and Class at Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1907," *Amerasia*, 6 (1970): 1-23; Ichioka, "Japanese Immigrant Labor Contractors and the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railroad Companies, 1898-1907," *Labor History*, 21 (Summer 1980): 325-50; Yuzo Murayama, "Contractors, Collusion, and Competition: Japanese Immigrant Railroad Laborers in the Pacific Northwest, 1898-1911," *Explorations in Economic History*, 21 (July 1984): 290-305.

⁵⁴ Goff, "Brotherhood in the South," 680; "Negro and the Labor Question," 4-6; "Special

Harvard economist and labor mediator William Z. Ripley, in 1918, attributed the Louisville & Nashville's success in crushing strikes to its financial strength, the "resolute antibrotherhood attitude of its president," and "its ample supply of negroes for firemen."⁵⁵

It was this fear of employers' manipulation of the racial division of labor, far more than any actual threat, that lay behind a bitter strike of white firemen on the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railroad, also known as the Queen and Crescent (Q & C), in 1911. On January 3, management deliberately provoked a conflict with the brotherhood when it assigned three black firemen to preferred runs on passenger and freight trains on an 84-mile section of its third district connecting Chattanooga and Oakdale, Tennessee—a section previously staffed only by whites. Ignoring whites' objections, the railroad's general manager insisted that the company would retain these men, who were the most senior in the service, on their new routes. Outraged, white firemen quickly declared war. Backed by a unanimous vote of the brotherhood local's members, roughly 250 white firemen and as many as 100 white engineers struck on March 9. For the next three weeks, passenger service was halted, and freight service encountered numerous obstacles. The strikers' actions attracted considerable support from rural white mountain communities along the railroad's division in Tennessee and Kentucky. Along the route, sympathizers attacked trains staffed by black firemen, white strikebreakers, and railroad detectives; snipers and mountain marksmen fired at passing locomotive cabins, while crowds or masked supporters pulled crew members—white and black—off the trains to inflict severe beatings.⁵⁶

A great deal appeared to be at stake to strikers and sympathizers alike. The company's action, in the words of a white Cincinnati newspaper, was but the "entering wedge to place negro firemen on practically every railroad south of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi"; the firemen's magazine charged that the managers' "yielding to their instincts of greed and avarice" in "subordinating white firemen to negro firemen" would eventually displace white firemen. Company officials would increase the number of African Americans north of Oakdale until the Q & C had "so many negro firemen that the white men would

Organizer for Southeastern States," *Proceedings of the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen* . . . 1910, 471.

⁵⁵ William Z. Ripley, "Appendix VI: Railway Wage Schedules and Agreements," *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 272; "Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad," in "President's Report to the Twelfth Biennial Convention Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen," *Report of Grand Lodge Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Twelfth Annual Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 1910*, 222.

⁵⁶ H. O. Teat, Acting Vice President, "Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway: 'Negro Question,' Resulting in Strike," in "Report of International President," *Quarterly Report of the International Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*, 4 (April 1, 1911): 84–85; "Firemen's Strike on the Queen & Crescent," *Railway Age Gazette*, 50 (March 24, 1911): 703–04; *Commercial Tribune*, March 17, 1911; *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 18, 1911; "Strike on the Queen and Crescent," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 50 (April 1911): 519–20; *The Crisis*, 1 (April 1911): 7–8; "STRIKE: Statement of the Firemen's Position in the Strike Now on the C.N.O. & T.P. Ry," in File 42, Erdman Act Case Files, Records of the National Mediation Board, Record Group 13, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md.; *Chattanooga Daily Times*, March 24, 1911; March 10, 1911. On the Queen & Crescent Route, see "Southern Railway System—Historical Sketch," and "Queen & Crescent Route," in Richard E. Prince, *Steam Locomotives and Boats, Southern Railway System, Premier Carrier of the South* (Green River, Wyo., 1965), 5, 35.

be practically helpless in wage matters, as they were on all other parts of the Queen and Crescent Route," union officials charged.⁵⁷ In the end, neither the company nor its union emerged wholly victorious. The final agreement produced by federal mediation prohibited employing black firemen north of Oakdale but only so long as a sufficient number of competent whites were available—an extension of existing practice. Rail managers did accept two revisions dealing specifically with black seniority and advancement. First, in the future, the percentage of blacks in Q & C service would not exceed their percentage in service as of January 1, 1911. This had the practical effect of contractually limiting the number of black workers. Second, blacks, in order of seniority, would be assigned to no more than one half of passenger or preferred freight runs.⁵⁸ For their part, rank-and-file white firemen expressed dissatisfaction with a settlement that legitimized the use of contractual stipulations as a method for defining the racial boundaries of the labor force but that did not secure their complete white supremacist agenda. The real issue remained unresolved, the *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine* complained, for the "negro fireman question is one that must be settled sooner or later." An editorial in the Jackson, Tennessee, *Daily Sun* concurred: Americans are "unalterably determined that America shall be and remain a white man's country," it read. "The question of doing away with negro firemen has been mooted for several years and, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down . . . for Americans have determined that neither the negro, the Chinaman nor the Japanese will 'run' either this country or its railroads. If the 'cause' of the strike had been removed much bloodshed, suffering and sin would have been avoided, and it is incumbent upon the railroad managers to REMOVE IT before more trouble results."⁵⁹

Given the real and imagined magnitude of the threat posed by African Americans to white job privileges, white firemen had two possible solutions to the so-called "Negro Fireman" problem. To borrow the concise formula proposed by Herbert Northrup in his testimony before the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices in 1943, the brotherhoods could either "admit the Negro into their union and 'teach him and educate him' to present a solid front against the employer" or "force the railroads to eliminate the Negro from train and engine service."⁶⁰ This dilemma was one that repeatedly confronted white

⁵⁷ Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, March 7, 1911; "Strike on the Queen and Crescent," 520; Teat, "Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway," 94; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, March 15, 1911; "Firemen's Strike on the Queen & Crescent," 703. For contemporary accounts of the strike, see "General News Section," *Railway Age Gazette*, 50 (March 17, 1911); "Q. & C. Firemen's Strike Settled," *Railway Age Gazette*, 50 (March 31, 1911): 803; "Settlement of Queen and Crescent Strike," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 50 (May 1911): 655–57; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, March 10–16, 18–21, 23, 26, 27, 1911; Louisville *Times*, March 10, 11, 13–18, 21, 23–25, 1911; Chattanooga *Daily Times*, March 9–16, 18–21, 23, 26, 27, 1911; Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, March 7–18, 21–26, 28, 1911; Birmingham *Age-Herald*, March 10, 26, 1911; Cleveland *Press*, March 13, 1911; Spero and Harris, *Black Worker*, 291–92.

⁵⁸ "The Firemen's Strike," *The Crisis*, 2 (May 1911): 16; "Settlement," and "Memorandum of Agreement, March 25th, 1911," in File 42, Erdman Act Case Files, Records of the National Mediation Board, R.G. 13, Washington National Records Center.

⁵⁹ "Settlement of Queen and Crescent Strike," 656; Jackson, Tennessee, *Daily Sun*, quoted in "Settlement of Queen and Crescent Strike," 657, and in Teat, "Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway," 101; "Firemen's Strike," 16.

⁶⁰ Herbert R. Northrup, "The Negro in the Railway Unions," *Phylon*, 5 (1944): 160; C. Vann

workers in a wide array of occupations; the choices outlined by Northrup were open to *all* white unionists, the only difference being that, in many places in the South, whites would neither have to "teach" nor "educate" their black counterparts, who had already organized or were familiar with trade unions.⁶¹

Not all groups of white workers responded in an identical way to the presence of African Americans in their trades. Although the tendency of most international unions in the AFL was to exclude or discourage black membership, some unions followed a dramatically different course. Important exceptions to the exclusionary rule included longshoremen (sometimes affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association) in Galveston, Houston, Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans, bituminous coal miners (sometimes affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America) in Alabama's Birmingham district and in West Virginia, and timber workers in Louisiana and East Texas (affiliated in the 1910s with the Industrial Workers of the World). Beginning in the 1880s in longshoring and coal mining, industrial unions—which proved far more inclusive than exclusionary craft unions—or multi-trade alliances of craft unions sometimes promoted collaborative relations between blacks and whites, who were organized into racially separate, or biracial, unions. The biracial union tradition of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era emerged more from pragmatic accommodation to the exigencies of job market competition and the character of the work itself than from workers' ideological commitment to interracial solidarity. Performing relatively unskilled work, longshoremen and miners knew they could easily be replaced by determined employers who manipulated the racial composition of the labor force to unions' disadvantage. Where competition from unorganized black workers proved strong, or where black workers organized unions and sought to secure employment for themselves, whites found exclusion to be a dangerous and ineffectual policy. Moreover, these white workers' sense of themselves as workers was far less dependent on notions of craft, sobriety, mobility, and education than was the case in skilled trades such as the railroad's operating crafts. Although they might take considerable pride in their work and aggressively defend their work rules, they occupied a relatively low position in the occupational hierarchy of skill and power. Ideologically, they had less to lose and, practically, much to gain in

Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877–1913* (1951; rpt. edn., Baton Rouge, La., 1971), 229. Classic and more recent works that have tended to emphasize discrimination and exclusion include Spero and Harris, *Black Worker*; Herman D. Bloch, "Craft Unions and the Negro in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Negro History*, 43 (1958): 10–33; Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker 1619–1981* (1974; rpt. edn., New York, 1981); Michael Honey, "The Labor Movement and Racism in the South: A Historical Overview," in Marvin J. Berlowitz and Ronald S. Edari, eds., *Racism and the Denial of Human Rights: Beyond Ethnicity* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1984), 77–94; Herbert Hill, "Race, Ethnicity and Organized Labor: The Opposition to Affirmative Action," *New Politics*, 1 (Winter 1987): 31–82; Harris, *The Harder We Run*; Joe William Trotter, Jr., *Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915–32* (Urbana, Ill., 1990); Lewis, *In Their Own Interests*; Norrell, "Caste in Steel."

⁶¹ On the tradition of black unionism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Arnesen, "Following the Color Line of Labor," 43–87; Eric Arnesen, "'What's on the Black Worker's Mind'? African-American Workers and the Union Tradition," *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, 10 (Fall 1994): 7–30; Jeffrey Gould, "The Strike of 1887: Louisiana Sugar War," *Southern Exposure*, 12 (November–December 1984): 45–55; Melton Alonza McLaurin, *The Knights of Labor in the South* (Westport, Conn., 1978); Peter Rachleff, *Black Labor in Richmond, 1865–1890* (1984; rpt. edn., Urbana, Ill., 1989); Rachleff, "Black Richmond and the Knights of Labor," in Jerry Lembcke, ed., *Research in Urban Sociology*, 1 (1989): 23–52.

making organizational accommodations with their African-American counterparts. Considerations of pragmatism and power, then, could prompt whites to enter into some form of structured relationship with blacks. While by no means all white longshoremen and miners followed this course, thousands discovered that success in regulating the labor supply or neutralizing the weapon of racial division in the employers' arsenal required an alliance with blacks.⁶²

In contrast, the railroad brotherhoods, like numerous other unions of skilled white men, refused to experiment across racial lines. Without hesitation, firemen and brakemen embraced policies of black containment or exclusion. Most white locomotive firemen who participated in the public debate over the place of African Americans dismissed the very idea of accepting black workers into the organized labor movement. "Look at the Knights of Labor," a fireman from Birmingham argued in 1897. "What became of them after admitting negroes into their ranks? They collapsed, of course, just like the firemen or any other order who will recognize the negro will do."⁶³ Brotherhoods invoked racist caricatures to explain racial subordination and justify the policy of union exclusion. Ignoring the efforts of railroad managers and the brotherhoods to exclude blacks from top positions, deny them union membership, and force them to accept harsher conditions and lower wages, they instead insisted that African Americans were responsible for their own plight. Some whites contended that blacks, as a group, were unorganizable. The *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* concluded in 1898 that "they are too shiftless to leave any hope that they can ever be successfully organized, and therefore they are a menace to organized labor." Extending membership to blacks was "repulsive to any working man in the South," one respondent put it, a "direct insult to the members in the South," another insisted. A white fireman from Denison, Texas, suggested that admitting blacks into the union might foster character traits that were incompatible with blacks' social position. Taking blacks under brotherhood care, he argued, would unleash dangerous forces, for equalizing wages would "urge the negro to ambition"; blacks would become "bold and hard to please."⁶⁴

⁶² Eric Arnesen, *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863-1923* (New York, 1991); Letwin, "Race, Class, and Industrialization in the New South"; Herbert G. Gutman, "The Negro and the United Mine Workers of America: The Career and Letters of Richard L. Davis and Something of Their Meaning: 1890-1900," in Julius Jacobson, ed., *The Negro and the American Labor Movement* (New York, 1968); Ronald L. Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class, and Community Conflict 1780-1980* (Lexington, Ky., 1987); Worthman, "Black Workers and Labor Unions in Birmingham"; Stephen Brier, "Interracial Organizing in the West Virginia Coal Industry: The Participation of Black Mine Workers in the Knights of Labor and the United Mine Workers, 1880-1894," in Gary M. Fink and Merl E. Reed, eds., *Essays in Southern Labor History: Selected Papers, Southern Labor Conference, 1976* (Westport, Conn., 1976), 18-45; James Green, "The Brotherhood of Timber Workers 1910-1913: A Radical Response to Industrial Capitalism in the Southern U.S.A.," *Past and Present*, 60 (August 1973): 161-200; David R. Roediger, "Gaining a Hearing for Black-White Unity: Covington Hall and the Complexities of Race, Gender and Class," in Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics, and Working Class History* (New York, 1994), 127-80.

⁶³ A Member of 426, Birmingham, Ala., "The Negro Question," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 22 (February 1897): 125-26.

⁶⁴ "Current Comment," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 25 (August 1898): 214-15; S. H. LaLonde, Denison, Tex., "The Negro Fireman," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 30 (March 1901): 440-41; George H. Peters, "The Negro and Organized Labor in the South," *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 33 (August 1902): 286. White brakemen engaged in a comparable discussion in the pages of the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*; see "Colored Labor in Organizations," 16 (November 1898): 912-14.

The brotherhoods of locomotive firemen and trainmen thus rejected black membership. Their very structure, social composition, and ideology, like those of many skilled unions, worked to reinforce their consistently anti-black (and anti-immigrant) stance. From their inception, the brotherhoods modeled themselves after older fraternal orders, drawing on a long history and the rituals of Freemasonry (and other fraternal bodies) in the United States. But the construction of fraternal solidarity, as Mary Ann Clawson has established, "was based as much upon a process of exclusion as it was a ritual of unification," for neither women nor African Americans qualified for membership. Since racial exclusion was a "hallmark of mainstream American fraternalism throughout its history," fraternal orders "may be seen as an active, albeit relatively small, part of a social structure organized to construct and maintain racial separation and inequality."⁶⁵ Representing the industry's overwhelmingly white, native-born male constituency outside the South, and that smaller constituency in the South itself, the brotherhoods adopted explicit provisions in their constitutions to ensure continued racial, ethnic, and gender homogeneity. Herbert Northrup concluded that the "social origins of the 'Big Four' made it almost inevitable" that they would exclude blacks, for most had been "founded as fraternal and beneficial societies," and they continued to place much emphasis on those "social features." "To admit Negroes, the Southern members declared, would be tantamount to admitting that the Negro is the 'social equal' of the white man," something "they refused to countenance."⁶⁶ Exclusionary provisions in brotherhood constitutions remained standard well into the 1950s and 1960s, when federal and state courts, responding to and helping to forge a gradual revolution in labor and civil rights law, declared such formal racial proscriptions unconstitutional.

The occupational dynamics of the railroad industry's job structure also led white craft unionists to advocate a strategy of exclusion or marginalization over one based on biracial unionism. Such an approach offered the advantage of designating certain jobs as for whites only. In the North and West, firemen and brakemen enforced a policy of segmentation, keeping African Americans out of railroad running trades and restricting them to unskilled positions. In the South, white firemen and brakemen looked approvingly on the success of their northern and western colleagues and apprehensively at their own problems of black competition, lower wages, and harsher working conditions. But everywhere, the highly desired positions of conductor and engineer remained a preserve of whites. White firemen's expectation of advancement over time generated a "throttle fever"—the desire to become an engineer—which tended to reduce turnover by providing an incentive for firemen to remain with their employer. Where the brotherhoods were powerful, promotions turned on seniority and competence (assessed by means of a qualifying exam). But labor-market and larger economic conditions always influenced the demand for conductors and

⁶⁵ Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 129–33. On masculinity and fraternal culture, also see Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, 1990). On working-class identity and "manhood," see Baron, *Work Engendered*.

⁶⁶ Northrup, "Negro in the Railway Unions," 160.

engineers. When the economy was strong and labor was in short supply, a fireman might wait only a few years before advancing; conversely, during economic downturns or periods when labor markets were glutted, he might wait over a decade.⁶⁷ Admission of blacks into the brotherhoods or recognition of separate black unions might have necessitated according them equal access to coveted positions, a prospect that few brotherhood men could embrace. It would also have required them either to devalue their own work—to view it as less skilled and prestigious—or to evaluate African Americans' capacities more positively—to view blacks as capable and as qualified as whites. This would have entailed a virtually unthinkable break with prevailing southern racial beliefs. The dangers of a racially divided labor force did not lead white brotherhoods of firemen and brakemen to rethink their policy of exclusion. In essence, they accepted their vulnerability because the alternative—sharing the benefits of organization with blacks—appeared too unpalatable. “[W]e would rather be absolute slaves of capital,” a Clarendon, Texas, fireman declared, “than to take the negro into our lodges as a equal and brother.”⁶⁸ When it came to organizational efforts to build unions and extend working-class influence, the racial divide proved an insurmountable barrier separating white from black on the railroads.

Rejecting blacks as members was one thing, but achieving their elimination as labor market competitors was another. At a conference of the various brotherhoods in Norfolk in 1898, the Firemen's Grand Master, F. P. Sargent, looked forward to the day “when every locomotive in the country would be fired by a white man,” and toward that end he promised an educational war, “a campaign in advocacy of white supremacy in the railway service.”⁶⁹ More than education, however, was required to persuade or force railroad managers to relinquish cherished managerial prerogatives, increase their labor costs, and abandon their insurance against white union demands. Strategy and tactics were the subjects of official union debate, and impatient rank-and-file railroaders would periodically experiment on their own when they felt they could not wait for negotiations to take their course. Over the next two decades and beyond, white railroaders would employ a variety of tactics, with varying degrees of success, to deny African Americans employment.

At one extreme were racial violence and terrorism. During strikes, strikebreakers regardless of race found themselves subject to verbal and physical abuse. But moments of overt class conflict were not the only occasion for white-on-black attacks, particularly in the South. In 1891, for instance, the introduction of a small number of black brakemen into the previously all white Mobile and Montgomery division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad provoked violent opposition. The new black trainmen found themselves dodging bullets along their routes, and local whites punished a white brakeman, flogging him “in the bushes for

⁶⁷ “So wide are the local variations in time required for promotion that no average can be ascertained or would be significant,” investigators found in 1918. *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 390–91.

⁶⁸ Southern Tallow Pot, “Organizing the Negro,” *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 33 (September 1902): 434.

⁶⁹ “The Labor Factor in Race Troubles,” *Literary Digest*, 17 (December 24, 1898): 740; “Union Meeting at Norfolk, Va.,” *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, 26 (January 1899): 118–20.

consenting to make the run with the negro trainmen."⁷⁰ Far more serious violence occurred during the economic depression of 1921 and continued into the following year. Southern white brakemen and firemen on the Illinois Central's Yazoo Division intensified their campaign of terror against blacks, reportedly placing a \$300 bounty on the head of every black railroader killed; at least a dozen blacks were shot at, injured, or killed in the ensuing attacks. White railroaders in the Deep South would launch a similar round of physical assaults in the early years of the Great Depression.⁷¹

Racial terrorism was generally a tactic of last resort, a desperate ploy in desperate times, not a staple of brotherhood tactics against black workers. Violence remained episodic, the product of local anger, racial beliefs and tensions, and fear of economic deprivation, receiving neither official sanction from brotherhood leaders nor general public approbation. Political officials and the white press found it too difficult to defend outright murder in the cause of white economic supremacy, for such violence infringed on employers' more important right to hire whomever they liked, contributed to the white South's reputation for lawlessness and chaos, and violated recognized legal norms. However effective in the short run, terrorism remained an unsanctioned technique resorted to only rarely—during economic hard times—in the decades-long campaign of white railroad workers against African Americans.

The strike, white railroad workers' most disruptive weapon, similarly carried risks. Before 1910, what "race strikes" there were encountered sharp employer opposition that thwarted white demands for the elimination of black labor. The Georgia "race strike" of 1909, which drew the widest national press attention of any labor-based racial conflict before the 1917 East St. Louis riot, is a case in point.⁷² Blacks and whites exercised equal seniority on Georgia railroads, but

⁷⁰ Birmingham *Age-Herald*, August 14, 1891; *Mobile Register*, August 14, 1891.

⁷¹ "Memorandum" [c. 1930s] and "Narrative Statement Covering Negro Train and Engine Service Employees on Southern Lines—Illinois Central System, From the Recollection of Old Reliable Employees and from the Best Records Available on the Subject," in Folder: Discrimination of Colored Employees, Box 8, Records of the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad, Selected Personnel Department Files, Labor-Management Documentation Center, Martin P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. In the Papers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP Administrative File, Subject File, Unions—Railroads—January 5–August 21, 1921, Box C414, Library of Congress, see Statement of Brakeman Bob Grant; Jesse Ficklin to J. H. Eiland, May 17, 1921; Walker James to *The Crisis*, March 8, 1921. Also see *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, September 24, 1921; *New York Age*, August 6, 20, 1921; *Birmingham Reporter*, December 3, 1921; Ross, *All Manner of Men*, 119. On earlier attacks, see "Blackhanders Drive Negroes from Train," *McDowell Times*, July 7, 1916. On the attacks of the 1930s, see Hilton Butler, "Murder for the Job," *The Nation*, 137 (July 12, 1933): 44–45; Ira De A. Reid, "Negro Firemen," *The Nation*, 137 (September 6, 1933): 272–73; T. Arnold Hill, "Railway Employees Rally to Save Their Jobs," *Opportunity*, 12 (November 1934): 346–47; Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, "Appendix B: Murders of Negro Firemen," *Black Workers and the New Unions* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1939), 439–45.

⁷² For selected secondary treatments of the strike, see Taillon, "Trouble on the Southern Railroads"; Hugh B. Hammett, "Labor and Race: The Georgia Railroad Strike of 1909," *Labor History*, 16 (Fall 1975): 470–84; John Michael Matthews, "The Georgia 'Race Strike' of 1909," *Journal of Southern History*, 40 (November 1974): 613–30; John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era 1900–1920* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 33–34; Spero and Harris, *Black Worker*, 289–90. For a sample of primary accounts, see *The Nation*, May 27, June 3, July 1, 8, 1909; "The Race Strike of the Georgia Railroad," *Railway World*, 8 (June 4, 1909): 455; "The Georgia Railroad Strike," *The Outlook* (June 5, 1909): 310–12; "The Georgia Strike Arbitration," *Harper's Weekly*, 53 (July 3, 1909); "The Georgia Railroad Strike," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 47 (August 1909): 255–69; *Proceedings of the Eleventh Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen Beginning*

because an employment bar against black engineers prevented black occupational mobility, many black firemen acquired considerable seniority, enabling them to claim a large number of preferred runs on passenger and freight trains. Newer white workers, often possessing less seniority than black co-workers, were compelled, in the words of the firemen's brotherhood vice president G. A. Ball, "to take what is left by the negro." This state of affairs, white strikers insisted, was unacceptable in a city and state that had disfranchised its black citizens and extended segregation statutes to cover public transportation and accommodations. White firemen pushed unsuccessfully for a dual seniority system that allowed the senior white fireman to "stand first for passenger engines or runs." Their three-week strike failed completely. In this as in many instances, railroad managers possessed sufficient power to resist white demands for black exclusion. This was a lesson that brotherhood leaders had undoubtedly understood. White railroad workers struck frequently over such issues as wages, conditions, union recognition, and work rules, yet relatively few of their walkouts centered on the removal of black workers.⁷³

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the white brotherhoods' anti-black efforts began to produce modest successes in the South. Ultimately, firemen's and trainmen's officials settled for contractual restrictions—percentage agreements—as an attainable substitute for the elusive goal of outright exclusion. Utilizing the threat of strikes (or, as in the case of Q & C firemen, the strike itself), they won formal restrictions on the numbers or placement of black workers in the labor force as well as the creation of racially separate seniority lines.⁷⁴ In 1918, the federal Eight-Hour Commission reported the use of contracts in limiting black employment to be widespread; in many cases, the brotherhoods and individual railroads had concluded agreements to "limit the proportion of colored workers in occupations under the jurisdiction of the union."⁷⁵ In the immediate aftermath of World War I, white trainmen and firemen successfully pressured the Railroad Administration into accepting rules that guaranteed to whites an even larger proportion of jobs. "Non-promotional" clauses, for example, effectively barred

September 14th, 1908, Columbus, Ohio (1908), 619–20, 865; "Georgia Railroad and Atlanta Terminal," *Report, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Twelfth Biennial Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 1910*, 290–311. For a sample of the response of the black press to the strike, see *Atlanta Independent*, May 29, June 5, 12, 26, July 3, 1909; *Savannah Tribune*, June 5, 1909; "Significance of Atlanta Strike," *The Colored American Magazine*, 16 (June 1909): 382–83. On race relations and labor in Georgia, see Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948* (Atlanta, Ga., 1990); Mercer Griffin Evans, "The History of the Organized Labor Movement in Georgia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929).

⁷³ "The Georgia Railroad Strike," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 47 (August 1909): 261–62; "The Negro Fireman Situation," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 47 (August 1909): 284–85; F. S. Foster, "Georgia Railroad Strike—Mistaken Ideas of the Press," *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, 47 (November 1909): 740.

⁷⁴ "Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad," in "President's Report to the Twelfth Biennial Convention," *Report of Grand Lodge Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Twelfth Biennial Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 1910*, 222; "Southern Railway," *Quarterly Report of the International Officers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*, 6 (October 1, 1911): 160–77; "Discrimination against White Trainmen," *Railroad Trainman*, 36 (November 1919): 804; "Circular of Instructions," *Railroad Trainman*, 37 (May 1920): 304.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Eight-Hour Commission*, 413; Reid, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, 57.

the employment of any man as fireman who did "not stand for promotion"—effectively ending new black hires,⁷⁶ while new percentage agreements sharply reduced the number of black workers on key railroad divisions. Unable to eliminate black workers, white unionists embraced contractual restrictions on blacks, advanced promotion bars, and manipulated seniority lines to ensure their numerical superiority. The new rules, which were adopted for their "freeze-out and eliminating effects," complained black labor activist Thomas Redd on behalf of some sixty-nine black Kentucky brakemen in 1928, constituted nothing less than a "negro elimination program."⁷⁷

Black railroadmen lost ground steadily in the years following World War I, despite their vigorous protests. Reductions in the overall size of the nation's operating rail service, technological advances, and contractual and secret agreements between unions and rail managers all contributed to their displacement. By the late 1940s, Charles Houston could confirm to the NAACP's 40th Anniversary Conference that the Big Four brotherhoods, which had been "using every means in their power to drive the Negro train and engine service worker out of employment," had been largely successful in creating a "racially closed shop" among the firemen, brakemen, switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen.⁷⁸ After the World War I era, the brotherhoods, with the collusion of the federal government and railroad managers, ultimately accomplished much, if not all, of the brotherhoods' pre-war agenda.

A CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACE was an integral part of white workers' sense of themselves as workers, as Americans, and as citizens. For white railroad workers in the operating trades, the prospect or reality of racial competition and a desire to preserve their dominance of key jobs played important roles in the framing of racial beliefs and the forging of discriminatory practices toward non-whites. Undoubtedly, racial exclusion often entailed material and psychological benefits. But these perspectives by whites on race were grounded in more than function alone. There was an elite craft structure, the access to which required the possession of highly valued skills, knowledge, and strength of character. Whether they were members of an aristocracy of labor (as in some northern and western states) or a weak, embattled, but aspiring elite (as in much of the South), brotherhood men in the "fraternity" on the railroads maintained an intense craft

⁷⁶ U.S. Railroad Labor Board, November 4, 1921, Decision No. 307 (Docket 138), *Association of Colored Railway Trainmen vs. Illinois Central Railroad Company, Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad Company*, Docket No. 138, Subject: "Association of Colored Railway Trainmen . . . Petition . . .," in Records of the National Mediation Board, R.G. 13, Washington National Records Center.

⁷⁷ Petition to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, May 18, 1928, Records of the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad, Selected Personnel Department Files, Box 8, Folder: Discrimination—Assoc. of Colored Railway Trainmen, Labor-Management Documentation Center, Martin P. Catherwood Library.

⁷⁸ Houston, "Foul Employment Practice on the Rails," 269. See also Charles S. Johnson, "Negroes in the Railway Industry," *Phylon*, 3 (1942): 5–14; Charles S. Johnson, "Negroes in the Railway Industry, Part II," *Phylon*, 3 (1942): 196–205; "Preliminary Summary Statement on the Employment of Negroes on Railroads," Papers of the National Urban League, Series 6, Research Department, Early Surveys, Box 89, Folder: Labor Union Survey Reports—1933, Library of Congress; Willard S. Townsend, "One American Problem and a Possible Solution," in Rayford W. Logan, ed., *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944), 177–81.

identity and pride. Rooted in their membership in a distinctive occupational group, their sense of collective identity also incorporated beliefs about race and nationality. To possess the requisite skill, knowledge, and character for the safe and effective operation of the nation's railroads, a railroad man had to be a white American. No matter how accomplished they proved themselves, African-American firemen and brakemen would not be included in the fraternity on wheels. White brotherhood members assumed that blacks simply could not possess the appropriate character traits.

Racial ideology also constituted part of a framework for interpreting the dramatic changes taking place in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The process of capitalist industrialization was nothing if not uneven, unstable, and unpredictable. Providing rising standards of living for some, it threatened impoverishment for others. The sheer level of class conflict in this era wove a perpetual insecurity into the fabric of working-class life. Not even skilled workers in the railroad operating trades could take their status for granted. In the struggle between capital and labor, employers drew on a vast supply of immigrants or black laborers whose reputedly squalid living standards, immoral behavior, and mental incapacity threatened to drag down the sturdy white working class and American civilization with it. Viewing themselves as embattled workers and as embattled citizens, white trade unionists occupied the front lines in a war in which class, race, and national identity were inextricably linked. Economic competition with non-whites—real or anticipated—became a high-stakes moral contest with the American standard of living and republican liberty hanging in the balance.

African Americans in the operating service suffered from the evolving techniques of racial subordination and exclusion. By the World War I period, if not before, however, black railroaders, and most certainly their union leaders, had become good students of the political and economic circumstances out of which these mechanisms were forged and implemented. Possessing knowledge of their adversaries' precise tactics, the changing rules of the game, and their enemies' strength and motives did not, in the short run, enable them to preserve many of their jobs. W. H. Stover's quiet, personal protest, which opened this article, like that of the World War I-era black railroad unions, came to naught. But the outcome was somewhat different during the next world war, when another generation of black railroad workers attempted to crack the white barriers of the brotherhoods and railroad managers. The judicial struggles of black railroaders such as Bester William Steele and Tom Tunstall were backed by legal teams employed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, all extremely well-versed in the history of employment discrimination in the railroad industry. Knowledge of that history formed the basis for their challenges before federal bodies, the federal courts, and the public. While by no means achieving the full economic equality that they sought, this new generation of labor and legal activists managed to delegitimize the brotherhoods' racial barriers and establish the principle of fair employment as a national goal.

Featured Reviews

ALAIN CORBIN. *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840*. Translated by JOCELYN PHELPS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 380. \$35.00.

JOHN R. STILGOE. *Alongshore*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 443. \$35.00.

The environment is a human construct: it is, by implication, *our* environment. Consequently, environmental history is also, always, cultural history. Its primary concern is the interaction between human needs and desires and the geographical world.

Both these books deal with the same geographical element, the seashore, but they treat its interaction with humanity in strikingly different ways. French cultural historian Alain Corbin writes about “the desire for the shore that swelled and spread between 1750 and 1840” (p. vii) among Europeans. American environmental historian John R. Stilgoe writes primarily about his own desire for the shore, a desire that is tinged by deep-rooted social anxieties.

Corbin’s book is a history at once of imagination and of social practices. Because the shore is an unstable zone of contact between the elements, he explains, it liberates and encourages the play of human imagination. The seashore is an element in a “system of appreciation” (p. 19) in which desire and place become attuned to each other.

Corbin traces the origins of this cultural system in England, France, and, to a lesser extent, Germany in the Enlightenment. Before then, the sea was primarily a source of anxiety; classical epistemology shaped a “configuration of feelings” (p. 19) in which the sea was represented as a fearsome, repulsive wilderness. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, however, the ruling classes of Europe began to seek out the shore precisely because it was wilderness. “This was when the coasts of the ocean began to appear as a recourse against the misdeeds of civilization” (p. 53). This geographic locale seemed beyond the reach of historical and technological changes that were challenging the land-based social order.

Such were the desires and anxieties that gave rise to the practice of sea baths, which were undertaken not

for hedonistic purposes but for therapeutic ones. Gradually, bathing for medical reasons evolved into “a life-style full of obscure joys” (p. 95) as the habit of sea bathing opened up “a new world of sensations . . . a new way of experiencing one’s body was developing, based on rooting out the desires that disturb it” (p. 95). Corbin traces the interplay of representations, emotional strategies, and practices that made the ocean shores sites of enjoyment and contemplation well before 1800. Desire for the shore was inspired, in part, by a selective reading of certain classical texts and of contemporary geology, which encouraged Europeans to regard the ocean as the archive of the earth: its salt waters were supposed to hold the answers to the mystery of time.

In the earlier nineteenth century, Romantic artists enriched the experience of the shore by providing a coherent discourse about it and also a new array of practices: ways of walking, talking, and looking. The Romantics made the shore a strategic site for self-knowledge, a metaphor for the fate of the individual. Corbin describes the complicated social relations that developed between the visitor inspired by such romantic projects, and the spontaneous practices of local inhabitants.

This quick summary can only suggest the richness and variety of Corbin’s sources: diaries, medical literature, creative literature, architecture, painting. His visual evidence is, alas, presented in an awkward and unattractive way, as a clump of black-and-white photos stuck in the middle of the book with their captions up front. This is one of two disservices done to Corbin by the American publisher: the other is the treacherous English translation of the far more evocative French title *Le Territoire du vide*.

Otherwise the translation reads well, faithfully conveying Corbin’s tone of respect for Europeans of past

centuries who were engaged in practices that might easily be ridiculed (for example, the use of specially designed wagons to allow female bathers a discreet entry into the sea). Corbin takes special pains to warn against the dangers of reading our own desires and anxieties into the past: "There is no other means for understanding people from the past than attempting to see through their eyes and live with their feelings" (p. vii). He draws his study to a close with the advent of railway lines, which brought a whole new class of people to the beach. From then on the beach was no longer an aristocratic or upper-middle-class milieu, with a finely structured code of sociability. By 1840 "The modern beach was born" (p. 281).

The modern beach is what is so troubling to Stilgoe, who portrays it as the haunt of overweight Americans planted in aluminum chairs next to coolers of beer. In protest, he is, in his own words, engaged in the "dialectics of backtracking" (p. xx). Although Stilgoe makes brief references to the shores of New York and San Francisco, most of his book is based on his observations of the Massachusetts coastline from Gurnet Light to Minot Ledge, accumulated over many years of leisurely walking and small-boating explorations along this part of the Atlantic coast.

Most of the thirteen chapters have one-word titles, which, taken together, convey the range of Stilgoe's interests: among them are "Salt Marshes," "Skiffs," "Harbors," "Treasure," "Bikinis," and "Risk." These chapters do not attempt to develop a coherent argument, but instead allow Stilgoe to ramble around coastline topics that intrigue him. These include the dubious pleasures of "gunkholing," the quiet wonders of salt marshes, assorted bits of pirate lore, and comments on the silliness of "quaintness" and beach movies.

Throughout the book, Stilgoe adopts the third-persona of the "barefoot historian" and the garrulous voice of an old salt. I often felt stuck in verbal quicksand, slogging through a mire of adjectives and repetitions, frustrated in my efforts to get to some historical solid ground. At last I would find some—passages on shore-related terminology, catboats, internal combustion motors, low life beneath the wharves, the aquarium craze of the nineteenth century—but the ratio of information to verbiage remained distressingly low.

My impatience to get to the historical point may be irrelevant to the larger point of the book, however. The book's large size, its old-salt style, and above all its visual appearance (an abundance of illustrations, gorgeously laid out, and picture-postcard dust jacket) all suggest it is intended more for coffee tables than for scholarly bookshelves. Stilgoe's "barefoot historian" is in fact a public intellectual, mixing historical research with extended observation. He intended to write a book that is "both a historical inquiry and a close look, something like the mix of land and water . . . perhaps best designated *coastal realm*" (p. 14).

I applaud this effort to write alongshore, with a

broad audience in mind. Far from exempting the historian from disciplined thought, however, if anything it makes that responsibility all the greater. And so it is especially regrettable that so much of *Alongshore* is taken up by derogatory comments directed at Stilgoe's pet peeves: women and girls who wear one-piece bathing suits instead of bikinis, men and boys who wear floppy long suits instead of sligher models, historians who do not appreciate popular culture, people who use power boats, and, most of all, overweight people. Running alongside this constant stream of sneers is a countercurrent of praise for Stilgoe's pet likes: women in bikinis, thin muscular people of both sexes with tans, sailors and sea kayakers, and, above all, the "locals," noble savages who seem unfailingly wiser and more virtuous than "land-lubbers."

This kind of analysis raises, first of all, serious questions of evidence. "The barefoot historian" does not claim to have evidence for these assertions other than what he himself has observed over the years. As someone with very similar alongshore habits and preferences, I found many of his observations utterly implausible. "Locals" wearing bikinis and briefs are subject to nasty comments from more puritanical "outsiders"? Huh?

Even if the evidence were stronger, Stilgoe's approach would still raise issues of tone and relevance. I wonder how many other readers besides myself—especially females who have their own reasons for preferring other kinds of bathing suits to bikinis—will be annoyed by this man's obsession with telling them how to dress. Why does Stilgoe care so much about such habits of fashion and life style? What is the point of all this unpleasantness? Where is all this going?

At the end of the book, in the chapter titled "Risk," I finally understood. An argument at last emerges from the swamp of prose: Social Darwinism. The argument is vividly presented through the image of an isolated barrier beach, which Stilgoe describes at the outset of the chapter. This beach is essentially inaccessible from dry land, he explains, and it also cannot be reached by "big engine boats and deep-draft sailboats" (pp. 372–73). The beach is therefore populated only by the tanned, the fit, the active, the environmentally conscious, non-smokers, moderate eaters: the "clerisy . . . the cognoscenti, those active enough to paddle a seagoing canoe, pull a rowing boat, or, lately, manage a sea-kayak" (p. 373). These superior beings quietly rejoice that "the government" is slowly withering away, too impoverished by spending on social services to make the barrier beach more accessible. It is therefore safe from the masses that bring "urban crime and noise," as well as from the questionable claims of the physically challenged.

The image of this terminal beach reminds me so much not of Eden as of nineteenth-century Last Man literature, where on some far-off shoal, after a natural or technological disaster has wiped out the weaklings, only the strong survive. On the accessible public

beach cluster the doomed: the overweight, the lazy, the passive. "Somehow [this] beach is a vast morgue, or morgue-to-be" (p. 389).

On one hand, Stilgoe has the gift of a keen eye for significant elements of the American landscape—the metropolitan corridor, the borderland, the common landscape, now the shore. On the other hand, he has difficulty in shaping a theoretical argument to organize and analyze his observations. In this book, he allows prejudice to replace theory.

What passes for theory in *Alongshore* is Stilgoe's conviction that "The American public has become two publics, divided not by race or gender or economic position but by the insidiousness of physical condition" (p. 391). In making this assertion, of course, he is going far beyond the environment of the coastal realm. The same general division can also be observed on the roadways (the muscled bicyclist being run off the road by the muscle car), in the forest (the cross-country skier shaking a fist at the snowmobiler), or at the city park (lean joggers versus beer-drinking picnickers). The beach is simply one place to observe the different ways in which humans interact with their environment, ways that arise from complexities of society, culture, and history.

But Stilgoe is not interested in understanding how some people can enjoy the shore in apparently very different ways from himself. If he were, he could have made this the focus of his historical research. But he does not make any rigorous connections between his theory of "two publics" and his meandering historical loops. His social theory inspires moral condemnation, not historical analysis.

Even this would be forgivable were not his moral condemnation based on breath-taking obliviousness to the facts of social class, for he implies the division between the "two publics" is based solely on physical condition, not on "race or gender or economic position." It is true that high income is not the only predictor of who heads for the faraway beach and who does not, but neither is "exertion" a biological category that can be abstracted from all the complexities of social existence. The very people on whom the government is supposedly lavishing social-service spending (and Stilgoe should know that in his native Massachusetts these budgets have been cut repeatedly over the past years) are the ones who are noticeably absent from the remote beach. They are also noticeably absent from most environmental organizations that focus on wilderness issues, although they may organize around the documented tendency for waste sites to be placed in locations inhabited primarily by

non-whites. Stilgoe's frequent references to the way the physically fit are "very, very devoted to slathering sunscreen SPF 45 on themselves, their families, and their friends" (p. 394) is another reminder that people of color are all but absent from these milieus. And in condemning the obese, he sees their state only as a moral failing, while himself failing to note the worldwide correlations that link the global spread of food products industries, changed eating habits, and weight gains.

As Corbin's book amply reminds us, desire for the shore is always dialectical, always mixed with anxiety. The intensity of Stilgoe's love for the coastal realm is matched only by the intensity of his anxiety originating not in the natural environment but in the social one. This may be the reason why, although a historian, he ends up assuming a stance beyond history. The bikini is not just another fashion, but something that is absolutely superior in its supposed naturalness. The locals are noble souls, not conflicted ones caught up in the paradox of advanced capitalism whereby urbanites seek out and bring money to places that are quaint primarily because they have been poor, and that are unlikely to stay quaint as money floods in. Stilgoe's moral consciousness claims basis in biological absolutes (goodness equals thin and fit), thereby evading historical contingencies.

Alongshore highlights an existential challenge that faces all environmental historians: maintaining objectivity in an increasingly polluted, populated, and developed world. Surely Stilgoe is not alone in being inspired to write about a place that is at once beloved and threatened. How many volumes of environmental history begin with a highly personal introduction, in which the author recounts her or his close attachment to the place about which she or he writes? The strength of this attachment gives life to the research; it opens up environmental history to a wide audience and endows it with a broadly humanistic appeal. Yet *Alongshore* suggests the dangers of a topophilia at once intense and unexamined.

Corbin quotes a French writer of 1788 who said that the "influence of the earth . . . only acts powerfully on the behaviour of members of the common folk; in general, . . . a man becomes stripped of local character as he becomes educated or capable of reason" (p. 209). Environmental historians must be alert lest their "local character" lead them to strip themselves of their education and reasoning capability.

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GANANATH OBEYESEKERE. *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*. Princeton: Princeton University Press or Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu. 1992. Pp. xvii, 251. \$24.95.

This book is less about Hawaiian history than about history itself, less about Captain James Cook than about the creation of a Cook myth, and less about "them" than about "us." This is an intricate book, however, so that the dichotomies merge and one subject slides into another. Begun in response to a lecture by Marshall Sahlins (p. 8), the volume also reflects Gananath Obeyesekere's passionate concern with his homeland, Sri Lanka, and with the violence he sees in the modern world. The central thesis is that Europeans made Cook a god: his apotheosis is our story; the Hawaiians "knew" better (p. 50). Around this core, Obeyesekere writes a treatise on the "weapon" that History can be.

History, Obeyesekere claims, is a product of real-politik, a genre appropriated by those in power and denied to those who lack it. That it plays a part in the conquest of one people by another not only shapes the discipline of history but also gives it a fluidity, so that form and content vary with the distribution of power at any one moment or in any one place. Moreover, Obeyesekere implies that the process of appropriating the genre produces careless historians who fail to distinguish fact from myth and conscious purpose from unconscious motivation in themselves and in their "subjects." Sahlins's writings on Cook become the foil for a discussion of history and power that combines an examination of "voyages of discovery" with an analysis of the character of Cook.

The organization of the book conveys the complexity of its argument: narrative sections alternate with critical readings of descriptions of the death of Cook. Throughout, the energy of the prose comes from the dismantling of Sahlins and the presentation of an alternative, non-Eurocentric interpretation of the event. Sahlins is faulted on several scores—misreading sources, distorting evidence, privileging a Western point of view—in essence, for being deluded by a myth of the "discoverer" that is part of his, but not Hawaiian, culture. In response, Obeyesekere offers more than an "other" history; he insists that History cannot be done without incorporating myth and biography, without applying the techniques of the ethnographer and the psychoanalyst to all data. Thus, he treats sources as malleable, shaped by the position of their speaker, and he subjects not only Cook but also other actors to the lenses of the psychoanalyst. On this last point, Obeyesekere is least different from the antagonist he accuses of being blinded by a theory.

But this book is not simply an attack on a rival. Both in its origin and in its content, it asserts that history is a tool of dominance and a distinct form of cultural discourse. Around Cook, Obeyesekere mounts an

argument for the role of history in the control of one group by another, specifically of Westerners over others. He insinuates at one point that Sahlins is too "neat" (p. 55), a comment that condenses an elaborate disquisition on the dichotomies of rationality and irrationality, civilized and savage, us and them. These are the dichotomies that turn Eurocentric history into a weapon against the powerless, but such strongly held dichotomies are, according to Obeyesekere, false. He elegantly proves their falseness with Sahlins's slip from neat theory into an irrational reading of sources, Cook's loss of "reason" on his third, lonely voyage, and British sailors' rejection of "civility" as they mourn their captain by donning his clothes. Obeyesekere calls this last performance "symbolic psychomimesis" (p. 190); such mimesis occurs at every stage of the story, as Prospero becomes Kurtz, history myth, and sailors savages.

Obeyesekere uses the dichotomies in another way as well. With the play of opposition and mimesis, he keeps individual actors at the forefront of the story. Essentially human, these actors are motivated by psychological compulsions as forcefully as by the disappearance of a canoe or the desecration of a shrine. Contra Sahlins, Obeyesekere argues for the importance of the unconscious and the unintentional, not only in the events but also in the writing of history.

Offering an alternative version of Cook's death, Obeyesekere begins by examining sources to discern the facts. But that effort pales before the larger goal of throwing the notions of "source," "fact," and "narrative" into question. If, on the one hand, Obeyesekere tries to uncover the real history of Cook in Hawaii (dismissing "pseudo-history" and "mythobiography"), on the other hand he claims that as long as history is a (changing) product of (shifting) hierarchical relationships, there can never be a true narrative. The resulting ambiguity does not, however, detract from the book's accomplishment: showing that a presumptively well-reasoned account actually reiterates a powerful cultural myth. Taking this lesson to heart, readers of this book must wonder whether all histories are not ultimately hegemonic, unacknowledged myth-models.

In the long run, this is an essay about violence: between individuals, groups, and nations. The discipline itself originates in violence, in the suppression of one "form" by another, as cruel as the British suppression of the "insolent" voices of those they encounter on voyages of "discovery." Yet, like the psychoanalyst, the critic of history has faith in the benefits of knowledge. The knowledge Obeyesekere presents is multilayered and nuanced, and he sees the

effort to understand as the first step on a route to tolerance and, perhaps, to an ending of the violence that until now has constituted all histories.

This book is difficult and may not have wide appeal. It will, however, intensely interest historians and anthropologists of the Pacific and of colonial

encounters, scholars persuaded by Sahlins's "cultural history," and anyone willing to let herself or himself be touched by the passion with which Obeyesekere respects the uses of history.

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RICHARD TUCK. *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651*. (Ideas in Context, number 26.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 386. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

In sequence with Quentin Skinner's *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978) and the two volumes in the *Cambridge History of Political Thought* edited by J. H. Burns (*Medieval* [1988]; *1450–1700* [1991]), authors of monographs—often published in the Cambridge University Press Ideas in Contexts series—are supplying us with studies, either of particular themes or of overall patterns of development, in the European political discourse of the late-medieval and early modern periods. To what branch does Richard Tuck's volume belong? Does it isolate a theme or offer to tell us what themes were dominant? It originated, he tells us, as part of a collaborative project that is still going on; his partner James Tully is "to take the narrative down to the formation of the developed European states system at the Treaty of Utrecht" (p. xi). Will Tully observe the dates 1651–1713 with the same rigor (and how great is this?) that Tuck has observed with the dates 1572–1651, and will Tully's pivotal events, which the dates denote, lead him to pursue the same themes as those that organize Tuck's volume, or to note their replacement by new themes? What is it to write the history of European political thought: is one selecting themes and giving them priority over others, or recording the fact of their domination over others? To understand what Tuck is doing, and to characterize the history he is offering to present, we must discover what the words "philosophy" and "government" come to mean as they are deployed in his text.

We start—well before the events of the year 1572, which do not seem to include the publication of any dominant text—with a general background in Renaissance humanism. Here, from a standpoint resembling Maurizio Viroli's in his *From Politics to Reason of State* (1992), we see a Ciceronian civic humanism attacked and partly displaced, first by Machiavellianism and then by Tacitism. This "new humanism" becomes an ideological tool for use, first, in multiple monarchies where the *principe* may be *naturale* in some of his dominions and *nuovo* in others, and, second, in the same monarchies now plagued by wars of religion, in which confessional divergences change the foundations of government more deeply than the Machiavellian distinction ever did by itself. "Govern-

ment" has now come to mean statecraft, the art of supporting monarchy under these desperate conditions; we are looking at the prince as *politique*, and the Tacitist emphasis is on *ragione di stato* and the *arcana imperii*. Tacitism, however, is at the same time Stoic and skeptic; the wise man has resort to the "government" of himself by means of a "philosophy" that, by teaching how little we know, aims to prevent reason placing itself in voluntary servitude to the passions and to fanaticism. What kind of "government," meaning regime, commonwealth, or state, such a "philosophy" might prefer is a question open to many answers; one of them an aristocratic republic of disenchanted senators or unwilling yet dutiful Senecas, for which Tuck reserves the term "true republicanism."

Perhaps the most satisfying chapters in this closely argued and strongly written book (the proofreading could have been better) are those that follow the Tacitist "new humanism" through the baroque cultures of the Counter Reformation, with Lipsius, Montaigne, Botero, and Sarpi as central figures. Tacitists all, they might have preferred a republic but lived mostly under monarchs impelled toward absolutism by the very conditions they studied as *politiques*. Tacitism displayed its Machiavellian roots in the service of multiple monarchies whose dominions were caught up in the wars of the religious confessions; and Tuck notes that it was the advocates of a non-moral statecraft who inclined toward secular peace and toleration, while the "liberal," humanist, and constitutionalist Jesuits (might we add Anglicans?) were determined to stamp out heresy by every means to which the king might be constrained. The philosophers were not *dévots*, and their skepticism inclined them to support the ruler (prince or senate) in every strong measure to which *ragione di stato* might point its arcane finger. We begin to see the baroque state as the immediate ancestor of the enlightened; but Tuck is emphatic that the skepticism of the "philosophy" of "government" was in every case the ancient skepticism of Carneades and Epicurus, and that we are moving in a strictly humanist world on the eve of the breakthrough whereby Descartes, Gassendi, and Hobbes, substituting a "modern" skepticism for an

"ancient," laid the foundations of enlightened science and enlightened politics, and shaped the moment at which Tully will take the baton from Tuck's hand.

To get there, however, we must enter a world Protestant as well as Catholic, and a set of discourses complex enough to render Tuck's book a serious, and perhaps unresolved, problem in continuity. From its inception we have inhabited a world exclusively humanist, generating its advanced epistemological skepticism out of its discussion of ancient texts; a world vivid, actual, and believable, but is it the only one? We have yet to hear any voice speaking out of the disciplines of civil law, or out of the debates over ecclesiology that forced consideration of how the law was related to the spirit. These universes of discourse appear when we are introduced to Hugo Grotius; they are brilliantly analyzed, but Tuck is obliged to use some Archimedean levers to heave them into view, and we should keep in mind that they have been there all the time. By situating Grotius in his history of skeptical humanism, Tuck is able to argue convincingly that he has the key to Grotius's progress to the two positions here characterized as final: an aristocratic and senatorial republicanism, and a religion increasingly un-trinitarian, quasi-Socinian, and proleptically deist. A philosophy of natural law supports these two positions; no doubt it also supports Grotius in constructing a systematic *jus gentium*, but that is not the history being narrated here. Tuck supplies a valuable study of the debate between Grotius and John Selden over the law of the sea, pointing out that the Dutch onslaught on Portuguese commerce rendered the Thirty Years' conflict "the first world war Europe was to inflict on the globe" (p. 143).

He supplies much further illumination of Dutch political thought, notably that of Piet van der Cun (Petrus Cunaeus), whose *De republica Hebraeorum*—well known to Harrington—emerges as a key text of seventeenth-century republican theory (pp. 167–69). But as his narrative moves to England for its concluding chapters, "The English Revolution" and "Thomas Hobbes," it is clear that the pattern of evolution ascribed to Grotius is assuming paradigmatic status. Tuck contends (p. 225) that in comparison with the German states, "the English war was waged by *humanists*, and its public rhetoric . . . was drawn from history and from Tacitism." This is a valuable insight; the question is, perhaps unfortunately, whether Tuck is presenting it as exclusive or dismissive of other insights. He seems, in sentences which follow that just quoted, to suggest that the common law was an

amateur study that played little part in shaping the English mind. One might reply that the English mind is amateur; alternatively, that Selden—a central figure here—supplied common-law precedents to what became the Petition of Right, which fill fourteen pages of the Yale edition of *Commons Debates 1628*.

Tuck also finds it necessary to emphasize the presence in England, as elsewhere, of a form of republicanism that stressed the sovereignty of an aristocratic senate. So he should, and it yields valuable insight. It is less clear why he needs to privilege it, by calling it "true republicanism," to the exclusion or relegation of a republicanism based on mixed government. Thanks to Blair Worden, we know that Tuck's preferred form was the republicanism of the Rump, of Henry Vane, John Milton, and Algernon Sidney, and that there was another republicanism that appeared in response to the failure of the Rump, notably in 1656 when James Harrington and Marchamont Nedham published their works. There seems no reason why one republicanism should be any more "true" than another, and Tuck maintains his position by breaking off his narrative with rigorous abruptness in 1651, the year of *Leviathan*, so that the writers of 1656 do not appear in text or index at all. The "Hobbesian moment," nevertheless, is prolonged; Hobbes's intellectual history is carried past 1660, although all other narratives cease in 1651. How Tully will handle the moment of 1656, and whether he will handle it at all, must depend on his choice of themes.

This volume is therefore a brilliant history of baroque humanism, which is shown to have been active in England as it was elsewhere. By conducting the Tacitist-Stoic skepticism of Lipsius and Montaigne into the Protestant and jurist universes inhabited by Grotius, Selden, and Hobbes, Tuck is able to trace its mutation into the epistemological, post-Cartesian, and far more instrumental skepticism we are accustomed to find at the roots of early enlightened natural philosophy and civil law. He has succeeded in demonstrating that this was a humanist story; the only points at which it is necessary to cavil at him are those at which he suggests that it is the "true story," meaning the only story that needs to be told. Whether there are other stories, arriving at the same destination by other routes, or at other destinations that challenged this one, is a question remaining in our minds.

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THOMAS BENDER. *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 179. \$31.95.

Thomas Bender's special insight in this volume is the idea that intellectuals can best be studied in relation to the spatial and institutional locations that provide the context for their work. Bender envisages a succession of intellectual types. Drawing on Florentine and Atlantic republican traditions of responsible citizenship, the antebellum "civic intellectuals" were local gentry who valued knowledge mainly for its contribution to civic betterment. Succeeding them, the "disciplinary intellectuals" built nongeographic national communities around the modern research universities that transformed production of knowledge in the Gilded Age, developing what Bender thinks were more sophisticated conceptual structures to comprehend the complex social relations of the industrial era.

Bender makes room for transitional groups between the local civic elites and the rootless cosmopolitans of modern academe. Following Thomas Haskell's lead, he argues that the American Social Science Association attempted to create a national version of civic professionalism that would ground the authority of the professions in modern, scientific forms of knowledge, but still attend to civic improvement. By contrast, Washington's Gilded Age intellectuals attempted a local version of disciplinary professionalism in which elites constructed cultural institutions to bridge the narrow boundaries of the emerging disciplines, engage in civic education, and recruit and socialize a new administrative class. In the years surrounding World War I, the New York intellectuals, influenced by Charles A. Beard and John Dewey, created cultural institutions that spanned the growing chasm between academic and literary culture, bringing the critical insights of modernism to bear on the problems of a teeming immigrant city.

Written over several years, these essays are unified by a central issue: how the academicization of social knowledge affected the public sphere. Bender applies the relativizing strategies of discourse analysis to expose connections between what he sees as a virtual obsession with class on the part of the academics and their ability to function independently, as "free" intellectuals. Individuals took different paths in dealing with class. A fascinating chapter compares the path chosen by Columbia economist E. R. A. Seligman, whom Bender shows converting historical economics into an effective method for advocating limited, largely technical reforms in government that appealed to elites of his banker-father's class, with the equally promising Columbia career of the brilliant nonconformist Daniel de Leon, cut short by his unshakable commitment to socialism. Bender cites the well-known debate between Arthur Hadley and

John Commons on intellectuals and class, but he does not explore the substance of their theoretical work or its impact on the national discourse on class. The implication is clear that only those who opposed capitalism and involvement in World War I, and who left the universities, could free themselves from subservience to the dominant class. Bender's demonstrations of that subservience have a dated quality. He goes too far, I believe, in contending that twentieth-century academics withdrew to the university to escape the city's diversity and complexity. If the "city" stands for the modern social relations of capitalism, academics deserve more credit—or blame, depending on one's perspective—for inventing forms of new liberalism (not a category for Bender), including a statist vision in which government, performing in ways not contemplated in civic republicanism or welcomed by capitalist elites, would enter into the field of distribution, boost the social wage, and check monopoly power. If Beard tried, by leaving the academy for the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the New School, to reinvigorate the civic model of intellectual life, others fashioned new forms of advocacy, complex relationships to class and gender, and a degree of independence within institutional contexts that were compatible with maintaining university affiliations. The disciplinary form of intellectual endeavor has been a good deal more flexible, and much of the social science produced within it more ideologically engaged and responsible than Bender tells us.

Bender credits the New York intellectuals with the courage to combine art and politics, as in Randolph Bourne's celebration of New York's ethnic diversity as the basis of an open, democratic culture. Lionel Trilling figures as the shaper and spokesman of an intellectual culture more broadly based in the educated middle class, a critic of the moral absolutism of 1930s radicalism whose commitment to pluralism and consensus were believable in the Cold War context in a way that the current conservative quest for consensus can never be. For Bender, the appropriate model is Dewey, whose commitment to history and experience as the bases of truth have been rediscovered in contemporary neopragmatism.

The individual portraits in this volume are more convincing than the general scheme. Bender adopts too rigidly a Kuhnian typology in which intellectual culture becomes a sequence of social and perceptual structures, one giving way to another when the earlier one fails to work. This system breaks down when it encounters, but cannot explain, a Professor Beard committed to civic purposes or a Professor Dewey committed to defending politics as a form of knowledge, not to mention female reformers such as Jane

Addams, whom Bender sees as closer to the frontlines of social service and more engaged with client groups, but who still, like their male counterparts, "held back from democracy, each preferring a version of expertise." Is it impossible to strive for social justice through bureaucratic means? Or through laying a theoretical basis for a more equitable distribution and more democratic state forms? Only by recognizing that different intellectual cultures and ideological paradigms have existed simultaneously

in the same settings over long periods of time, and that the sustained tension between them was constitutive, can we accommodate all the modern liberal types that must be understood. As for strategies of place, from this volume one would never guess that there were intellectuals or publics west of the Mississippi River.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

BRUCE MAZLISH. *The Fourth Discontinuity: The Co-Evolution of Humans and Machines*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. 271. \$30.00.

Of all the relationships in the long history of humankind, none is more significant than the relationship of human beings to their machines, from the most primitive tools to the mainframe computers of the late twentieth century. Civilization itself was made possible by technology, and the essence of modernity is its replacement of much of the labor of people and their animals with that of power-driven machines.

Precisely because human beings are not machines, a large part of the human-machine relationship is intellectual and emotional: how men and women have thought and felt about their technological allies. Bruce Mazlish has now written a chatty, digressive, but always absorbing history of the Western perception of the machine, viewed in the context of ideas of evolution, progress, and the place of humankind in nature. It is an ambitious book, much too short to achieve all its goals, but it teems with insights into the intellectual history of technology and fascinating premonitions of marvels yet to come.

Mazlish's title refers to the passage in Sigmund Freud's *Introductory Lectures to Psychoanalysis* (1917) where Freud enumerated three great historic assaults on human pride. The first was the discovery that the earth was not the center of the universe, the second was Charles Darwin's destruction of the boundary between the animal and the human, and the third was Freud's own exploration of the unconscious, showing that the ego was not even master in its own house. Now, writes Mazlish, comes a fourth shock, the abolition of the discontinuity between humankind and its machines. Anthropology teaches us that we have co-evolved with our tools from our prehuman origins down to the present day. Our machines have made us what we are, just as we have made our machines. Little by little, as machines become more life-like, more capable of doing our jobs in the work place, we witness a further shrinkage of the distance between the twin universes of the human and the mechanical.

In Mazlish's view, all this is ultimately to the good, no less than the Copernican, Darwinian, and Freud-

ian revolutions that came before. To turn away in Luddite rage from our creations, to try to live without machines, would be to reject a vital aspect of our own humanity, emulating the bad example of Mary Shelley's Victor Frankenstein, who abandoned his monster and was in turn destroyed by it. Transcending the fourth discontinuity, Mazlish contends, "is essential to our harmoniously coming to terms with the industrialized world" (p. 7).

Most of the book is devoted not to polemics, however, but to an entertaining series of reflections on the history of the human image of the machine, whether such images promoted faith in an essential discontinuity between the human and the mechanical or its opposite. Mazlish roams freely from the likes of René Descartes, Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, and Ivan Pavlov to such imaginative writers as Samuel Butler, Karel Čapek, and L. Frank Baum (creator of the redoubtable "Tiktok, the Machine Man" in his Progressive-era fable *Ozma of Oz* [1907]). Science-fiction movies like *Star Wars* (1977) and *Blade Runner* (1982) share space with discussions of the difference engine of Charles Babbage and the ethical ruminations of T. H. Huxley. The text is enhanced by several apt illustrations and could have benefited from a few more.

In his concluding chapters, Mazlish discusses biogenetics and the emergence of artificial intelligence. He sees few limits to the possibilities of the "combot," the robot equipped with an on-board computer who will perhaps assist in the evolution of a higher species of humankind itself. Heady stuff, and not the usual fare of the intellectual historian! But this is not the usual history book. As Mazlish admits, challenging postmodernist fashion, "My effort in this work is more to construct than to deconstruct" (p. 10).

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ROBERT BUD. *The Uses of Life: A History of Biotechnology*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 299. \$49.95.

In the late 1970s and 1980s the word "biotechnology" became a popular term in many countries for what

seemed to be a wholly new field of "genetic engineering." In this volume Robert Bud traces the term and related concepts back to the early eighteenth century. Although originally applied to baking and brewing, the term could be considered more generally as the "converting of raw materials" (p. 228, n. 31) into useful products. Bud has chosen to pursue many often eccentric early enthusiasts (in Germany, France, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Sweden, Japan, Britain, and the United States) who applied the word and related neologisms, such as "zymotechnolgy," to many other visions of the interface between life and engineering. Unfortunately, the minor people and events get as much or more attention as some of the admittedly major ones (as the "chemurgic" movement of the 1930s, the production of penicillin in the 1940s, and the rise of the antibiotic industry in the 1950s), which Bud thinks are already sufficiently well covered elsewhere. He prefers to talk about new journals with the word "biotechnology" in their title; the biological visions of the three British scientists Lancelot Hogben, J. B. S. Haldane, and Julius Huxley in the late 1930s; research in biological warfare at Porton Down in the United Kingdom; and the numerous acronymic groups in the 1970s and 1980s that petitioned various governments for support or action.

One is left to wonder why it all happened as it did: why was "biotechnology" so marginal so long and why is it so overly hyped at present? Bud hints in places that biotechnical visions are a frequent response to agricultural surpluses, as in the United States and in chemist Chaim Weizmann's early Palestine. Although in the 1960s biotechnology was seen by some as the Third World's solution to hunger, more recently it has offered new hope to petroleum companies beset with low profit margins.

Beyond this explanation, patterns differed in each country; none comes off as the clear leader, nor is it obvious what the example of biotechnology means for the topic of "discipline formation," for the linkages enthusiasts have tried to forge between life and engineering have been many and varied. Germany, the home of strong chemical and beer industries, evidently marginalized microbiology, although its Institut für Gärungsgewerbe in Berlin was a premier institution in the field. Also, Germany's strong Green Party has sought strict legislation to control genetic engineering, probably in response to the excesses of Nazi "eugenics." In France, the home of viticulture and Louis Pasteur, industrial microbiology has evidently flourished, and yet it is not a pioneer in biotechnology. Similarly in Japan, the home of sake and many fermentation industries as well as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, promised advances have not yet materialized. Even the United States, the site of many triumphs, is criticized for its universities' concentration on chemical engineering, despite attempts at MIT and UCLA to introduce curricula and departments of bioengineer-

ing or even biochemical engineering in the 1930s and 1940s.

The strengths of Bud's book are its breadth and its impressive documentation: at times the book partakes of "popular culture" or science fiction, at other times of business history, and elsewhere of the history of chemical engineering. Bud moves easily among the historical, literary, technical, and political literatures but makes little errors as well: the major graduate program in biochemical engineering would not have been at "Minnesota State University" (p. 101) and "Representative" George Brown of California would not have been chairing hearings on biotechnology in the U.S. Senate (p. 179).

This is an interesting and worthwhile attempt to identify and bring into chronological order the several early forms of "biotechnology."

MARGARET W. ROSSITER
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ROBERT BLACKKEY, editor. *History Anew: Innovations in the Teaching of History Today*. Long Beach: University Press, California State University, Long Beach. 1993. Pp. xi, 324. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.50.

PETER N. STEARNS. *Meaning over Memory: Recasting the Teaching of Culture and History*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 254. \$24.95.

Robert Blackkey, AHA vice president for teaching and coeditor of the "Teaching Innovations" column in *AHA Perspectives*, offers this collection of essays in his continuing effort to highlight the importance of good teaching and to communicate new ways in which historians teach creatively and effectively. All but two of the forty-three articles contained in his volume were originally published in *Perspectives* between 1983 and 1991. The other two, by Blackkey himself, first appeared in *Social Education*.

Blackkey groups the articles under fourteen headings, including critical thinking, testing, textbooks, student activities, multimedia, quantitative history, world, social and local history, and teaching teachers. The articles, written by secondary and college teachers, mainly address issues relating to Advanced Placement and college teaching, although all levels of education receive some attention.

The collection's central theme is innovation. Together the articles represent some of the most successful activities and methods employed by history teachers in America today. It is tempting to describe these as "hands on" articles for they provide the reader with practical guides for immediate action, such as in developing critical thinking skills in a survey course, improving student skills in answering essay exams, or using Highly Effective Learning Procedures, or HELP.

Historians are concerned with evidence. The evidence is clear and massive relating to teaching meth-

odology: lecturing is the least effective teaching method. The authors in Blackey's volume are not lecturers. They want students who are active participants, analyzers, and thinkers, not passive note-takers. Anyone willing to actively involve their students in the learning process will find the ideas presented here a continual source of inspiration.

Peter Stearns is a prolific scholar, and a frequent contributor to the debate about history curriculum and teaching. Stearns wrote three of the articles in Blackey's volume, and some of the issues addressed in his own book appeared in an earlier form there.

Stearns's book title suggests his priorities in humanities study. He argues that what is missing in the current humanities education debate between the canonists' cultural literacy agenda and the radicals' multicultural balkanization of the curriculum is the fostering of critical imagination (p. 7), discovery and debate (p. 9), and understanding rather than memorization (p. 9).

After issuing an urgent call for humanities reform, Stearns presents a brief sketch of humanities education from the Renaissance to the present. He then delineates the two extremes in the current debate. On one side are the conservative canonists, who have their curriculum written in stone for all to read and memorize, while on the other side there are the anti-canonists, radicals who stress ethnic diversity, the relativity of all truths, political correctness, and the rejection and even outright attack on the traditional Western civilization curriculum.

Stearns seeks compromise, a middle path. He envisions humanities teaching that promotes students' ability to recognize social and cultural patterns (p. 16) and encourages the development of humanistic skills and insights (p. 17). He thereby shifts the focus of the debate to humanities study as a means of understanding the world and the student's place in it. Stearns's framework for a "problem-driven humanities approach" consists of choosing new topics that broaden our perspective of the world and the people who live in it, developing a more theoretical orientation, identifying basic analytical skills, and maintaining coherence through all levels of learning. He offers practical innovations to promote the adoption of this framework in the current curriculum. Finally, Stearns stresses the significance of his proposed new humanities curriculum to the advancement of democratic ideals.

This is not a modest book. It proposes nothing less than a revolution in American education. The obstacles are diverse and powerful. As a student teacher supervisor and college history professor, I think of my best female student teachers who cannot find jobs because they cannot coach, the outstanding English teacher dismissed because she refused to supervise the cheerleaders, the students who cannot locate the United States on a world map or write complete sentences, let alone analytical essays. Stearns recognizes that he is asking much of the present system but

still believes "humanities teachers and planners must give themselves room to dare" (p. 173). Some are already daring and he records their successes here. If the goal of humanities education is to foster understanding and tolerance, then we should all place meaning over memory and recast our classrooms and our future.

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PIERRE BOURDIEU and LOÏC J. D. WACQUANT. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 332. Cloth \$38.95, paper \$13.95.

This book by Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant brings together the results of interviews, a series of workshops, and extended dialogues with groups of graduate students in sociology, anthropology, and political science at the University of Chicago and at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales during the academic year 1987–88. Divided into three parts, it presents a comprehensive introduction to Bourdieu's work. In the first part, Wacquant's exegetical account outlines the structure of Bourdieu's theory of knowledge, practice, and society, and the "internal logic" of his writings. Wacquant discusses Bourdieu's proposed purpose to conceptualize beyond the antinomy of objectivism and subjectivism, "social physics," and "social phenomenology," to construct a generative anthropology of "symbolic power." In emphasizing Bourdieu's rejection of the eternal dyad of the individual and society, he analyzes the "methodological relationism" inherent in Bourdieu's theory of the dialectic of social and cognitive structures and crucial to any understanding of his postulate that social theory and empirical research are inextricably intertwined. Central to this methodology is Bourdieu's notion that "a correspondence exists between social structures and mental structures, between the objective divisions of the social world—particularly into dominant and dominated in various fields—and the principles of vision and division that agents apply to it" (p. 12).

Part 2, "The Chicago Workshop," consists of a "constructed dialogue" in which Bourdieu and Wacquant discuss the central concepts and research practice in Bourdieu's work. Drawing selectively on the phenomenological approaches of Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Max Scheler, and Alfred Schütz, as well as on the later philosophy of Ludwig Josef Johan Wittgenstein, Bourdieu rejects the Cartesian dualities of mind and body, sensibility and understanding, subject and object, and instead emphasizes the social ontology that restores the body as the source of intentionality and thereby the intersubjective meaning of human experience. The general theme of the phenomenological approach for these thinkers is intentionality. The

term "phenomenology," according to Husserl, denoted a science, a system of scientific disciplines, and, above all, "denotes a method and an attitude of mind." The philosophical method of this "attitude" confronts the immanent data of the "acts of consciousness" as acts of the subject and as objective correlates of these acts.

In addition to the phenomenological method, concepts that are central to Bourdieu's theory include cultural reproduction, habitus, symbolic violence, and homo academicus. The concept of cultural reproduction refers to the tendency of society in general and the educational system in particular to reproduce itself by inculcating in the rising generation the values of the preceding generation. The concept of habitus draws attention to what the rising generation of individuals are taught. Bourdieu rejects the concept of rules as too mechanical, too inflexible to describe adequately what has been learned, and defines his alternative concept, habitus, as "a socialized subjectivity," as "schemes enabling agents to generate an infinity of practices adapted to endlessly changing situations" (pp. 128–29, 139–40). His third concept, symbolic violence, refers to "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity." The concept draws attention to the symbolic power of the culture, that is the norms, values, and habitus of the dominant ruling class on members of dominated groups, and especially to the process by which these dominated groups are made "to recognize" the dominant culture as legitimate and their own culture as illegitimate (pp. 167–68).

The social sciences provide the historian with not only concepts but also methods. One of the most important of these methods is the comparative method. For these reasons, Bourdieu contends, academic boundaries between the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, history, economics, philosophy, political science, and linguistics are antinomies constructed by "specialists" that ought to be obliterated. Each discipline may help to liberate the other from the parochialism of specialization, a tendency he found prevalent within the academy. In his work, *Homo Academicus* (1984), which provides a sociological analysis of the French educational system during the 1960s, Bourdieu attempted to demonstrate that the age-old "opposition" between the universal and the particular, "between nomothetic analysis and idiographic description, is a false antinomy" (pp. 75–76).

Part 3, "The Paris Workshop," relates the introductory presentation made by Bourdieu to his graduate research seminar, in which he discusses how to practice the craft of reflexive sociology. The book provides detailed notes, an extensive bibliography, and an appendix on "how to read Bourdieu."

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ROGER J. P. KAIN and ELIZABETH BAIGENT. *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State: A History of*

Property Mapping. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 423. \$49.95.

Undergirding the extensive research on which this book is based is the conviction that maps are products of might, tools "for consolidation or extension of power" (p. 130). Cadastral maps, by recording ownership or rights in parcels of land, not only document many aspects of the power relationships at a given date and place but they also reveal changes in the very concept of ownership. The maps, and the cadasters of which they were a part, trace the emergence of land as a commodity in the modern capitalist society. As title of ownership was anchored in the state, local interests and traditions gave way to a centralized secular authority. Cadastral maps and modernization thus went hand in hand. The state made the maps, and the maps upheld the state.

Roger J. P. Kain and Elizabeth Baigent focus on one type of map as they systematically inventory its various examples, region by region, in Western Europe and its colonies, from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century. Over 125 systematic surveys are briefly described and evaluated with the number of individual maps perhaps running into the millions. Almost all of these are manuscript maps, but printed versions also exist in a few cases. Nearly a hundred sample maps are photographed and a helpful modern map locating each region discussed in the text is placed at the beginning of each chapter.

The geographical and chronological reach of the inventory has placed the authors in debt to many specialists who were consulted on the relevant parts of the study. These authorities are listed at the conclusion of each chapter. A long bibliography and a complex system of references, endnotes, and captions increase the value of the volume to scholars working in a variety of fields. Perhaps the authors expected readers to concentrate on one chapter or another. Thus, the major conclusions about cadastral maps as a whole are repeated throughout the text.

This book considers so many maps that there is never an occasion to focus on one example long enough to help the reader understand exactly what the map is saying. The captions almost never deal with the geography described on the maps. In one case, where the same locality, a parish in Suffolk, is pictured on two maps, in 1817 and again in 1837, seemingly major changes in the wooded areas call out for explanation. But the authors have not conceived of their task as a series of demonstration lessons in historical geography.

Instead, they have presented the cadastral map as a cartographic document that served the modern state in many ways: confirming the boundaries and ownership of lands; setting property values for purposes of taxation; creating inventories of national resources; suggesting where improvements might be made in facilities for transportation, communication, and common defense; and furnishing a mechanism

whereby individual land owners could confirm their stake in the centralized government.

With so many advantages, the authors are moved on several occasions to ask why the emergence of systematic cadastral mapping was so slow in coming, so sporadic in nature, and so imperfect in implementation. The answers to these basic questions vary with each particular example, but two stand out. First, there was the great expense of the undertaking. Did the costs outweigh the benefits? Second, all parties sensed that the maps represented a threat to the status quo, and the powers that existed resisted those that were to come. This study of old maps therefore reveals a good deal about the historic process itself.

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STEPHEN HOLMES. *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 330. \$29.95.

This book is an act of political engagement, a defense in clear and bracing language of liberal ideas against a so-called tradition of antiliberalism. Stephen Holmes describes those involved in this tradition as an "extended family," thinkers at once diverse and "profoundly akin," divided among themselves but sharing "a single set of core ideas" (p. 257). Holmes's focus is on "non-Marxist antiliberalism" (p. xvi), but otherwise he gives no explanation for the choice of six thinkers—none of them household names—whose ideas he examines in the first part of this book. After opening with the nineteenth-century conservative Joseph de Maistre, Holmes leaps to the Nazi ideologue Carl Schmitt, the German-American philosopher Leo Strauss, and finally to the contemporary American theorists who interest him most: Alasdair MacIntyre, Christopher Lasch, and Roberto Unger.

These last, Holmes remarks, parade as original thinkers, but, he claims, these critics of the rootlessness of the modern liberal are unaware of their own roots in the dark soil of European authoritarianism. Holmes promises "to bring this underground tradition into the daylight" (p. 13), but there is little here about history or Europe. His real concern is the condition of liberalism in America today. This book, based on the published works of the six theorists above and Holmes's impressive knowledge of classical liberal sources, is his contribution to the present debate on an important question in American cultural life: whether liberal individualism in the United States has undermined moral commitment to community and the common good. What provokes him most is not that some scholars declare liberalism to be irrelevant to contemporary problems, but that they declare it to be the single cause of these problems.

To Holmes, the reason for this is plain: antiliberals do not understand liberalism. To set them straight,

he presents in the second part of his book a kind of syllabus of errors, a summary of common wrongs in the interpretation of liberalism. The liberal ideology is revealed to include the very ideas critics say it lacks: ideas of authority, community, and the need for restraints on reason, individuals, and markets. Antiliberals, it seems, have been beating up on a straw man. Some will respond that Holmes has his own liberal illusions about these critics as enemies of reason, humanism, and science. More broadly, others will conclude that his project to identify antiliberalism as "a single tradition" existing across the whole political spectrum is an attempt to mix and match thinkers who are too fundamentally different to be part of an "extended family."

No matter. Holmes believes that he has made short work of the six thinkers presented here. As he describes them, these antiliberals are forever tripping over their own ideas and tying themselves up in contradictions. Being liberal in America can mean being called dirty names. Good liberals will come away from this book, however, convinced they are on a roll.

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STANLEY ARONOWITZ. *Roll over Beethoven: The Return of Cultural Strife*. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Most historians will find this unusual book to be difficult reading. It is a jargon-lover's paradise. Stanley Aronowitz is particularly fond of the terminology advanced by Antonio Gramsci. The word "subaltern" appears repeatedly, although it is not defined until the penultimate chapter. The author also has a penchant for such terms as "valorize," "interpellate," and the use of "privilege" as a verb.

The volume is a collection of essays on somewhat disparate aspects of culture, mostly concerning the twentieth century. The book begins and ends with discussions of the current controversy over multiculturalism and "political correctness." Aronowitz leaves no doubt about where he stands in this conflict by referring at the outset to such opponents of these academic trends as Dinesh D'Souza as "battering rams for the conservative counterrevolution" (p. 5). Between the opening and closing reflections on contemporary culture strife, we find comments on the distinctions between high and low culture and the attempts to obliterate those distinctions; the American Left throughout the twentieth century; a rather full history of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham; a chapter that is mostly a memoir of the author's youth in Marxist cultural circles; a discourse on deconstruction and other aspects of postmodernism; and an exploration of critiques of science's claims to objectivity. A good deal of this is interesting, but there is much

repetition and Aronowitz writes too much that is, in his own estimation, "needless to say." He is also given to such redundancies as "unwanted birth defects" (p. 11) and "male supremacist patriarchy" (p. 229), and he frequently talks at length about people before introducing them.

Aronowitz always seeks to align himself with anything that is called "radical" and thus moves easily from identification with economic Marxism to agreement with the highly individualistic cultural and sexual "freedom" of the present. The critical figures in his story include E. P. Thompson, Marshall McLuhan, Herbert Marcuse, and Tom Wolfe. He sees these men and a few other thinkers as having blazed the trail toward a "new paradigm" outlined by such postmodernists as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, who occupy major positions in his pantheon.

Aronowitz brings to his several subjects an obviously broad knowledge of culture in its many forms, from classical music through modernist literature and painting to comics and rock music. He makes many worthwhile points. Following Ludvik Fleck, he contends that scientific ideas are the products of "the social and cultural contexts in which they are produced" (p. 25).

Among the most significant goals of this book is to erase the distinction between popular and mass culture. Seeking to do for the masses today what Thompson did for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century working classes—restore their agency in cultural creation—Aronowitz finds it necessary to adopt the "postmodern" notion that the audience, not the "authorial center" (p. 111), is the true creator of meaning. Although this link between earlier Marxism and postmodernism in an age of mass-produced culture is never made explicit, its revelation may be the most important contribution of Aronowitz's volume.

ROBERT S. McELVAINE
Millsaps College

ROBERT A. WAUZZINSKI. *Between God and Gold: Protestant Evangelicalism and the Industrial Revolution, 1820–1914*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1993. Pp. 272. \$39.50.

The title of this book accurately expresses its controlling theme. The theme is variously expressed as a tension and sometimes a synthesis between spirituality and materialism, Protestant piety and capitalism, and evangelicalism and industrialism in the nineteenth century. Robert A. Wauzzinski quite literally wants his book to help answer the biblical question, "can one serve both God and gold?" And if the answer is yes, then how? In an attempt to answer these questions he looks to interrelations between evangelical Christianity and the new industrialism and how the participants answered those questions. He is especially interested in how industrialism and

evangelicalism, with contradictory world views, came together to actively promote free-market capitalism.

Wauzzinski claims to have found the answer: an underlying religious unity. By this he means that in spite of the naturalistic materialism of industrialism, which contradicts the supernatural theism of evangelicalism, both views are united at a deeper level. The author believes his thesis goes against conventional wisdom and is a unique contribution to scholarship.

The focus on religious unity provides a degree of continuity to the eight chapters of this book. In chapter 1, he attempts to define religion but does not acknowledge the scholarly debate as to how religion should be defined. His next chapter defines Protestant evangelicalism, describes the emergence of industrialism, and points to an underlying synthesis of the two phenomena. In chapter 3, Wauzzinski provides an analysis of American industrialism against the background of socioeconomic changes that made capitalism possible. The author then argues that the new religious synthesis, an admixture of two conflicting world views, is completely at odds with the socioeconomic views of Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, and Calvin. After a short exploration of American and British religious, cultural, and economic connections, Wauzzinski provides case studies of Charles Finney, Francis Wayland, and Russell Conwell to show how and why the undergirding evangelical-industrial synthesis occurred. He follows this discussion with a theological analysis of what Wauzzinski calls the cultural captivity of evangelical protestantism to a capitalistic consumer society. Only in chapter 8 does the author reveal his not-so-hidden agenda. It is a Christian theological call to evangelicals for church renewal in the interest of engendering a more faithful and dynamic social ministry to the socioeconomic structures of American society.

Wauzzinski's thesis rests on his definition of religion. He writes, "religion means ultimate commitment," and "religion is the function that unites the depths of life's activities" (pp. 29, 20). Thus, when he discovers that evangelicalism and industrialism share common commitments to certain values—individualism, democracy, discipline, progress, and voluntarism, among others—they are in fact united religiously. This assertion is problematic. Why is this not simply a unity of values? Moreover, if this represents an undergirding religion, how is it different from what scholars have called "civil religion" in America, with its own structure of values and beliefs and which is distinct from particular historic faiths?

In emphasizing the role of evangelicalism in the Industrial Revolution, this work functions as a corrective to secular interpretations. This author and many others, going back to Alexis de Tocqueville and Max Weber, have noted a strong affinity between Protestant Christianity and America's socioeconomic system. I think this book would have been stronger had the author engaged this literature more critically

in making his own historical revisions. Readers should know that even though historical and economic perspectives are used, this is a theological treatise.

DONALD G. JONES
Drew University

ROYDEN K. LOEWEN. *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 370. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$17.95.

In a thoughtfully conceived and impressively researched study, Royden K. Loewen examines the adaptation of Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites to changing societies in Russia and North America. Loewen convincingly argues that both the internal and transatlantic migrations of this community of German-speaking pacifists were conservative actions to secure a traditional society. Analyzing three generations of Kleine Gemeinde, he demonstrates that in Russia, Canada, and the United States these conservative Mennonites developed "strategies of continuity" to ensure a way of life; ensuring continuity, however, required change. Through the use of diaries, memoirs, family records, published and private letters, newspaper articles, and secondary materials, Loewen illuminates a complex adaptation in three countries. He perceptively analyzes religious upheavals and ingeniously combines narrative sources with censuses and other governmental records to re-create everyday lives of Mennonites, reconstruct personal relationships, and uncover perceptions of religion, family, and community. He examines gender roles, church leadership, social stratification, migration and settlement patterns, household economies, and farming practices.

Loewen offers a transatlantic perspective that begins with the Kleine Gemeinde shaping communities in mid-nineteenth-century Russia. Economic and political changes provided these Mennonites with opportunities to acquire land, secure an agrarian existence, and thus safeguard their social organization and religious value system. Seeking "separation from the world," they migrated inside Russia, founded self-contained communities, and established a way of life based on a family oriented household economy. The church congregation regulated social relationships within communities and controlled social boundaries. In order to ensure their agrarian existence, however, the Kleine Gemeinde entered Russia's developing market economy.

Both a "congenial political environment" and land were vital to the Mennonite way of life. When, in the 1870s, Russian political reforms threatened Mennonite exemptions from military service and civic involvement, the Kleine Gemeinde again migrated. In 1874, 170 families went to Canada and the United

States; they settled in Manitoba and Nebraska. Seeking to reproduce a way of life, they transplanted communities intact, complete with their religious leadership and stratified social structure.

Loewen finds that adaptation in the United States and Canada both "paralleled" and differed. He convincingly demonstrates, however, that the countries' different policies toward ethnic minorities were not the most important variables affecting the immigrant experience. Instead, parallel experiences in Manitoba and Nebraska reveal that the economic realities and physical environments Mennonites confronted shaped their behavior.

Loewen strongly disputes the assumption that Mennonites established isolated communities. Instead, the Kleine Gemeinde adopted a strategy of "judicious interaction" with growing market economies. This strategy insured their particular way of life. In a sophisticated analysis, Loewen argues that "family, church, and market" became interrelated. For Mennonites, "religious ideology and household economies tempered relationships with the marketplace," while "the market also shaped Mennonite ideology and social structure" (p. 4).

During the second generation, after 1905, the vicissitudes of a growing economy, together with the rise of towns, undermined Kleine Gemeinde communities. Land shortages threatened the succession of farms. Thus, some Kleine Gemeinde established daughter communities while others moved into towns. By 1930, North American Kleine Gemeinde communities were no longer homogeneous; they comprised farmers, merchants, and laborers. Moreover, the Kleine Gemeinde divided along rural-urban lines. Rural Mennonites remained committed to traditional agrarian communities while urban Mennonites sought more individualistic existences. Loewen concludes, however, that the generations of Kleine Gemeinde he studied successfully devised strategies that "achieved a high degree of continuity" (p. 269) in changing societies.

This volume belongs to the growing body of scholarly literature on rural immigrant communities and on group migrations. The author's comparative approach places the work in the vanguard of current immigration scholarship. He judiciously addresses relevant historiographical issues. Given Loewen's stress on economic realities, some readers might wish that the analysis had continued into the 1930s. Redundancies and a penchant for excessive detail make tedious reading. And the work definitely would have benefited from more adequate copy editing and careful proofreading. These problems, however, do not undermine Loewen's arguments, the quality of his investigation, or his contribution to historical scholarship.

JUNE GRANATIR ALEXANDER
University of Cincinnati

GARY CROSS. *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. x, 294. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Gary Cross presents a fascinating analysis of the evolution of consumer culture in the United States, England, and France in the twentieth century by examining the relationship between time and money. Recognizing that capitalist development promised both economic growth and mass distribution of goods, social commentators in all three countries posited the imminent rise of a mass leisure society in the 1920s. Cross reports their observations, but he goes on to show that the relationship between the desire for high wages and the compulsion to spend money for goods and amusement was never free of tension and ambiguity. He concludes that the emergence of a consumerist ethos in these three countries resulted from particular choices and historical circumstances rather than the logic of capitalism or a conspiracy by the captains of consciousness.

Much of Cross's work focuses on the debate among intellectuals about the need for both higher wages and more leisure for working people, but he notes that this conversation was marked by sharp clashes between those who wished to improve the quality of life for working people and those nervous about mass participation in cultural life. Many intellectuals hoped that a democratic leisure would evolve, free of market imperatives and dedicated to uplift and education. Others rued easy access by the masses to the excellent things in life because it threatened to level all distinctions.

Historical events, however, interceded to reduce the influence of intellectuals on the choices made by policy makers and individuals. Progressive legislation for minimum wages and maximum hours, for instance, helped reduce the enormous chasm between the classes and the masses, and industrial reformers like Frederick Winslow Taylor and Henry Ford pointed toward the possibility of reduced hours and higher wages. But as the 1920s gave way to a decade of depression, such arguments rang hollow in the ears of unemployed men whose enforced idleness made leisure both impoverishing and humiliating. Many workers naturally saw short hours as a way of sharing the burden of economic collapse rather than as an opportunity for personal betterment. Indeed, the proposals for vacations in the 1930s and 1940s were not always embraced with enthusiasm. French workers, for instance, used vacation days to seek other jobs to augment their income. By the end of the Depression and World War II, people in all three countries renewed their valorization of work and looked forward to acquiring long-deferred goods, houses, furnishings, and small luxuries.

Cross, like many scholars of consumer culture, is critical of consumerism for its tendency to reinforce emulation, lack of labor discipline, and social disassociation. Nevertheless, he makes its emergence com-

prehensible as a system that filled the dreams and desires of working people, reflected new bases of identity formation, and organized private life.

A short review cannot do justice to the complexity of Cross's argument nor to the fine presentation of the debate about leisure and wealth in democratic capitalist countries. His use of the methods of social historians, permitting working people to speak for themselves, should be commended. The final chapter, on recent trends, is the weakest. Here his bias against consumerism blinds him to other motivations for high wages besides the desire to consume mass-marketed goods, such as college education for children and private security in an insecure world. On the whole, this is a fine treatment of the discussion about and the making of consumer culture.

SUSAN CURTIS
Purdue University

RETT R. LUDWIKOWSKI and WILLIAM F. FOX, JR. *The Beginning of the Constitutional Era: A Bicentennial Comparative Analysis of the First Modern Constitutions*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 331.

Over thirty years ago, R. R. Palmer demonstrated in his masterful *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959, 1964) that the political upheaval on both sides of the Atlantic during the late eighteenth century was the product of a single revolutionary movement, primarily democratic in nature. Rett R. Ludwikowski and William F. Fox, Jr., have attempted to produce a somewhat similar cross-national study, focusing more narrowly on the struggle to create constitutional governments in the United States, France, and Poland after 1775. Although they provide the general historical context in which the three nations' constitutions were written, the authors are particularly concerned with examining the process by which they were drafted, the language they contained, and the similarities and differences among the three examples. The texts of the various constitutions are reproduced in the volume's appendixes. This study aims to provide a historical understanding of early efforts at constitution-making in order to improve the likelihood that drafters of modern constitutions will be successful in their efforts.

As a historical study this volume is seriously flawed both in conception and execution. Often drawing material from general and outdated secondary works, the authors do not provide a significant analysis of either the relevant historical events or the constitutional documents that emerged from them. Instead they present only the most superficial explanations of the circumstances in which these constitutions were drafted while offering banal observations on the texts themselves.

Even more damaging to the study's ultimate value is the authors' failure to examine seriously the polit-

ical culture of the three societies in question. Although I am not qualified to discuss the recent historiographical trends for eighteenth-century Poland, contemporary historians of eighteenth-century America and France—especially Gordon Wood, Keith Baker, and Dale Van Kley—have emphasized the importance of competing ideological discourses and the political realities they articulated in the development of the political and constitutional systems of these states. By ignoring this recent literature, the authors fail to examine in a meaningful manner the most difficult issues facing the drafters of Western constitutions in this era: the definition of the national will and its relationship to constitutional limitations on that will, the role of representatives vis-à-vis the sovereign rights of those represented, the conflict between the unitary public good and the particular interest of individuals, and the replacement of privilege for some social groups with the natural rights of citizens. Perhaps an intensive analysis of the political culture of eighteenth-century Poland is not presently possible, but some valuable insights could certainly be gained by applying to the Polish situation the methods used to study the American and French constitutional experiences.

Instead of providing their readers with an insightful understanding of the process of constitution-making in these three eighteenth-century societies, Ludwikowski and Fox's dubious preoccupation with producing a guide for the writing of modern constitutions has resulted in a volume with little historical value. Whether the lessons they seek to impart are indeed useful is perhaps best left to those involved in the actual writing of constitutions. The reader interested in the eighteenth-century constitutional developments of the United States, France, and Poland would be far better served by returning to Palmer's classic treatment than relying on this book.

KENNETH MARGERISON
Southwest Texas State University

BERNARD SEMMEL. *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 223. \$34.95.

Reading this book, we are reminded that "imperialism" has two distinct meanings for scholars. One defines imperialism as the activities and policies of great powers overseas; the other refers to the international aspects of capitalism, including trade, protectionism, loans, and investments. Although some writers have argued that imperialism-as-capitalism explains all unequal international relations, theirs remains distinctly a minority view. Even if there is no necessary and sufficient connection between the two definitions, there is considerable overlap, and the second interpretation is of interest in and of itself.

Bernard Semmel's book belongs squarely to the

second camp. It is a short intellectual history, analyzing the ideas of some three dozen thinkers, from Immanuel Kant and Adam Smith to V. I. Lenin and Joseph Schumpeter, on such topics as free trade versus protectionism; emigration; foreign investments; the role of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers in the international economy; and the exploitation of new territories. The sections on each thinker—three or four pages apiece, on average—are lucid and concise. The book is also valuable because it extends the discussion on these topics back to the eighteenth century rather than starting with John Hobson's *Imperialism* (1902) like most studies of the idea. Both intellectual historians and historians of imperialism will welcome it as a handy reference work.

In addition, this book also contains the germ of an important and radically new idea, what Semmel calls "the demons of empire." All the economists, sociologists, and philosophers whom Semmel quotes are beautifully rational in their arguments, even if their assumptions and evidence lead them to different conclusions. Yet lurking behind their rational arguments, he finds, are protagonists who do not act out of self-interest or national interest but use fraud or force for evil ends. "Beneath the various theories of colonialism and imperialism were political demonologies . . . These demons assumed mythic forms, drawing on popular legend and belief: the wicked feudal baron, despoiler of the daughters and lands of the peasantry; the greedy usurer, whose trade of making money from money seemed diabolical parasitism" (p. 12). These demons assumed different forms in the writings of different theorists: freemasons, the Bank of England, Jews, Wall Street, the tsars, the German Junkers, the British secret service, or sometimes unlikely combinations of two or more, such as the British-Jewish conspiracy in Charles Fourier's *féodalité de finance*.

This book thus contains the germ of a cultural and psychological interpretation of economic theories of foreign trade and imperialism. Unfortunately, Semmel does not much pursue this idea, mentioning demons only on rare occasions. In the rest of the book he takes at face value what these intellectuals said they believed, seldom decoding their writings for hidden demons. This is disappointing, for the idea is potentially significant. Let us hope that this book will inspire others to look more carefully into the demonology behind intellectual history.

DANIEL R. HEADRICK
Roosevelt University

DAVID ARMSTRONG. *Revolution and World Order: The Revolutionary State in International Society*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 328. \$59.00.

In a little over 300 pages David Armstrong presents a stimulating thesis about the interaction between rev-

olutionary states and the rest of the world. Because that world is divided into other states that are more concerned with their sovereign rights than with revolutionary ideology, the ensuing dialectic is filled with tension. This has effects that work in two directions. The long-term outcome for the revolutionary state is socialization into a system that it needs if it is to carry on the customary activities of statehood. For the other states, the outcome is a slow and subtle shift in attitudes toward such matters as the grounds for state legitimacy or the scope of activities proper for a state.

This summary is just the bare bones of an argument that Armstrong fleshes out with many examples and quotations from the writings and speeches of revolutionaries, their debates over policy, and their diplomatic exchanges with the leaders of nonrevolutionary states. His three major cases are the American, French, and Russian revolutions, but his discussion also encompasses more recent disruptions in states such as Cuba, China, Libya, and Iran. In each instance Armstrong deals with the revolutionary state's reaction to three elements of world order: international law, diplomacy, and the balance of power. This disciplined focus enables the reader to keep track of the subject from place to place and century to century, and to make comparisons that are free of the constraints of time and location. This in itself is an impressive achievement.

It is also the point at which historians may balk. The examples Armstrong uses are the staples of the historian's craft, here lifted out of history to become building blocks in a different enterprise, part descriptive, part theoretical. Armstrong is explicit about wanting to "discern elements of a pattern in the interaction between international society and revolutionary states" (p. 300). But he also wants to contribute to political theory. He distinguishes "international society," his chosen term, from "international system," a term with different theoretical implications, and he differentiates his treatment of state interactions from regime theory. Many historians simply skip such discussions. What might they gain by reading this book?

A benefit for historians and for any reader is Armstrong's demonstration of the power of what he calls the Westphalian conception of international society, a society made up of independent states. As he does throughout, Armstrong carefully defines his terms: "The essential attribute of the members of the society of states is their sovereignty: their independence from any higher source of authority" (p. 14). This conception of international society has been challenged again and again, by reformers as well as by revolutionaries, and it has withstood every challenge. Attempts to form a universal society, either through world government or a single-state imperium, have failed. An alternative conception of international society, that of a great community of humankind with obligations and loyalties transcending national borders, has remained chiefly philosophical despite ef-

forts to give it a structure that could compete with the existing society of independent states. Armstrong is especially good at showing the staying power of the Westphalian form of international society and its ability to absorb, deflect, or transform a succession of revolutionary challenges.

Armstrong is weakest in showing how revolutionary challenges exerted sufficient pressure to force changes in traditional conceptions (in, for example, diplomatic procedures or human rights). Armstrong asserts but does not demonstrate this effect, nor does he put the revolutionary states and their demands in the larger context of pressures for change that have come and are coming from nonrevolutionary sources. That could well be the subject of another book. Meanwhile, Armstrong's demonstration of the socialization of revolutionary states by the very international society they want to reform or transform is clear and convincing, and his book rewards close reading.

DOROTHY V. JONES
Newberry Library

JUDITH P. ZINSSER. *History and Feminism: A Glass Half Full*. (The Impact of Feminism on the Arts and Sciences Series.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1993. Pp. x, 204. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$14.95.

Judith P. Zinsser's subtitle, which is not explicated in the text, presumably means that she is more optimistic than pessimistic about the ambiguous progress of women's history and of female historians. Her short book surveys the tremendous changes wrought by feminists in the history profession over the past twenty-five years and the significant stasis remaining. Beginning with a sketch of the centuries-long tradition in which both the historians and the point of view were male, and women's experiences and subjectivity were rendered invisible or trivial, she describes the challenges raised by feminist intellectuals in the midst of the women's movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and the institutional consequences of those challenges. The book thus combines intellectual and organizational history, outlining feminist historical approaches and their manifestations in courses, conferences, and publications while also looking at the composition of the profession and at public history projects.

There is only so much one can do in a short book. Zinsser's mode is expository rather than analytical, so she does not stress the interpretive framework of partial success, but rather allows it to emerge from her somewhat episodic findings. Since she has chosen not to discuss any feminist historians, discoveries, or analyses in depth, the book has the character of an outline, indicating that revelations occurred without enabling the reader to appreciate their richness or clarity. Her treatment of the reinvention of the field of women's history in the 1970s and her closing

description of the National Women's History Project are the most gripping accounts, although the former is partial, heavily reliant on interviews that focus on Gerda Lerner's and Joan Kelly's leadership of the new field from their posts at Sarah Lawrence College.

Zinsser sketches the 1970s as an era in which feminist activism and women's history walked hand in hand, free of internal controversies. I suspect that most women's historians teaching or writing then remember more intellectual and political divisions than she acknowledges. In her roughly chronological narrative the 1980s are less firmly conceptualized. She gives no attention to the past decade's conflicts over differences of race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality among women, the "linguistic turn," or the relation between women's history and gender history. She proposes that three alternative methods or approaches—Marxist-inspired models, the construct of "separate spheres," and use of the concept of gender—have been devised by feminist historians to address the integration of women into human history, but the lack of parallelism among the three (and the fact that they are by no means mutually exclusive) undermines this attempt at classification.

Zinsser shows that the impact of feminism has been uneven. Despite large numbers of courses, an expansion of academic positions in women's history at the undergraduate and graduate levels, and a growing proportion of women in the profession (participating and gaining honors in professional organizations), women's history barely surfaces in standard high-school and college textbooks or in ETS-achievement and advanced-placement tests. The book closes with an upbeat treatment of the grass-roots initiative that resulted in National Women's History Week and related enterprises in public schools, libraries, and women's groups, leaving the impression that feminism has been transformative in history practice at two ends of the spectrum, popular public-history formats and specialized scholarly endeavor. Meanwhile the great in-between—the mainstream understanding of what constitutes history in high schools and colleges—has been only slightly affected. Zinsser's narrative gently nudges the reader to recognize this paradoxical result.

NANCY F. COTT
Yale University

WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. 161. \$28.95.

William Chester Jordan constructs a needed, but by no means easily achieved, comparative study of women's role in networks of credit in the medieval West and early modern societies and in modern societies that came under the influence of European colonialism. Although he carefully avoids any simplistic formulation equating established European practices

with introduced changes in colonial settings, he finds sufficient features in common to merit notice.

In medieval Europe, women creditors' most successful role lay in the market for consumption (often distress) loans, although sometimes they offered "productive" loans, that is, capital for development (p. 125). Nunneries relied on women's investments and municipalities came to depend on the substantial fortunes of widows who favored safe investments. Real estate was also favored by women investors.

Women in sub-Saharan Africa also extended credit, but as brokers in regional trade or through "hidden credit" supplied to husbands and other women (pp. 94–96). Colonial administrators did not recognize and include these women in their long-distance credit networks relegating their activity to petty transactions. The same proved true in the Caribbean, according to Jordan, who looks even further afield to find comparable patterns of a domestic market for women as both creditors and debtors in a number of different global settings.

This is a brief essay that relies on secondary works to provide the necessary scope. The section on medieval Europe is the most detailed and comprehensive. Jordan believes that both the early work on women in trade by Alice Clarke and the more recent study of Yorkshire women by P. J. P. Goldberg (*Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy* [1992]) were too optimistic in their conclusions that important roles were open to women in credit operations. Jordan notes that women constituted 16 percent of money lenders in Ghent, 11.3 percent in Montpellier, and 14 percent in the English village of Writtle. If Jewish women are considered, the number of creditors rises to one-third of the total, at least for thirteenth-century France.

Jordan argues that women's money was recognized in medieval Europe, and later in colonial regimes, as essentially "domestic." Women worked in women-to-women networks although these were not necessarily supportive; indeed, they may have been exploitive. By "domestic" Jordan appears to imply "within the community," in contrast to long-distance trade, although we do know of some women who traveled to attend commercial fairs like those in Gluckl of Hameln. Jordan discusses under this rubric forestallers and market women who traded in public places quite freely, so the category is apt if we interpret "domestic" as related to the community in which the woman lived. It fits less well if taken to refer only to the household. Jordan asserts further that wealthy women with money to invest, particularly widows, favored investing at home over long-distance trade for reasons of safety.

Jordan's focus is largely on northern Europe, but he turns some attention to Genoa and Florence, especially the *monte delle doti* of the latter. South of the Alps the role of statute law must be considered, raising the possibility that law governed women's credit transactions in a number of different medieval

environments. In Ragusa (Dubrovnik) a woman's indebtedness was limited to a small sum by law, precluding investment in lucrative long-distance trade. In Venice women were forbidden to invest in the fleet, although it brought the best returns on one's capital. The imposition of the *tutela* or other forms of guardianship that accompanied the transition to a Roman dowry in Mediterranean cities also constrained women's capital in practical terms, channeling it away from long-distance investment. This created funds that municipalities could call on for their own needs, a development more than fortuitous for city governments; therefore not all the credit for it can be laid to women's preference for investing close to home.

Some evidence suggests that medieval women could at times be scofflaws who invested in risk ventures regardless of their legal impediments, but it is also true that any creditor or debtor who enters a credit transaction through illegal activity operates at a disadvantage. Thus, many women may have favored safe investment near home, but at least south of the Alps they faced little other choice by the thirteenth century.

Despite the fact that "domestic" capital and the role of law may require more attention, this is a valuable and necessary step toward creating a comparative history of women that transcends regional confines.

SUSAN MOSHER STUARD
Haverford College

IRVINE LOUDON. *Death in Childbirth: An International Study of Maternal Care and Maternal Mortality 1800–1950*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 622. \$95.00.

Because childbirth poses the threat of pain and danger, the view that it is, or at least should be, natural, must always coexist, however uneasily, with the idea that intervention can reduce the risks for both mothers and babies. Questions about how much to intervene and who should control these interventions have a long history, which Irvine Loudon suggests can inform our attempts to grapple with these issues today. To that end he provides a detailed account of the history of maternal mortality in a number of countries, tracing the specific causes of maternal death and, more importantly, the impact of a number of factors including particular interventions on the observed rates. His assessment of the role of intervention should appeal both to historians of medicine, who will appreciate his account of changing maternal care by midwives and obstetricians, and to historical demographers, who will applaud his careful description of the mortality trends. Loudon links the two and by example challenges scholars in both disciplines to make connections between the findings emerging from their parallel work.

Using comparative data (usually at a national but

sometimes at a regional or city level), Loudon presents and attempts to explain trends in maternal mortality in a number of places between 1800 and 1950. Although maternal mortality rates generally declined slowly during the early nineteenth century, by the last decades of the century the trends in various places diverged. In a number of countries—Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark—maternal mortality declined markedly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the same time, higher rates in Belgium and Paris declined very slowly, and very high rates in the English-speaking countries—Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, and England and Wales—appear not to have changed much at all. (The United States is absent from this comparison because records of deaths are not adequate for the nineteenth century.) Rates of maternal death were either relatively steady or slightly rising for the first thirty-five years of the twentieth century for all the countries examined regardless of the level of mortality, which ranged from the high 20s to the high 60s per 10,000 births. The lack of improvement is particularly odd in the light of the general mortality decline that was occurring at the time and the contemporary belief that scientific medicine would reduce the dangers of childbirth. Finally, maternal mortality rates declined substantially from 1936 to 1950 for all countries studied.

Although his approach to explaining these trends owes a great deal to the work of Thomas McKeown, Loudon concludes that McKeown's argument that downward trends in mortality resulted from improvements in economic well-being and aggregate nutritional levels does not apply to maternal mortality. In contrast to infant mortality, maternal mortality was largely unrelated to economic circumstances. Loudon presents some evidence suggesting changes over time in the virulence of the organism causing puerperal fever; presumably this factor accounts for the fluctuations in maternal mortality rates in the early nineteenth century and was partly responsible for the lack of improvement in the early twentieth century. The nature of maternal care, however, is the single most important determinant of the latter as well as of the disparate trends among these countries during the late nineteenth century and, finally, the steep declines in maternal mortality in all places after 1935. Changes in delivery procedures and, to a lesser extent, prenatal and postnatal care coincided with and presumably explain geographic and temporal variations in rates of maternal death disaggregated by specific cause.

In England and Wales, an early decline in maternal mortality during the second half of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century reflects, according to Loudon, a rise in the number, status, and skill of midwives. The nineteenth century witnessed the deterioration of midwifery largely because elite doctors neither supported the training of midwives nor saw obstetrics as a suitable pursuit for

physicians. For the first three decades of the twentieth century, as obstetrics gained status among physicians, the threat of competition from midwives led to the virtual demise of the midwife system at the hands of physicians, whom Loudon impugns both for intervening unnecessarily in the birth process and for preventing midwives from obtaining newly available medical knowledge. In the United States, the system was even worse. The proportion of births delivered at home declined more rapidly there than in Europe because general practitioners were permitted in U.S. hospitals. The consequence was an "orgy of intervention" leading to extremely high and rising maternal mortality rates. Continental midwives, however, enjoyed higher status, were better trained, and continued to play a role in most deliveries even after the turn of the twentieth century. Loudon attributes the downward trend in maternal deaths at the end of the nineteenth century in these countries to the effective implementation of the principles of antisepsis largely because midwives were relatively high-status and trained in antiseptic procedures. Ironically, where midwives were castigated for their practices and blamed for the high maternal mortality rates, they were probably at least in part responsible. Yet, Loudon argues, their lack of skill resulted precisely from the low status in which they were held and the unwillingness to acknowledge their importance and train them accordingly. Lower and declining rates of maternal mortality in some places testified to the efficacy of new procedures. But Loudon's analysis supports the conclusion that social structural impediments to the dissemination and implementation of knowledge were at least as important as the state of knowledge in determining the levels of maternal mortality.

Not all the trends fit Loudon's preferred explanation; stagnating rates in continental Europe after the turn of the twentieth century are particularly hard to reconcile with his emphasis on maternal care. Nor is it possible to unequivocally relate the trends in maternal mortality to changes in obstetric practices. One can only infer an etiologic relationship from simultaneous trends. Loudon augments his analysis of the broad trends in maternal mortality with examples of the local effects of good midwifery or especially poor obstetric practice in particular instances, and these add to his case. Finally, one accepts much of Loudon's argument because even circumstantial evidence, when we have as much of it as he provides, is extremely persuasive. I have learned much more about the history of maternal mortality from this book than I ever thought I would know. Equally important, Loudon has provided a model for analyzing the decline of mortality and the role of intervention more generally. Increasingly historical demographers have noted that disaggregation of mortality rates by age, cause, and geographic locale is needed to understand the factors affecting changing mortality levels. Researchers seeking to understand other as-

pects of shifting mortality levels would do well to follow the example Loudon has set in this admirable study of maternal mortality.

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ALISA KLAUS. *Every Child a Lion: The Origins of Maternal and Infant Health Policy in the United States and France, 1890-1920*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 298. \$36.95.

Probably because of cutbacks in social programs during the 1980s and ongoing demands for a dramatic restructuring of social provision, questions about the emergence of welfare states in the United States and Europe have been driving much new scholarship in history and the social sciences. Alisa Klaus enters this conversation with one of the few historical monographs comparing early welfare policies in two countries. Her scrupulously researched book investigates infant-health policies in the United States and France between 1890 and 1920.

Klaus discovers some policy cross-fertilization between the two countries. American child-welfare reformers eagerly imported from France, for instance, clean milk stations to supply uncontaminated milk to newborns and infant-health consultations to provide mothers with information about hygiene, nutrition, and the advantages of breast-feeding. Americans pioneered infant-health programs centered on home visits by public-health nurses, which the American Red Cross introduced into France during World War I.

More substantial, however, were the differences between the two countries. At the turn of the century, French officials gnashed their teeth over a decline in the country's population, believing that this trend posed a threat to national security: in the face of constant military threats, the French believed that they needed a large and healthy citizenry to fend off foreign interventions. Americans knew no such fears: immigration kept the population booming, and vast oceans secured the country's borders. Americans worried rather about the "quality and composition" of their body politic (p. 6).

France's particular anxieties prompted male politicians and professionals to design policies aimed to encourage women to have more children and to keep babies healthy. This pronatalism produced more generous—and perhaps more controlling—policies than those created in the United States. For instance, France's Strauss Law of 1913 "required all female workers in commerce and industry to take a maternity leave of two months and provided partial compensation for the loss of wages" (p. 131). Subsequent legislation demanded day nurseries where women workers could nurse their babies twice a day. Despite opposition from the Catholic church, French officials extended benefits even to unwed mothers.

Federal policies in the United States, instead of

providing material aid to wage-earning mothers, focused on educating all mothers. According to Klaus, working mothers were "invisible" (p. 220) to the policy makers in the United States in part because mothers of small children were less likely to work for wages in the United States than in France, but also because U.S. policy makers saw infant health as threatened more by the overwork of mothers generally—whether by wage work or unpaid labor at home—than by the separation of mother and child often forced by paid employment.

In the United States, a less developed central state and a more ambivalent attitude toward infant health left room for female policy makers to devise and implement infant health policies. The irony is that, in the country where women exercised much more public power, social programs for mothers were stingier. This was not the fault of women policy makers, but a result of the very different contexts in which French and American policy makers operated.

Comparative history throws up special difficulties that Klaus has not entirely overcome. Her focus on national policies specifically concerning health, for instance, prevents her from analyzing the U.S. programs most comparable to those mandated in the Strauss Law, local-level mothers' pensions. Moreover, her interest in the origins of programs constantly sends her looping back to the early nineteenth century to narrate the history of yet another policy or organization, and her commitment to comprehensiveness, especially in the French case, sometimes degenerates into lists of ideas, agencies, and information. Still, Klaus's study constitutes a genuine contribution to our understanding of the emergence of welfare states in France and the United States.

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MICHAEL MULLIN. *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the Caribbean, 1736–1831*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. 412. \$37.50.

In this book, Michael Mullin examines the relationship between slave acculturation and the changing nature of slave resistance in the British Caribbean and the American South in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although he rightly denies that revolts constituted the only form of resistance, Mullin nevertheless seeks to determine the reasons why the American South experienced fewer and smaller slave revolts than the British Caribbean and why during the final decades of slavery Creole elite slaves allied themselves with conservative field hands in staging revolts.

The book is divided into three sections. Part 1, titled "The Unseasoned," surveys the emerging societies of the Chesapeake Bay region, the Carolina

lowcountry, and the Caribbean islands of Jamaica and Barbados. A prime consideration is the nomenclature whites used in describing newly imported Africans: ethnic classifications, facial marks, and speech patterns that Caribbean planters, more than their mainland counterparts, sought to locate within ethnic categories. Slaves who ran away and formed Maroon communities, especially in Jamaica, provide compelling examples of their ability to create and re-create societies and cultures that drew strength and vitality from the African dimension.

Part 2, titled "Plantation Slaves," portrays planters' views of slavery through an examination of management styles, perceived relations both among slaves as well as with whites with whom they came in daily contact, and the views of "scientific" planter reformers in the South. Inasmuch as the latter "had matters well in hand" (p. 116) in the more creolized southern societies, they concentrated their attention on introducing improved planting and management techniques while their Caribbean counterparts belatedly sought to promote natural slave population growth. Although Mullin fails to provide an adequate explanation of why British Caribbean planters opted narrowly to reform reproduction rather than overall plantation efficiency, the answer probably lies with their overreliance on African imports right up to the abolition of the slave trade. Through case studies of planters who left detailed records, we also obtain close-up views of the frustrations that these whites experienced in their attempts to fashion slave society to their liking. Matthew "Monk" Lewis's awareness even in the early nineteenth century of ethnic differences among Jamaican slaves belies the keen attention that British Caribbean planters paid to their slaves' characteristics.

The focus then shifts to the slaves in a fascinating analysis of the economic, family, and religious strategies they adopted in furtherance of their interests. Whereas southern slaves were almost totally dependent on rations for their subsistence, the ability of most of their Caribbean counterparts to grow food lessened their dependence on their masters, diluted white power, and portrayed the view that masters controlled the slaves' labor rather than their lives or personalities. Accordingly, the author argues that religion and family life in the Caribbean were less influenced by whites than was the case in the American South. Thus, Obeah, for example, formed a powerful obstacle to the onrush of Christianity in the Caribbean, where various forms of Afro-syncretic religions heavily influenced by spirit possession and a belief in the transmigration of souls persist even to the present day. Although revivalism was present in varying degrees in both the Caribbean and the American South, it achieved its greatest successes in the latter area, where "most slaves were Creole rather than African, and many were attracted to the essentially nonrevivalistic—literate—features of Christianization" (p. 191). In short, there existed significant

differences in the manner in which new converts in both regions conceived the afterlife and the dead.

Part 3, titled "The Assimilated," analyzes the efforts of Creoles in the "Age of Revolution" to lead rural blacks in rebellion. Here, Mullin's interest revolves around the issues of the role of religions in slave resistance, the reasons why revolutionary leadership passed to Creole rather than African slaves, and whether or not the various stirrings and associations formed at the turn of the century were insurrectionary or for self-improvement. While acknowledging the varied nature of planters' and missionaries' ability to utilize Christianity as a mechanism for suppressing revolutionary rumblings, he suggests that if we are to appreciate fully the prevalence of religious-inspired revolts among Creole slaves, scholars ought to place greater emphasis on slaves' capacity to reinterpret missionary teachings to suit their particular local circumstances.

Ultimately, Mullin concludes that regional contrasts in acculturation affected resistance and slave conditions throughout British America. Despite variations in slave values and behavior within the four societies of Jamaica, Barbados, South Carolina, and Virginia, he argues that these societies should be collapsed into two categories: the Caribbean and the South. Given the immense complexities and differences even within a single region over time, this neat and overly simplistic categorization in Mullin's important and highly original study is bound to stimulate considerable scholarly discussion.

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SHEARER DAVIS BOWMAN. *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 357. \$45.00.

Shearer Davis Bowman's carefully crafted and judiciously argued comparative study of antebellum southern planters and *Vomatz*-era Prussian Junkers joins an impressive list of comparative works intent on clarifying the position of the Old South's planter elite in a nineteenth-century world characterized by the persistence of unfree labor systems amid the halting expansion of capitalism and political democracy. Bowman rightly admits that since planters and Junkers "functioned within very different geographic, demographic, political, and racial milieus" (p. 112), his comparison is contrast oriented, but he effectively argues that the sharp differences between the two elites shaped the nuances of the shared characteristic in which he is most interested: their ideological conservatism.

One of the many strengths of Bowman's work is his thoughtful analysis and skillful use of "contentious concepts" (p. 79) such as *modernization*, *capitalism*, *paternalism*, and *conservatism*. If his careful evaluation of these controversial concepts occasionally blurs

his focus on planters and Junkers, his sensitive handling of scholarly contretemps and his own sound judgment make these digressions into theory worthwhile.

By Bowman's yardstick, both southern planters and Prussian Junkers were profit-oriented agricultural entrepreneurs who adeptly deployed coerced labor (slaves, peasants) to seize opportunities provided by the expansion of commercial capitalism. As regional agrarian capitalists, planters and Junkers wielded staggering political and economic power and enjoyed considerable social prestige in their respective societies. But during the first half of the nineteenth century, both of these formidable landed elites saw threats to their power emerge from above as well as below. Junkers feared Prussia's reform-minded civil bureaucracy (backed by the power of a large standing army) from above and the growing pressures of democratization and peasant unrest from below. Southern planters fretted over the threat of slave insurrection from below and worried deeply about the formation of an antislavery majority in the republic as a whole. Both elites did their best to maximize their clout in national councils, but they also worked to render national authorities too weak to threaten their local authority.

Besieged, both planters and Junkers, despite their very different circumstances, fashioned coherent conservative ideologies, hinged on their presumed social beneficence as paternalistic masters and lords, to defend their power. For Junkers, this conservative ideology was monarchical corporatism, which held that a monarch advised by a powerful gentry rather than a constitutional democracy should prevail in Prussia. For planters, their conservatism was a racist republicanism which held that slavery made democracy safe for white men and that property rights were as sacrosanct as natural rights. Clearly the republican context, with its liberal suffrage laws and popular elections, prompted planters to take a less explicitly hierarchical view of society than Junkers and gave their conservatism a greater degree of popular appeal. Bowman concedes that the public face of republican planters was less openly antidemocratic than Junker monarchism, but he correctly argues that within the American South the conservative planters usually opposed liberalized suffrage laws and legislative apportionment formulas that weighted white population more than property. Although less popular, however, Junker conservatism ultimately proved the more potent and durable of the two. Junkers, whose serfs had been "emancipated" by 1810, eventually accepted a series of compromises with bourgeois democrats and followed one of their own, Otto von Bismarck, into a unified German nation-state that left much of the Junkers' local power intact and fortified the corporatist monarchy against full-blown democratic revolution with a small-dose inoculation of democratic forms. By contrast, southern planters, terrified at the prospect of emancipation in 1861, fell

on their hunting knives in a suicidal attempt to forge their own nation-state.

Junkers remained at least modestly influential in Germany until the Soviet Army occupied their estates in 1945; southern planters regained significant local power once Reconstruction ended in 1877, but their influence on national policy never again approached its antebellum level. Southern conservatism, diluted from the beginning by its republicanism and eventually overwhelmed by a liberalism based on free labor and upward social mobility, survived the defeat of the Confederacy largely as ideology of provincial intransigence and institutionalized racism. Junker conservatism arguably helped shape the policies and character of a Germany that mauled Europe and its people, and threatened Western democracy generally, twice in the first half of the twentieth century.

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DIETER RIESENBERGER. *Für Humanität in Krieg und Frieden: Das Internationale Rote Kreuz 1863–1977*. (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1992. Pp. 304. DM 38.

The International Red Cross, together with the Red Crescent organizations in Islamic countries, with over 210 million members in 149 nations, is the largest nongovernmental organization in the world outside of the United Nations. Founded in 1863, it now consists of three entities: the International Committee, composed of citizens from Switzerland and headquartered in Geneva; the national Red Cross societies; and the League of Red Cross Societies, a federation that coordinates peacetime activities of the national bodies.

Since its founding, the Red Cross has taken an active part as an independent, neutral organization in humanitarian relief during armed conflicts, civil unrest, and natural disasters. It is unique in that it is a private foundation and its nongovernmental position has protected it and facilitated its work; from the time of its inception, it has also had an impact on international law. In spite of its avowed neutrality, it has been forced to develop as a political entity in world affairs as well. This was first apparent during World War I, when the Red Cross sought to serve both sides. With the coming of more fearful weapons, such as poison gas, Red Cross leaders were determined that they should play a more active role in the search for world peace. In addition, the establishment of the League of Nations required a redefinition of its aims and purposes.

Events in the 1920s and 1930s such as, for example, the taking over of the German Red Cross by the NSDAP further challenged the organization. The Nazi policy against the Jews impelled the international organization to mount rescue operations that were only partially successful. The stresses and strains

of World War II, the appearance of atomic weapons, the emergence of the United Nations, and the coming of the Cold War confronted the Red Cross with new challenges and opportunities. The organization intensified its search for world peace and enhanced its function as a peace mediator, in addition to carrying on its traditional activities.

Although the Red Cross movement cannot be separated from the history of health, military sanitation, catastrophes, and relief activities, nor from studies of international law, peace movements, and mediation initiatives, only historians of international law have given the Red Cross much attention. The organization still lacks a substantial serious history. That need has been partially met by Dieter Riesenberger in this solid, although rather brief, study of the International Red Cross from its founding in 1863 to 1977. Riesenberger emphasizes its theoretical, structural, political, and procedural development and its expanding roles in an evolving, more complex world. The work is based on extensive archival materials, much from the organization's own files, difficult to obtain because the International Committee fears that opening its archives completely would compromise the trust that it must develop with the governments with which it negotiates.

Riesenberger's book is well organized and clearly written, and it would be of interest to the general reader as well as to members of the scholarly community. He concludes that if the Red Cross hopes to play a more substantial role in the post-Cold War era, in which a hardening of ideological positions—especially along nationalist lines—is more apparent, the national organizations should sever ties with their national foundations, permitting a new emphasis on the traditional independent international orientation of the movement.

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DANIEL PICK. *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. 292. \$30.00.

To paraphrase historian Herbert Butterfield, there is a Napoleonic interpretation of war. This interpretation rests on five core beliefs. First, war can be short. Second, war can be brought to a swift conclusion through a decisive battle of annihilation. Third, only rapid offensive action can bring war to a successful conclusion. Fourth, a successful war is fought with massed conscripted armies. Fifth, regardless of how complex the military operations are, war is simply a tactical battle on a grand scale. According to a simplistic periodization of history, the epoch of modern war begins in 1789 with the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon. In this fashion the conventional wisdom concerning modern war took on its distinct Napoleonic cast. Daniel Pick's new book is the

most significant challenge to the Napoleonic interpretation of war to have appeared in several years.

Pick attacks the accepted view by raising three essential questions. First, what is "modern" war? Second, is war necessary? Third, how should civil and military society deal with war? In confronting the first question, the author rejects the facile historical periodization of the Napoleonic school. Instead he looks at the very nature of war in the context of modernity. He rightly concludes that modernity itself is a consequence of technology and that it is only meaningful to speak of modern war within the historical framework of the Industrial Revolution as the defining causal event. In developing his argument, Pick relies most heavily on writers from the mid to late nineteenth century, for it was then that classical war collided with modernity. The American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War are the clarion events that signal the arrival of modern war and the emergence of a totally new form of military art.

Naturally the influence of modernity on the utility of war was profound. Pick addresses this as his second question. He shows that writers such as Friedrich Engels began to argue that war was becoming impossible to wage, that the whole question of political necessity was becoming irrelevant. Furthermore, war no longer resided in the "womb of policy" as Karl von Clausewitz once believed. Instead modern war began to develop a will of its own, becoming increasingly subversive of policy and the very nation it was designed to serve and secure. Repeatedly Pick evokes the haunting image of Frankenstein's monster as the new metaphor for modern war, which no longer bears the mechanical, instrumental quality subject to the will of the state. Rather, modern war is a genie residing in the lamp of technology able to invoke its own existence. The organic atavistic nature of modern war supplants the mechanical instrumental character of classic war with profound civil-military implications.

Pick's third question recognizes that the Industrial Revolution created a new security system in which civil society and the military became fused at the spine of the modern market economy. For the first time in history, civil society became enfranchised militarily. The protracted nature of modern warfare determined that—to borrow Walter Reuther's image—the soldier on the assembly line was as important as the soldier on the battlefield. Pick cites Virginia Woolf, who asserted that "Scarcely a human being in the course of history has fallen to a woman's rifle" (p. 3). Under the premodern paradigm, Woolf is correct. But as Pick shows, under modern conditions the woman in the factory provides the soldier with his rifle and his bullets. In the wholly rationalized organism of modern war, military and civil society now share the same blood guilt.

Pick's book is a fascinating interpretation of the emergence of modern war. His reliance on contemporary literature gives the book a stark and compel-

ling sense of immediacy. At the same time the book has few shortcomings; the only notable ones include the author's use of an outmoded and incomplete version (Anatol Rapoport's [1986]) of Clausewitz's *On War* and his neglect to consider fully the work of Ivan S. Bliokh (writing in the West as Jan de Bloch). Pick's book is especially recommended as a palliative to the myopic view held by some military officers, historians, and defense analysts who believe that modern war began with Napoleon Bonaparte.

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JOHN H. MORROW, JR. *The Great War in the Air: Military Aviation from 1909 to 1921*. (Smithsonian History of Aviation History.) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1993. Pp. xx, 458. \$29.95.

The literature of military aviation, in particular for the pre-1914 period and World War I, has, with few exceptions, neglected the broad social, cultural, industrial, and political environment involved in the evolution of air power. The exploits and romance of the individual air "knights" and the myth of strategic bombardment blinded both the public and the military to the role and contribution of the airplane as a tactical weapon as well as the impact of the rapid pace of technological change in aircraft and engine design. Ultimately, implications that each country drew from its wartime experiences were to have direct consequences on the development of air doctrine and aircraft for World War II.

John H. Morrow, Jr., drawing on his earlier detailed studies of German military aviation (*Building German Air Power 1909-1914* [1976] and *German Air Power in World War I* [1982]), provides a comprehensive study of the totality of the air war in its military, political, technological, industrial, and cultural aspects for the major combatant powers (England, France, and Germany), and the lesser powers (Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the United States). Just as the pre-1914 circumstances spawned wartime developments, Morrow demonstrates the wartime legacy that persisted in the postwar era. It is the author's treatment of the importance of the period of 1909 to 1921 and the first critical years of the interwar period that distinguish this book from other recent treatments of military aviation during this period, such as Lee Kennett's comparatively brief *The First Air War, 1914-1918* (1991).

The complexity of differentiating between the various phases of technical and industrial development within each national context and the course of the air war itself is challenging enough, but Morrow's efforts have yielded new insights into the evolution of military aviation and corrected previous oversights (for example, the role of France as a leading manufacturer of aircraft and engines and the general neglect

of the lesser powers such as Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary). The author's attention to developments in production and logistics, as well as events at the front, provide the most complete understanding of the development of air power and its role in the Great War. In an age when the development time of technology, particularly computers, continues to shrink, we can perhaps better understand the material and human resource implications behind the myriad of airplane designs (six months from conceptions to production) and engine designs (at least nine months), all driven by the exigencies of war and the newness of an aircraft industry that had no precedence in its scope or reliance on technology. The origins of the modern military-industrial complex with its coordination of all institutions—government, industry, and science—as well as the creation of a new branch of the military can be traced to the demands of aviation mobilization as detailed by Morrow.

Morrow has made extensive use of available archival materials. It would be interesting to learn, however, if more significant archival materials in Russia will be available or additional captured German documents presumed destroyed come to light as a result of the opening of Eastern European archives.

Employing the framework established by Morrow, future students of the great aerial conflicts of 1939–45 and subsequent wars should discover new insights into the interaction of mobilization and war-time experiences. The author's warning that those who seek to learn from true lessons of war are often driven by "diverse imperatives"—political, military, economic, and cultural—to perceive certain lessons while ignoring others" (p. 378) has profound implications not only for historians of air power but also for an American public and a military caught up in a world where air power appears to represent the most acceptable alternative means of engagement.

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LAWRENCE S. WITTNER. *The Struggle against the Bomb. Volume 1, One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement through 1953.* (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 456. \$29.95.

As is now evident from the disarray of the defense industry in California, the prospect that peace might break out was never prominent among the Cold War concerns of most Americans. World peace was, however, the goal and its quest the driving force behind the nuclear disarmament effort that was well underway even before the fires of Hiroshima were put out. It is difficult in the current day to recapture the temper of those times: the idealism, as well as the anxiety, that gripped the peace movement at the end of World War II. Failing disarmament, "life expectancy is about three years" (p. 70), warned Norman

Cousins, a leader of the American branch of the movement. Cousins obviously erred in his prediction, but his timetable was perhaps more optimistic than most.

Lawrence S. Wittner has done an admirable and meticulous job of tracing the tempestuous history of the international peace movement, from the advent of the atomic bomb to the end of the Korean War, in this first volume of a planned trilogy that will carry the story to the present. Wittner's focus is not only peace groups well known in the United States—the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the United World Federalists—but also movements that flourished, if only briefly, throughout Asia and Europe and even in the former Soviet Union. The book also contains the very human account of some individual peace activists, who might otherwise be lost to history. One such story is that of American Gary Davis, who in 1948 gave birth to his own peace movement by pitching his tent on a strip of United Nations territory in Paris and renouncing his American citizenship; later, Davis issued World Passports to the movement's members.

Wittner's history also makes clear that the nuclear disarmament movement, perhaps because of its very idealism, was probably more fractious than most, and beset with its share of egotists, cranks, and would-be martyrs. One of the first disputes that divided the movement was whether its aim should be world peace or just nuclear disarmament. Another obstacle, not surprisingly, was old-fashioned nationalism. Most citizens, and certainly most Americans, simply did not believe that even in the nuclear age the choice confronting them was as stark as "one world or none."

Also damaging to the movement was the righteous zeal of its members, who used overheated rhetoric and routinely made the mistake of assigning deadlines to the apocalypse. The United States, declared W. E. B. DuBois, was by 1952 in danger of becoming "the greatest warmonger of all history" (p. 204). After achieving a major public relations coup with its Stockholm Peace Appeal in 1950, the Soviet Union undercut the credibility of its own effort by proclaiming that 115 million of its citizens—"the entire adult population of our country"—had eagerly signed the appeal (p. 231). Stalinist tactics used by the Communists to corral wavering supporters behind the party line disillusioned even once-ardent fellow travelers. "I'm all in favor of co-operation," complained one French philosopher, "but what I'm being asked to do is swear allegiance" (p. 176).

Based for the most part on primary sources, Wittner's work demonstrates truly prodigious research. Beyond providing a comprehensive overview of the topic, moreover, the book also provides considerable new information for the debate over the historical significance of the disarmament movement. Wittner demonstrates, for example, that the famed reluctant lobby of the atomic scientists—who were perhaps the first and the best to understand the true nature of the

threat—was neither reluctant nor a lobby for very long.

One can easily agree with Wittner's conclusion that the flaws of the disarmament movement were "systemic," and that its implicit goal—"to change the structure of international relations" (p. 335)—was far beyond its meager powers to attain. More problematic is the author's contention that the peace movement constituted a "braking action . . . in the nuclear arms race" (p. 337). Seemingly, only the American decision in 1950 to proceed with the hydrogen bomb revived a movement that had already become somnolent. Ironically, the outbreak of war in Korea a few months later, and the subsequent hardening of Cold War attitudes, once again took the wind out of the movement's sails. Enthusiasm for world nuclear disarmament would not rise again until the controversy over the health effects of nuclear testing in the late 1950s. Ultimately, the fate of the disarmament movement proved the validity of George Bernard Shaw's observation on human nature: that "Man's . . . heart is in his weapons."

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RAANAN REIN. *The Franco-Perón Alliance: Relations between Spain and Argentina, 1946–1955*. Translated by MARTHA GRENZEBACK. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1993. Pp. x, 329. \$49.95.

Spain has maintained for many years that it enjoys a special relationship with Latin America: by history, by culture, by religion, by tradition, and by affinity. On more than one occasion, that special relationship was given form, if not substance, by a personal relationship between a Latin American leader and the ruler of Spain. This was especially true of the links between Francisco Franco and an entire generation of Latin American military leaders. Argentine General Juan Carlos Onganía used to cite the opinion of "my good friend Francisco Franco" in policy discussions among his junta colleagues as to how best to deal with the opposition, the press, or some other annoying detail of a democratic polity.

Another Argentine leader, Juan Domingo Perón, also is said to have enjoyed a special relationship with Franco. Certainly, Perón spent more than ten years in glorious exile in his house in the Puerta de Hierro district of Madrid, conducting his political activities with little apparent control by the Spanish government. He granted interviews to journalists there, he manipulated his followers, and he participated in the party politics of his country from that house. For many years, most observers assumed that Perón enjoyed the hospitality of Franco because they were kindred spirits: nationalist dictators, anti-democrats, and yankee baiters. Now we have a splendid book that

makes it clear that the relationship between Perón and Franco was extremely complicated and that Perón's exile in Madrid owes more to Franco's sense of independence and the traditional Spanish desire to be in the thick of things Latin American than it does to any particular affinity between the two men or between their regimes.

Relying largely on previously untapped Spanish archival sources, Raanan Rein traces the links between the Perón and Franco governments. He builds a case for the importance to Franco's survival after World War II of Argentine aid, especially food supplies: "a crucial contribution to the survival of the Nationalist government" (p. 71). Argentine support for the Franco regime came in two forms in the period immediately following the war: diplomatic, in which Argentine representatives argued for the reincorporation of Spain into the international organizations of the world community; and economic, in which Argentina made available to Spain under favorable conditions the food that "was a life preserver that kept Franco's regime from going under" (p. 97).

The most interesting conclusion to which Rein arrives is that this aid must be seen largely in the context of Argentine economic and political constraints and the complementary interests of the two countries, "not as a function of ideological motives" (p. 72). In other words, the similar international isolation of the two regimes and their similar financial and economic conditions created the basis for their cooperation, not any ideological or personal affinities between the two leaders. Indeed, the greatest affinity between Franco and Perón appears to have been their shared enjoyment in tweaking Uncle Sam's nose. As long as that brought them together, from 1946 to 1949, it provided the basis for considerable cooperation between the two nations. Once, after 1949, it led them in different directions, it was no longer sufficient to cover the rifts that destroyed the fragile alliance they had constructed in the years after the war.

Rein makes it clear that the principal problem in the alliance was the growing rapprochement between Franco and the United States and the other members of NATO. Franco was correct in assuming that as the Cold War intensified, the NATO members would soften their hostility to his regime, and that is exactly what happened. During the same period, Argentine importance in the world community actually declined, so that Argentina became a less useful ally after 1950 than it had been in the 1940s.

The strength of this book is its careful use of new sources to describe clearly the outlines of a fascinating bilateral relationship. Rein establishes the importance Argentina had for Spain in the years following the war and the reasons that importance declined after 1949. He chronicles in crisp, sensible chapters the major features of the relationship and the elements of its strengthening and subsequent weakening.

I have only two criticisms of Rein's efforts. The first is a curious absence of Argentine sources. It is true

that the Argentine archives are a mess and that they do not add much to our knowledge of the period, but there are some nuggets to be mined there. More important, there is a wealth of information in Argentine secondary works and newspapers that would have helped to balance the account offered here. The second criticism I have is about Rein's tendency to exaggerate. His claims concerning the importance of Argentine support are ultimately unproved. In my opinion, the evidence presented here demonstrates that Perón played an interesting, even an important role in Spanish policy after the war. That Franco's geopolitical strategy would not have succeeded without such support is dubious; furthermore, it is an exaggeration to suggest that "Spain developed an economic, diplomatic, and psychological dependency on Perón's Argentina" (p. 241). Still, I am pleased to recommend this volume to students of Argentina and of Spain in the modern period.

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ANCIENT

JACQUES JOUANNA. *Hippocrate*. Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 648. 170 fr.

Medical and classical historians who follow current study of Greek and Roman medicine generally grunt in exasperation as various scholars seek to prove or disprove the "genuine" Hippocrates. Even though there is an invaluable collection of Greek texts under the name of Hippocrates of Cos (fl. ca. 425 B.C.)—Jacques Jouanna lists sixty-two tracts—few modern specialists agree that these variable works are by one author, let alone by Hippocrates himself. Most experts dodge the problem by calling the writings "Hippocratic," leaving the question of authorship in the acceptable limbo conveniently provided by G. E. R. Lloyd's essential study ("The Hippocratic Question," *Classical Quarterly* [1975], 171–92; reprinted in *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* [1991], 199–225). Indeed, the sixty-two works encompass the whole of medicine, from gynecology and pharmacology to specific case histories on a multitude of ailments, but the style in the Ionic Greek is so variable, and so disparate are the theories and conclusions reached, that one is usually forced to leave the gossamer myth of a "Father of Medicine" as simply that: a myth.

Yet where did these writings emerge? How were they collected and who originally selected the "medical" tracts incorporated into the body of Hippocratic treatises? Why are particular topics included? And if one can demonstrate the historical Hippocrates (Plato and Aristotle give decisive evidence), how does this Coan teacher and medical practitioner concatenate with the discourses under his name? Such questions are common and ordinary in modern scholarship on Hippocrates and the Hippocratic corpus, questions

openly acknowledged by Jouanna, who advances a fresh series of arguments in a fluid, charming, and occasionally pungent style: one can best explicate (so says Jouanna) Hippocrates and the Hippocratic works through cultural and historic contests, matrices, and settings; one can elucidate the ringing assertion of rational medicine in the *Sacred Disease* (namely epilepsy is as explainable as any other affliction) by linking Hippocratic thinking to the analytical detail characteristic of Thucydides; one can bond the examination of human tragedy by Euripides with Hippocratic views of women's diseases or the inevitability of death in the case histories of the justly famed *Epidemics*; and one can thereby understand the Hippocratic approach wrapped in its triplicate theoretical ribbons of elements, qualities, and humors.

Philosophy and medicine in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. combined to disclose a pure and natural human being, at once with an immortal soul yet with a mortal physical shell subject to the same verities as were Aristotle's animals in their cycles of birth, growth, maturity, decline, and death. Jouanna's splendid book sets Hippocrates firmly within his century and breathes new life into an ancient debate, a wrangle as old as the middle decades of the third century B.C., when librarians at Alexandria presumably grouped some medical scrolls under "Hippocrates." Jouanna's study fuses good history, precise philology, careful perusal of the medical texts in their own terms as opposed to modern presumptions, the intermeshing of philosophy with medicine, and the nimble and dynamic matrix of classical Greece's finest literature and philosophy. For classicists, Jouanna's monograph is must reading, as it is for medical historians. It is rare to find broad learning coupled with deep understanding that burrows into the soul of Greek culture, certainly the womb that nurtured Hippocratic medicine.

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DOYNE DAWSON. *Cities of the Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 305. \$45.00.

This book presents a new and comprehensively argued challenge to commonly held views about the substance and evolution of ancient Greek utopian thought. Doyne Dawson divides ancient utopian literature into three categories (strangely referred to as 1, 2a, and 2b), which he describes as (1) "works of myth, fantasy, and messianism" (p. 7); (2a) "'Low' utopianism" ("a comprehensive program for an ideal city-state that was meant to be put into action"); and (2b) "'High' utopianism" ("a plan for an ideal city-state that was not meant to be literally enacted"). Within the category of "High utopianism" lies "the theory of communism," meaning "common property,

common women, and equality between men and women" (p. 7). Although Dawson states that his theme is "the high or communistic utopian literature," he warns that this subject "cannot be studied in isolation from a number of other traditions about ideal societies" (pp. 7–8).

Dawson's first chapter, "The Birth of Utopia," attributes the development of various strands of utopian thought in classical Greek literature to their reflection on the ongoing experience of the foundation of new colonies and their resulting self-awareness of the state as a human invention capable of change and perfection (p. 22). Chapter 2 focuses on Plato's contribution, arguing that Socrates's brilliant successor broke away from the older, practical, "low-utopian" tradition and created "high-utopianism" by using "the model-constitution form to develop a total conception of the good life; and to direct it, not toward ordinary political change, but toward changing the moral and institutional infrastructure of politics" (p. 75). To achieve this goal, Plato specifically proposed the abolition of kinship and family property, the equality of men and women in a community where sex and reproduction were to be carefully regulated, and "the vision of perfect harmony achieved through communism" (p. 93). Dawson denies that Plato's vision was "totalitarian" (p. 85), preferring to see it as merely "authoritarian" (p. 91).

Chapters 3 and 4 present a lengthy argument that Cynic and Stoic philosophical writers, generally thought to have been more interested in escapist fantasy than serious political theory and whose works on politics are today little more than titles preserved in the writings of later, often subjective, commentators, in fact made important contributions to thinking about communistic utopianism. Dawson provides detailed discussions of the evidence for *Republics* by Diogenes the Cynic and Zeno the founder of Stoicism. He concludes: first, that "Cynic indifference to current political issues, so often misconstrued as anarchism, was part of a half-conscious strategy to influence society in a much slower and deeper way" (p. 143); and second, that the Stoics united the Cynic focus on individual freedom and the Platonic insistence on authoritarian control in a utopia that "retained the moral authoritarianism of Plato but eschewed his political authoritarianism, preferring the Cynic ideal of a sage who stands outside society in order to influence society" (p. 199).

In concluding chapters on "The End of Utopia" and "The Ghosts of Utopia," Dawson outlines the disappearance of "High" and "Low" utopian thought from the Stoic school and its replacement with what fits best into Dawson's original category of myth and fantasy, the communistic thought of the early Christians and Gnostics.

Dawson's dense and exhaustively argued study is full of challenging assertions and provocative conclusions. Unfortunately, the book includes far too much

insufficiently prioritized detail to be easily read. In the end, one cannot help but wonder whether Dawson's extensive argumentation will convince those familiar with M. I. Finley's simpler categories of utopian thought and who share his basic skepticism about the utopian interests of the Cynics and Stoics ("Utopianism Ancient and Modern," in *The Use and Abuse of History*, [1971], 178–92).

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MARK H. MUNN. *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boeotian War of 378–375 B.C.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 259. \$40.00

Attic topography has been the subject of several articles and monographs in the English-speaking world during the last two decades. More than beautiful scenery and convenient proximity to the archaeological schools explain this recent scholarly fascination with the borders and passes outside of Athens. Eugene Vanderpool, W. K. Pritchett, and Colin Edmondson, Renaissance scholars all, trained an entire generation of American and Canadian archaeological students through their legendary hikes and explorations atop Parnes, Pentele, Hymettos, and Aigaleos, with near religious fervor inculcating in young historians and classicists the centrality of topography to the major historical problems of classical Athens. Mark H. Munn belongs to this venerable North American tradition and offers now the first systematic publication of his archaeological work at the so-called Dema Tower near the Dema Wall that spans an exposed saddle between Mt. Aigaleos and Parnes, some twelve to fifteen kilometers north of Athens.

Munn's greatly expanded and revised doctoral dissertation consists of three parts. The initial section surveys ancient literature devoted to border defense, found primarily in Plato, Xenophon, Aeneas, and the Attic orators, and then in detail reviews the previous contributions of Yvon Garlan, James McCredie, F. E. Winter, and Josiah Ober. Here Munn makes an unusually spirited attack on Winter (*Greek Fortifications* [1971]) and Ober (*Fortress Attica* [1985]), especially for their theses that the network of Athenian fortifications on the border was designed to stop outright all entry into Attica by foreign armies. The absence of water and natural strongholds near these sites, together with the silence of historians about the repulsion of large invading forces, convince Munn that something more substantial than isolated towers was needed by the Athenians to repel belligerents.

Part two offers a physical description of this peculiar 4,360-meter field wall. It necessarily draws heavily on the pioneering article by J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, and C. W. J. Elliot, "The Dema House in Attica" (*Annual of the British School of Athens* [1962], 75–114), the first systematic survey and measurement

of fortification. Munn's own contribution lies in exploration of the adjacent Dema Tower and a catalogue of some new and significant pottery found in its environs. From this research and careful reanalysis of the wall's masonry, he locates the limits of the Dema's construction somewhere between 425 B.C. and 375 B.C.

The third and concluding section explains the wall's precise function, specifically as part of the Athenian General Chabrias's ad-hoc efforts against the Spartans during the Boeotian War of 378–375 B.C. Because there is no textual support for such an exact reconstruction, Munn comes to his unusually detailed and specific scenario from four general criteria: the similar construction not far away of the Theban wooden stockade in 378 B.C. mentioned by Xenophon; Chabrias's reputation for creative strategy and his past known association with field fortifications and mercenary peltasts; the failure of Spartan invading armies to turn south into Attica during the years of their transgression into nearby Thebes; a single pottery sherd (discussed in Appendix 1) that locates the construction of the wall sometime after 425 B.C.

Munn is at his best when arguing conservatively (as in parts one and two): dating walls and pottery in fifty to twenty-five-year parameters; raising skepticism about the creation of historical scenarios from mute stones and textual lacunae; or using common sense to envision pragmatic uses for walls, forts, and towers. Consequently, it comes as a shock of sorts that in the concluding part of the book such caution is suddenly abandoned. The Dema Wall is dated not within decades, but to a week's time during spring 378 B.C., not as part of a general Athenian defensive policy but as the creation of a single individual, one whose little-known stand-off in Boeotia against Agesilaos is oddly dubbed by Munn "perhaps the most remarkable feat of generalship in the history of Greek warfare" (p. 182).

That few scholars can be convinced by this very precise and insupportable date and occasion for the Dema Wall does not negate the value of Munn's less-speculative explorations. His narrative of excavation and history, stone and text, tells us much about the heretofore neglected but important Boeotian War. That a book-length study of the Dema Wall published by the University of California Press may have required more than a reexamination of the physical remains may explain the elaborate but unprovable hypothesis about Chabrias. All the same, Munn is surely correct in seeing the wall as an enterprise of the fourth century B.C., representative of a continuing Athenian reluctance to chance all in pitched hoplite battle. In that respect his work, whether intentionally or not, serves more to substantiate than to reject previous studies of Attic fortifications.

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JOAN M. FRAYN. *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy: Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century B.C. to the Third Century A.D.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 183. \$38.00.

Joan M. Frayn's useful, clear introduction does not promise all that she actually delivers. She says (p. 1) that her central question is: "What commodities were bought and sold and whence did they come? What proportion of trade in an Italian city passed through the market and how much was carried on elsewhere?" Subsequent chapters also ask tacitly: "Who shopped at markets and fairs on what occasions, and what did they use, see, and experience there?" She largely succeeds at making her book accessible to modern historians pursuing comparative interests in village and urban markets and fairs. The introduction discusses the basic Latin terminology of fairs and markets with wonderful clarity, so that she can use the Latin terms for various kinds of marketplaces in the text that follows. This ensures that she preserves the original Roman categories without the ambiguity of translation. Numerous clear and useful diagrams illustrate the discussion at appropriate points in the book.

Frayn is aware of continuing controversy over whether or not Romans (especially those of the republic) were consciously economically exploitative or whether Roman wealth grew as an unintended and perhaps even unanticipated side effect of political/military hegemony. She soundly concurs with those who insist that Roman colonies and roads in Italy were military measures with economic consequences, but she balances this admission with attention to their economic impact over the long term. She suggests at several points that these economic effects might not have been entirely unforeseen, but her tightly focused treatment of the topic keeps her from making an actual argument for that position. She treads lightly through this controversy about Roman intentions except when she encounters the vagaries of the ancient narrative sources.

Frayn does a generally outstanding job of integrating archaeology, site surveys, allusions in literary texts, inscriptions, and historical narratives to recreate the atmosphere of Roman fairs and markets. The only difficulties occur when she attempts to bring Roman historical narratives to bear on that topic of intentions. Frayn swallows whole not only Livy's account of but also his ascription of motivation to the archaic Romans of an era three centuries or more before his own. She is then forced to explain why allegedly economically imperialist policies left no traces in the archaeological record. Her explanation is that they must not have been in effect long enough. But then why and when were they reversed? Surely it is more probable that Livy is reflecting the less economically naive thought of his own day.

This short book leaves some questions unanswered

or even unasked. Admittedly the epigraphic evidence is difficult, but one is left curious about the finance of market buildings and local roads. Are there patterns as to when a municipality funds them and when they are left to the good will of private donors? It would be useful and interesting to see this work integrated with that of George Houston ("Ports in Perspective," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 [1988], 553-64) on local "ports," which might simply be open beaches. If Frayn's theories of how economic nodes develop and work are valid, they should apply on the coast as well. Although evidence from later Roman law codes is cited, there are more points at which one would like to have seen the *Digest* brought to bear on questions of noise, wheeled traffic, and crowded streets. It is also possible that more attention to the archaeology of Roman residences, not just to sites where economic exchange occurred, might have led to a greater recognition of the ways in which imperial Rome was vertically rather than horizontally segregated. But these are mere quibbles with a book that is a readable treat for anyone interested in Roman economic history.

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CATHARINE EDWARDS. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 229. \$54.95.

School children trudging through the *Odes* of Horace puzzle over the poet's complaints about paneled ceilings, ancestral saltcellars, and houses cantilevered over the ocean. Eventually surprise at these odd concerns vanishes, either with use or disuse. It is the strength of Catharine Edwards's book that it revives our sense of wonder at Roman peculiarities. In five richly supported chapters, she leads us from the now relatively familiar ground of the criminalization of adultery (chap. 1) and the signaling of effeminacy (chap. 2) to hostility toward the theater (chap. 3), anxiety over elaborate building (chap. 4), and disgust with spendthrifts (chap. 5). A lucid introduction points out that moral judgment and its rhetorical expression were quintessentially Roman, the institution of the censorship being only one marked instance. The book presents a banquet of what Plutarch called Roman questions: why the Romans loved exemplary anecdotes; Roman ambivalence toward things Greek; how Roman morality is detached from religion; why the Romans do not seem to care about bastardy; how important really was female honor to male kin; why Caesar would dress like an effeminate; why adulterers can also be effeminate; why the Romans practiced penile infibulation; why the Romans assimilated actors to prostitutes, pimps, and gladiators; why Pliny would say that the building of a theater was worse than mass executions; why the Romans associated sea travel with depravity; why

someone who squandered an inheritance was treated as insane; what was so horrifying about cheap restaurants.

The book's main thesis is the implication of morality with power in Roman culture. The moral texts and cultural practices Edwards examines express characteristically Roman anxieties over boundary transgression: the ability of the lowly actor's voice to speak freely to the elite; the way splendid houses mix public and private, making celebrities of individuals; the way money mixes classes; the way gender and class can slip. "In Roman texts social status is a moral issue" (p. 182). Yet Edwards astutely observes that the Romans enjoyed their self-reproaches, and that "those who derived pleasure from subverting moral rules were dependent on the continuing assertion of those rules by others" (p. 142).

Edwards's methodology is praiseworthy in many ways. Her bibliography is both thorough and eclectic, showing an appropriate familiarity with cultural anthropology and with cultural studies. Current work in ancient cultural history is judiciously covered, including a brisk discussion of Michel Foucault. Edwards shows a great sense for the meaning of non-veridical sources, and she critiques the tendency to explain rhetorical topoi as tradition: "'Conventional' does not have to imply 'meaningless'" (p. 141). She deals well with the thorny issue of essentializing "sexuality." For chapter 3, she sets the weird Roman attitude toward the theater in a comparative framework and uses the Romans' own explanations to tell more about Roman culture; for chapter 4, she explains how "houses were especially 'good to think with'" (p. 138). She shows throughout a firm sense of Roman social history, giving useful definitions of the Roman elite, providing social background on the authors of moral texts, and summarizing Roman beliefs about the history of their moral decline. Each chapter begins with a telling exemplar: Clodius's transvestite infiltration of the Bona Dea festival; the gesture of scratching the head with one finger; Nepos contrasting Greek and Roman attitudes toward actors; a rhetorician explaining the commonplace on decline; Seneca explaining how virtue is masculine and hard, pleasure feminine, soft, and wet.

A few issues could have used more thought. Why did the Augustan adultery legislation include extra-marital sex? What about gross invective? Women tend to disappear after chapter 2, although plenty could be said about actresses, and we would like to hear more about women as "luxurious builders" (p. 142). Chapter 4 needs to address non-elite housing, and chapter 5 picks up too much male bias from the sources. A concluding chapter would have been both helpful and welcome. The book appeared at the same time as Carlin A. Barton's *Sorrows of the Ancient Romans* (1993), which forms a perfect complement to it.

Edwards's book is written with the "clarity and

elegance" to which she aspires in her preface, and I hope she writes many more.

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RONALD MELLOR. *Tacitus*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. xii, 211. \$25.00.

Ronald Mellor skillfully summarizes the present state of knowledge about Tacitus and his works while he deepens the reader's appreciation of them. He also writes clearly and supports his observations with his own readable translations, numerous citations of ancient authors, and references to almost 150 secondary works. Mellor's work should appeal equally to professional historians, students, and the educated public. The latter two groups will find that his frequent literary allusions and modern parallels will make the subject much more relevant than might be expected.

Where Mellor has been most creative is in connecting Tacitus's personal experience with his work to explain why it has the characteristics that made it stand out originally and exert great influence on later generations. As he points out, Tacitus was a deeply engaged public man who continued his political life through his writing with a high degree of emotional intensity (p. 1). He finds the wellspring of this intensely personal engagement in the psychological experience of being a survivor. Tacitus safely endured and even prospered during Domitian's tyranny. As a result, shame and/or guilt for doing what was necessary to survive always colored his perception of the relationship between the senate and emperors from Augustus onward: a vicious cycle of collaboration, resentment, hatred, and self-justification (pp. 8–9). Therefore, Tacitus was obsessed with distinguishing necessary compromise for survival from outright collaboration. Even his *Agricola*, ostensibly a pious eulogy for his equally successful father-in-law, is a model of the middle way (*moderatio*) between culpable collaboration and pointless martyrdom that he espoused.

Moral complicity on the part of his fellow senators in the rise of tyrannical emperors helps to explain Tacitus's constant search for the moral causes of political events. As Mellor points out, "Tacitus makes it clear that he sees the moral decline of Rome indissolubly linked with its political decline" (p. 52). Romans always preferred moral explanations of events, but the passion and relentlessness with which Tacitus pursued them seems conditioned by his personal experience.

As a moralist, Tacitus placed great emphasis on the psychology of his characters, who take on the roles of actors in a tragic drama that he presents in poetic language of great power and style. These characteristics, explored in chapters 5 through 7, have fascinated poets, playwrights, political theorists, and leaders from Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean Baptiste Racine,

and James I to Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry Adams. Chapter 8 describes Tacitus's attraction for these and many other important figures in the Western intellectual and political tradition. As Mellor points out in the epilogue, Tacitus and his passionate moralism have been out of fashion in an age that lacks a moral consensus and in which the scientific history of the academy dominates. As the evils that Tacitus passionately denounced—the corruption of power, the duplicitous political manipulation of language, and the complicity of those who should know better—become increasingly evident today, Tacitus may regain his lost popularity. This book certainly prepares the way.

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EVE D'AMBRA. *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 157; 91 plates. \$35.00.

Eve D'Ambra's learned monograph on the frieze of Domitian's Forum Transitorium in Rome moves from a close reading of the extant relief fragment to considerations of the Forum in the context of imperial architectural patronage and domestic politics. Domitian reactivated cults affirming the morality of Roman matrons, revived Augustan laws on marriage, and proclaimed his reverence for Minerva, whose temple was enclosed in the Forum. The goddess's empaneled image appeared above an emblematic frieze representing the punishment of Arachne, the latter flanked by moralizing exempla showing virtuous women working wool and weaving under the supervision of Minerva Erga. Only about 4 percent of the original frieze survives, so any interpretation must remain tentative, but D'Ambra believes that the extant reliefs provide an essential key to the whole.

Arachne was the acclaimed weaver of Greek myth who exposed the sexual immorality of the gods in her designs and, according to Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, Book Six), dared to compete with Athena, her rival and judge; dashed in her pride, Arachne tried to hang herself but, before dying, was transformed into a spider, a fitting conclusion for an etiological reading of the myth. Given Domitian's problematic sex life and his difficulty protecting the chastity of his Vestal Virgins, an Ovidian spin in such a public monument seems unlikely, especially when one considers Domitian's reputation for sensitivity to any affront to his *maiestas*. The myth implicated mortal and immortal females in a craft activity in which they took great pride. If Athena demonstrated her power over Arachne, she also served as a patron of weaving, of craft, and of the artisans whose well-being and political support Domitian sought. Indeed, the Domitianic forum relief distantly echoes the Parthenon Frieze,

which culminates in the bestowal of the newly woven *peplos* on Athena's image, the goal of the Athenians who paraded to pay their respects to their divine protector. A Roman interpretation of the Arachne myth would assert Minerva's tutelary role for the benefit of all Romans, joined together in a well-ordered society, a pillar of Domitian's social policy which, like that of Augustus, gave a rare prominence to women's vital role in society.

Seen in this way, the Arachne myth constructs a moralizing imagery, the mythic protagonist becoming an exemplary warning to Roman women to be modest, to know their place, and to accept authority, all elements in Domitian's conservative social policy, according to D'Ambra, but strangely at odds with his usually radical behavior. Yet Arachne is immodest only in her pride; her matronly character is exhibited solely in the domestic arts of spinning and weaving; and if she exhibited hubris toward Athena, she remained truthful in the narrative of divine rapes she wove into her tapestry. The image of the wool-working matron may have served as an exemplar of traditional values in the "old" scheme of things, but D'Ambra's connection of the relief with an alleged repressive gender policy under Domitian seems somewhat forced, more in keeping, perhaps, with old-fashioned Trajan. The Arachne myth admonishes both women and artisans not to challenge authority and thereby jeopardize the stability of the Roman state and the Flavian dynasty. Domitian was steadily moving toward a more authoritarian posture, evident in his investment in the title *dominus*.

Perhaps the missing reliefs complemented D'Ambra's reading of the Arachne segment, but there were other conflicts with the old order that may have contributed to Domitian's political problems. He exhibited his preference for Greek things publicly—his Minerva, for example, was strongly Atticized—and he patronized athletic contests, musical events, and equestrian competitions held in the Greek manner in his stadium (Piazza Navona), apparently much to the Romans' disgust. The Founding Fathers, like their senatorial descendants, thought that a taste for Greek culture was morally repugnant, especially if it lacked the power to assimilate borrowed imagery into a fully Romanized context with the subtlety of Augustus. Like Nero, Domitian was eventually ensnared in the web of Roman adversarial politics.

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IAN MORRIS. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. (Key Themes in Ancient History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 264.

Ian Morris argues that burial remains, as the product of discrete funeral rituals, provide insight into the social structure of Greco-Roman antiquity. After a first chapter in which he defines social structure and

argues that it was expressed and "created" by ritual symbolism associated with funerals (p. 2), Morris shows how bones, methods of disposal, grave goods, tomb monuments, and epitaphs can reveal the anonymous "underside" of ancient society. By refusing to isolate any feature or aspect of the evidence from the whole context of funeral ritual, Morris demonstrates that burial remains are often misused to arrive at direct but unsubstantiated conclusions about religion, demography, and social order in ancient communities.

Morris's analysis of the change from cremation to inhumation in the western Roman empire during the first three centuries A.D. stresses that no single explanation (such as the spread of Christianity or "Romanization") accounts for the shift in practice. Only detailed studies of representative sites that consider the full range of local circumstances will clarify the issue. In a similar way, the chapters on skeletal remains and epitaphs show that conclusions about the demography of a community based solely on burial remains can often be misleading. Peculiar demographic patterns derived from bone studies or the contents of epitaphs are likely the result of an unrepresentative body of evidence or special treatment of the dead; they should thus be considered a facet of social structure, not the result of a bizarre age or sex pattern in the society as a whole.

Two chapters on Athenian graves and monuments of the fifth century B.C. explain the virtual disappearance of ostentatious private burials there between 500 and 425 B.C. and their sudden reappearance during the Peloponnesian War. Morris interprets this as part of a larger pattern of restraint in burial habits evident throughout much of Greece during the era. Here Morris bends his own rule about analyzing burial remains in the context of all evidence available for the social structure of a community. Fifth-century Athens, with fantastic wealth and a military identity derived from its naval empire, was unique among Greek *poleis*. Graves become lavish in Athens again in the 420s, during a period of plague and almost annual Peloponnesian invasion of their territory, events that badly rent Athenian society and damaged the civic ideology of Pericles. The peculiar development of Athens through the fifth century, especially in its military ideology, and the specific events of the late fifth century need to be fully integrated into any explanation of the change in Athenian burial habits. Morris's argument for general restraint in burial customs throughout Greece in the fifth century needs further exposition before it can serve as a useful context for the one well-attested but abnormal Athenian case. In his final chapter, Morris analyzes a small, archaic cemetery (625–575 B.C.) on Rhodes, taking the reader through the difficult but rewarding process of determining what questions, when applied to the ancient evidence, yield useful conclusions about an almost anonymous community.

A disproportionate amount of the physical remains of classical antiquity come from a mortuary context,

and yet the complexity and difficulty of properly interpreting such evidence is often overlooked. Morris has done a valuable service in showing the difficulty and, in some cases, potential to the historian of mortuary remains. Whether or not one agrees with his specific conclusions, this book will be important reading for ancient historians interested in writing history that goes beyond the ancient texts and for archaeologists who wish to do more than describe and classify.

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TIMOTHY D. BARNES. *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 343. \$49.95.

In the fourth century Christian bishops emerged as a political force in the Roman empire, none more so than Athanasius of Alexandria, who fought with emperors, bishops, and anyone else who got in the way of his version of Nicene orthodoxy during a career that spanned more than half a century. The writings of Athanasius, moreover, are crucial evidence for key events in the *modus vivendi* established between church and state during this period. It was therefore natural for Timothy D. Barnes to conceive of a book that would use the career of Athanasius as a lever into the broader changes that occurred during his lifetime, although doing so required addressing two separate questions: evaluation of the evidence, and reevaluation of Athanasius and the events themselves.

Although related, these are two very different questions, calling for two different sets of tools. The first issue occupies the bulk of Barnes's attention, with sixteen of the book's twenty chapters devoted to a detailed analysis of the bishop's historical and polemical writings. Barnes is not the first scholar to suspect that Athanasius was less than candid in denying the strong-arm tactics that so infuriated his enemies and that led Edouard Schwartz to characterize him (in Barnes's words) as "a power-hungry politician and unscrupulous pamphleteer" (p. 3). But the task of convicting Athanasius is a difficult one, since so much of the evidence comes from his own pen. Unlike Schwartz (to whom he pays generous tribute), Barnes is not content to make *ex parte* conclusions; he sets out to demonstrate in detail that the bishop was "a subtler and more skilful liar than Schwartz realized" (p. 3).

No bloodhound ever pursued a scent with more tenacity than Barnes brings to this task. Marshaling his considerable philological and prosopographical skills, Barnes finds indirect evidence that Athanasius covered up a visit to the court of Constantius II in the spring of 338 during which he attempted to curry favor with his future *bête noir* and that, far from being the innocent victim he likes to portray in his writings,

he conducted an active "diplomatic offensive" (p. 45) against his ecclesiastical rivals in the years that followed. In chapter 9 Barnes finally gets his man, concluding from an offhand reference to the tombs of some factory workers beheaded in Adrianople that Athanasius must have accompanied his fellow exile Paul of Constantinople there in an attempt to regain his see, in direct violation of imperial orders.

For the reader who is able to follow the expert juggling of close textual reading and chronological exposition that such analysis requires, this is great sport. But what does it all mean? In chapter 18 Barnes explains that his aim is to reverse the image, created by turn-of-the-century German scholars, that Constantine created a subservient *Reichskirche*. It is precisely here that the two parts of the book come together, for Barnes rightly sees that Athanasius's persistent efforts to make his troubles appear to be the result of unilateral imperial actions rather than legitimate conciliar decisions formed the basis of the *Reichskirche* argument. More problematic is the scheme that Barnes offers as replacement, in which "even the emperor lacked the right to countermand the decisions of councils" (p. 172).

This is a tightly rational scheme, reminiscent of nothing so much as those constitutional analyses of the Principate churned out in a bygone era. It needs to be supplemented by the same attention to appearances and gesture that now informs those studies. Barnes opposes such a nuanced view, although the careful reader can find concessions to it in the use of such phrases as "in practise" or references to "anomalies." Where much recent scholarship sees the mid-fourth century as a world of give and take, in which our concept of a clear delineation between "Christian" and "pagan" is blurred, Barnes holds to a view that sharply and distinctly divides between the two. If the contemporary historian Ammianus Marcellinus does not reflect this world, it cannot be because he wrote in a different historiographical tradition, as Arnaldo Momigliano (*The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* [1963]) taught long ago, but because of his "deep and insidious bias" (p. 165). To round out this view of the age, readers may wish to consult Peter Brown's *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (1992), John Matthews's *Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989), and Garth Fowden's *Empire to Commonwealth* (1993). But for an elegantly argued close reading of Athanasius's polemical texts, this is the book. Nobody does it better than Barnes.

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ALAN CAMERON and JACQUELINE LONG. *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*. Assisted by LEE SHERRY. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 19.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 441. \$55.00.

On July 12, A.D. 400, during the reign of the ineffectual emperor Arcadius, several thousand Goths were slaughtered in a riot at Constantinople, capital of the eastern half of the Roman empire. This gruesome event, and the subsequent revolt and defeat of Gainas, a Gothic general in Roman service, has been the subject of tendentious discussion ever since. Most modern treatments have followed the lead of Otto Seeck, who in 1913 described "The Victory of Anti-Germanism" in Constantinople, arguing that Roman nationalist sentiment finally reacted against the Goths who had been so strong a presence in the empire for more than a generation. The remarkable achievement of Alan Cameron and Jacqueline Long's book is to overturn the accepted view and offer instead an authoritative new picture of the massacre, the ancient sources that described it, and our understanding of the episode.

The book cheerfully blasts away (although always with exemplary courtesy and good humor) at one cherished assumption after another to such devastating effect that the reader may feel a little stunned, as though a nuclear bomb has been detonated to kill a mosquito. But such meticulous argumentation, based on mastery of ancient and modern sources, all of which are scrutinized in considerable detail, is necessary and appropriate to the complexity of the evidence and the importance of the problem. On the fate of the Goths in 400 hinges the interpretation of several larger, more momentous issues: how power remained in civilian hands in early Byzantium; how attitudes toward "barbarians" shaped political discourse and policy as well as the writing of history; and how the "fall" of the western half of the Roman state is to be analyzed, for the failure of the West to solve its "German problem" as the East did has been a mainstay of modern discussion.

Cameron and Long force the reconsideration of nearly a century's scholarship on a formative period in the development of the Byzantine state. The greatest weakness of the book, however, is the lack of a clear assessment of the broader implications of their arguments. Readers who are not aficionados of court politics in the New Rome at the beginning of the fifth century or specialists in the intricacies of previous scholarly debate on the topic, despite the help offered them throughout, would benefit from the authors' vision in this regard.

Synesius, ambassador to Constantinople from the North African city of Cyrene from 397–400 (as redated by Cameron and Long), is the chief casualty of their reassessment. Treatment of Synesius is the bedrock of the book, and Cameron and Long convincingly discredit his "eyewitness" account of events recorded in two works, *de Regno* and *de Providentia*, on which modern (mis)interpretations have been based. Cameron and Long's careful redating and rereading of these notoriously difficult allegories expose Synesius not as the propagandist of a nationalist movement, for they argue there was no anti-German party,

but as involved in political partisanship of a less dramatic sort. The greatest beneficiary of the book is probably the Praetorian Prefect Caesarius, who emerges as an efficient, far-seeing negotiator who brought down Gainas and achieved a satisfactory solution to the Gothic crisis. Another Romanized Gothic general, Fravitta, who sent Gainas's head back to Constantinople in a barrel of brine, also fares well.

Social and intellectual historians will find rich material in this book. Among its many pleasant rewards are the reevaluation of the career and lynching of Synesius's teacher, the Alexandrian intellectual Hypatia (pp. 39–62), and Long's insightful analysis of what Synesius thought was important in *de Providentia* (pp. 253–90). A valuable reassessment of political Hellenism is offered (chaps. 2–3). Special mention must be made of the masterful translation and commentary of the formidable *de Providentia*, prepared in its final form by Lee Sherry (pp. 337–98). This elegant display of philological and historical acumen puts scholars considerably in his debt.

This book is a virtuoso treatise of revisionist historiography, stimulating and enjoyable to read, a work that students of late antiquity will take on board as a matter of course. It has all the excitement of a sensational court case, and readers who like their historians to be acute and clever detectives, prosecuting attorneys, judges, and occasionally executioners as well, will enjoy this book. Strong counter-blasts can be expected, but without question Cameron and Long have set the terms of all subsequent discussion.

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MEDIEVAL

RAYMOND VAN DAM. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 349. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$16.95.

In this book, Raymond Van Dam continues the exposition of the lineaments of power in fifth and sixth-century Gaul that he began in *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (1985). The present work falls into two parts of almost equal length: the first contains four closely connected studies, the second a set of related translations. Van Dam begins by examining in parallel the development of the cults of three saints (Martin of Tours, Hilary of Poitiers, and Julian of Brioude). He then assesses the relationship between Gregory of Tours and his patron saints, specifically Julian and Martin. Narrowing his focus primarily to Gregory's record of the cult of Martin at Tours, Van Dam analyzes the practices of miraculous healing and of pilgrimage in the third and fourth chapters. In the second part he presents translations of his most important sources: two works by Gregory (the *Liber de passione et virtutibus sancti Juliani martyris* and the *Libri de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi*), Venantius Fortunatus's *Liber de virtutibus sancti Hilarii*,

and several minor works associated with these cults. Van Dam himself (pp. 5–7) sets out three goals for this volume: first, to provide translations of these important collections of miracle stories; second, to provide a framework within which to analyze such stories and, in the process, to modify the dominant interpretation of late antique saints' cults offered by Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints* (1981) and elsewhere; third, to attempt the "conservative application" of comparative methodologies in such interpretation.

In the first instance he has achieved unqualified success. Van Dam is a gifted translator who has an encyclopedic knowledge of the works of Gregory and Fortunatus. When this volume is added to the earlier efforts of Van Dam himself and Edward James, all of Gregory's *libri miraculorum* have become available in trustworthy and well-annotated English translations. We can only hope that a combination of the scholars and presses involved will make the entire corpus available to students between a single set of soft covers.

In the second matter, however, Van Dam's success is mixed. To be sure, he has offered a deft, nuanced, and convincing reading of his chosen sources. Throughout he emphasizes how local circumstances shaped different cults into distinct entities. This emphasis on "local knowledge" is one I applaud. Yet the argument is partially disingenuous, for one of the most influential portraits of "a virtually generic 'cult of the saints'" of the sort Van Dam now condemns (p. 13)—and a portrait that was deeply influenced by the work of Brown that he also now claims to challenge—is that which Van Dam himself sketched in the final chapters of his previous book. Moreover, the critique of Brown, which any reader of the introduction would expect to figure prominently in the following pages, is at best implicit. Brown is nowhere mentioned in the text and he is cited, by my count, only three times in the footnotes, twice with clear approbation. Finally, after an ambitious study of three different cults in the opening chapter, Van Dam focuses ever more specifically on Gregory of Tours and his episcopal see. In the place of a generic portrait dominated by the abundant Martinian material, we are offered a first-rate local study of that material. As to the third goal, the application of comparative insights is conservative indeed and confined to the analysis of healing and pilgrimage. Nonetheless, Van Dam's analysis of these phenomena as social processes evidences his appreciation for anthropological theory.

This book is rewarding, but also somewhat disappointing. It offers the best available analysis of the local practice of a saint's cult in late antiquity. The focus, however, is narrower than that suggested by the title and the essays aimed at an audience of professionals, for the reader of the first part will benefit from prior knowledge both of Merovingian history and of the historiography of the cult of saints.

The second part, however, is presumably aimed at students, who will benefit from these superb translations, but who may find the density of analysis in the first part daunting. In the final analysis, Van Dam has provided an excellent study of Tours, Martin, and Gregory, but we still lack a similarly sophisticated and locally nuanced picture of the cults of saints in the late Roman provinces and Germanic kingdoms that extends well beyond Tours, its patron, and its prolific bishop.

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JOHN C. CAVADINI. *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 225. \$36.95.

John C. Cavadini's subject is the controversy that flared up in the closing years of the eighth century about how to describe Christ's human nature. Rarely earning more than a passing reference in accounts of Carolingian intellectual life, the "Adoptionist" heresy is best known from Alcuin's lengthy rebuttal. His opponents were the shadowy Visigothic figures Elipandus, metropolitan of Toledo under Muslim rule (d. ca. 805), and Felix, bishop of the see of Urgel in the Spanish march of Charlemagne's empire (d. 818). Cavadini's interest is not, however, in the Carolingian refutations but rather in the doctrines of Elipandus and Felix themselves. He is the first person to have taken seriously their ideas in their own right and not to have accepted at face value their condemnation by Alcuin and Hadrian I as simply latter-day Nestorians. Cavadini does a careful and convincing job of showing how inaccurate this labeling was; he argues that adoptionism was a coherent doctrinal position, intelligible within the theological traditions of the Western church as continued in seventh and eighth-century Spain by Isidore, the Toledan councils, and the Mozarab liturgy. But because nothing of Felix's own work survives, and very little of Elipandus's, the argument rests on a salvage operation conducted to extricate their ideas from the clutches of the polemic of their opponents, notably Alcuin and Beatus of Liebana. Cavadini's revival of the theological significance of Elipandus and Felix can only be as good as his recovery of their teachings.

Readers of this journal should be aware that Cavadini writes for an audience with theological concerns. He assumes that his readership is theologically literate and finds the subject of enduring importance. Historians who do not share these qualifications are likely to struggle to get much out of this book. In part, this is because adoptionism was not a worry of more than passing moment to the Carolingian church. In part, it is because Cavadini is frequently unaware of the historical implications of his work, or of the

historical questions that it raises. Those implications may be summed up as follows. First, Cavadini indirectly contributes to our knowledge of the intellectual resources brought to the Frankish church by the non-Franks whom Charlemagne recruited. We are entitled to assume that Goths such as Theodulf of Orleans, Prudentius of Troyes, or Benedict of Aniane had a similar intellectual formation in terms of resources and techniques of arguing, as did both Elipandus and Felix. Second, the concern to impose a single theology on the farthest reaches of Charlemagne's empire coincides with the drive for liturgical and monastic uniformity throughout the entire area under Carolingian control. Third, Alcuin's writings on adoptionism belong to the very earliest efforts to build a Frankish theological tradition, efforts initially shaped by a desire to respond to theological issues originating outside the Frankish lands. But Cavadini makes no effort to be as sensitive in his reading of Alcuin as he is of Elipandus, and he quite misses the importance of Alcuin's writings for the emergence of new methods of theological argument that were indebted to techniques of logical analysis. Finally, at a deeper level even than a dispute about how to describe Christ's humanity, adoptionism raised the question of the location of authority within the Western church. It pitted the regional tradition of the Visigothic church, represented by the Toledan councils and seventh-century Spanish writers, against the authority of the ecumenical councils and fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. In this conflict, regionalism lost out to universalism. Here we reach the historical crux. It is a shame that Cavadini's insistently close focus on the texts themselves left him no room to tease out themes such as these, which would have tempted a wider readership than this book is realistically likely to receive.

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MARCUS BULL. *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 328. \$59.00.

The First Crusade was indeed the first crusade. Historians of canon law, medieval warfare, and the politics of confrontation between Western Christendom and Islam concur that there had been nothing like it before. Yet, as is well known, the preaching of the Crusade was met by an enthusiastic and widespread response among the armigerous section of the populace. In his investigation of why this occurred, Marcus Bull argues powerfully that at heart the Crusade was an appeal to piety, and that the laity responded because the appeal found resonances in existing patterns of religious activity. Although he is prepared to concede that crusaders may have been

motivated in part by national sentiment and the quest for military prestige and family honor, Bull regards such considerations as secondary. He has no time for the idea that people went on crusade in the hope of material gain. Yet he is sensitive to the contention that the roots of lay motivation are distinct from the ideas that came to be adduced as justification for the whole enterprise. What Bull has done is to investigate lay society and lay piety in three areas of southwestern France: the Limousin, the Bordelais and Bazadais, and southern Gascony. He bases his study on narrative and hagiographical sources, but at the core of his inquiry lie the extant monastic cartularies from these regions. In his use of these materials, his debt to Giles Constable and Jonathan Riley-Smith is clear, and by concentrating on a comparatively small area he has been able to produce an exhaustive account.

Bull challenges two well-entrenched ideas about the background to the First Crusade. He denies, at least so far as Aquitaine is concerned, that the Peace of God movement had any bearing on the lay response to crusade preaching; the pope may have thought in terms of canalizing the martial energies of Christian knights into meritorious activity, but there was no way that the peace movement can have prepared local society for that message. Second, he denies that involvement with warfare against the Muslims in Spain prefigured the Crusade; although men from southwestern France fought there during the eleventh century, there is no evidence to suggest that before 1100 war in Spain was regarded as conferring any spiritual benefits on the participants.

Having disposed of these negative points, Bull develops his principal thesis: that the ordinary interaction of the lesser and middling nobility with the churches of their locality formed the context that conditioned their response to the crusade appeal. He regards it as axiomatic that the Crusade was a movement that stemmed from the potent influence of the church on the laity. Noble families were closely connected with religious foundations: they endowed them; they put their children in them; they were buried in them. They were motivated by concern for their own spiritual welfare, and in return the clergy prayed for them. The same impulses that conditioned support for religious houses also prompted men to go on crusade. Here was a "new way of salvation," one in which the laity could participate directly. Prominent in the Christian culture of the time was pilgrimage and the cult of saints, and here the Crusade, commonly portrayed as a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, had a more obvious connection with existing religious practice. Indeed, pilgrimage was often linked with benefactions to churches, both to ensure prayer for the safety of the pilgrim and to raise money for the expense of the journey.

This bald summary of some of the main lines of argument does scant justice to the subtlety of Bull's discussion. Without doubt he has given us an important study that, besides helping place the First Cru-

sade in its social and religious context, has much to contribute to our understanding of regional society in Aquitaine. He readily admits that, because of the variety of the crusading experience, an investigation into other areas or into later crusades could well yield different results. Even so, this is a major contribution, well researched and well written, and a significant step forward in answering that important but elusive question: why did lay people go on the Crusade, and what did they think they were doing?

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BERNARD S. BACHRACH. *Fulk Nerra, The Neo-Roman Consul, 987–1040: A Political Biography of the Angevin Count*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 392. \$55.00.

The county of Anjou, located on the lower Loire between Normandy and Aquitaine, was one of the strongest and most centralized of the eleventh-century French principalities, primarily as a result of the very long and successful rule of Count Fulk Nerra. This fascinating figure was noted during his lifetime both for his towering rages and for his political and military acumen. Exploiting family connections and the fidelity of his warriors, defending his borders systematically with dozens of stone keeps—the first French count to do so—and establishing a steady income through tolls and taxes, Fulk was able to challenge even the king successfully. When he died on his way home from his fourth pilgrimage to Jerusalem (a nearly unheard of accomplishment), he left a county that continued to flourish for over a century, until the counts of Anjou reached their highest point by also becoming kings of England.

Bernard S. Bachrach has been studying Fulk for years; he lists nearly fifty articles and reviews touching on this count in the bibliography. In this book, unabashedly a work of political history, Bachrach gives a dense narrative of Fulk's activities, following him essentially year by year for the seventy years of his life. Maps, illustrations of the decorations on the church Fulk founded (unfortunately, some photos are too blurry or too small to show the details Bachrach finds significant), extensive family trees, bibliographies of primary sources and secondary works, and three indexes complete the volume.

Both the strengths and the weaknesses of this work come from Bachrach's single-minded focus on Fulk and Angevin politics. He knows the primary sources intimately and has worked at length through their complexities; indeed, he often cites his own earlier articles where one would have expected a direct citation of primary sources, but he felt he had to do so to avoid rehashing long arguments in the notes. And yet one repeatedly wishes for more comparative material. Fulk was by no means the only eleventh-

century count to establish monks on his property, demand oaths of fidelity, collect tolls, or build castles, but one would scarcely know it from these pages. For example, Bachrach attempts to explain why Fulk's heir made more gifts to monasteries than did Fulk by suggesting that his personality was formed in a more nurturing environment (p. 223), without noting that all over France mid-eleventh-century lords were more generous to monasteries than their predecessors had been. This brief foray into psychohistory, paralleled by repeated suggestions that Fulk's black moods in adulthood, even his habit of swearing sacrilegious oaths, were a result of a traumatic early childhood (pp. 11–13, 21, 24, 221) is quite unconvincing. One cannot apply modern models of a "normal" childhood to a society where upper-class children were not even nursed by their mothers. This foray is also surprising given Bachrach's rather snippy dismissal of social historians as having undercut the historical discipline by abandoning political history.

Here Bachrach seems determined to interpret manifestations of broad trends as something unique to Anjou. His characterization of Fulk as "neo-Roman" is the clearest example of this. All he in fact means by the term is that Fulk was (not surprisingly) part of a cultural tradition that stretched back a thousand years and that included a great deal of Roman law and thought, as mediated by the Merovingians, Carolingians, and Byzantines. Because Fulk's predecessors and contemporaries were influenced by this same tradition, and because Fulk's court experienced no particular revival of Roman culture, the term is ill-chosen, even though one must applaud Bachrach's decision to resist labeling Fulk's lordship with the more obvious term "feudal." The chief area in which Bachrach argues that Fulk succeeded because of unique Roman knowledge is in the count's use of the Roman military writer Vegetius, and here the evidence is inconclusive. The first Angevin count known for certain to have had a copy of Vegetius was Fulk's great-great-grandson, and Fulk certainly need not have read this treatise to understand the value of "hit-and-run" techniques or the tactical reserve. Especially because only two of Fulk's battles, in a fifty-three-year reign, involved the open conflict between large armies for which the Roman legions were trained—and in which the legions fought on foot, not on horseback (p. 45)—and since Fulk's wars often had trial-by-battle overtones that would have been foreign to the Romans (p. 101), Bachrach ought to credit Fulk with more military originality.

In spite of such reservations, Bachrach has clearly succeeded in his purpose of writing a proudly old-fashioned, thoroughly documented biography of a key medieval count, a biography on which other historians will be able to draw profitably for their own comparative studies.

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JOAN CADDEN. *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 310.

Joan Cadden breaks new ground in a little-explored area in medieval studies: sex differences and the reasons given for them. In the process she gives a new anchor to the growing number of studies on medieval sexuality, which challenge the assumptions of those who visualize the eighteenth century as the key to a radical revision of ideas about sex and gender.

Her account is chronological, beginning with what she calls the evolution of learned opinion from the Greeks through the Romans to the early Middle Ages. Although many of the original Greco-Roman writings were not available in the West, a variety of conflicting contradictory opinions survived, based on divergent assumptions, and these were kept in circulation simply because the people of the period were not interested in what Cadden labels discursive science, that is, rational attempts to solve the contradictions. These attitudes began to change toward the end of the eleventh century when contributions from both Arab and Greek sources became available. Most important in this change was Constantine the African, whose ideas permeated even into the cloister, as Cadden's discussion of Hildegard of Bingen attests. Eventually, the ideas found a home in the medical faculties of the emerging universities as well as among those of natural philosophy. Albertus Magnus was a key player, and Cadden, concentrating on his works in natural philosophy, shows that these works differed somewhat from his theological works not only in content but also in treatment of the same topics. Important to the new concept of "sex" that developed was the notion of what was "natural." This led to ideas about seeds, heat, complexions, and uterine cells, and these ideas were gathered together into a system that we call gender. Proponents of this system argued that appearance, anatomy, constitution, temperament, habits, and social relations were all interrelated. Cadden concludes with brief chapters on sterility and abstinence in order to demonstrate this new understanding of feminine and masculine traits and how it had real-life implications.

There is much more in this well-written yet heavily documented book that can easily be read and understood by those who are not medievalists or medical historians. In short, it represents scholarship at its best.

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PETER LINEHAN. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 748. \$105.00.

There is more truth in the old quip that "history is the stuff that historians write" than most writers of his-

tory would care to admit. Consequently the study of historians writing history is often relegated to a history of philosophy lying somewhere between ontology and aesthetics, or to the rank of a limited branch of intellectual history. Peter Linehan, a highly respected scholar of medieval Spanish ecclesiastical history, has no such qualms, but plunges into an account of the historians of medieval Spain from the seventh through the fourteenth century. It would be tempting to dismiss this simply as the work of an inveterate anecdotalist if his reputation for meticulous studies and a fifty-page bibliography did not warn one against taking his effort lightly. In fact, this is a remarkable book, not only for the author's breadth of knowledge and insight into the Spanish past but also for what his account suggests about our own scholarly pursuits.

Linehan's historians are engaged in a constant effort to shape the past into an effective tool to control the present. Nowhere is this more strikingly demonstrated than in his analysis of the struggle of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo, to make previous histories and documents support the proposition that Toledo was the primal see of all Spain. Linehan's account of the compilation of *De rebus hispaniae* reads like the description of a great game of an international chess master. Rodrigo's main opponent was the Chronicle of Lucas, bishop of Tuy and an advocate of the primacy of Seville, and Linehan points out with an unerring eye the subtle traps and powerful traps of Lucas's account and Rodrigo's gambits and passed pawns.

There were, however, issues so fundamental that they transcended even the most momentous of political struggles. For Spain, the question of the nature of the Visigothic state has been central and persistent. The paradigm of Spanish history that the historians of the Middle Ages bequeathed to those of the modern period was that the origins of the Spanish state and nation lay in that golden age in which the Visigoths ruled a centralized Spain through Teutonic institutions and with the full cooperation of the Spanish church from their joint capital in Toledo. The Visigothic kingdom fell before the Muslim invasion in 711, but the sovereignty of that kingdom was carried into the mountains of Asturias by refugees. Established in their mountain fastness, the kings of León-Castile, heirs to the Visigothic monarchy, began the 700-year struggle to regain their patrimony that ended in 1492 with the conquest of Granada and the emergence of the modern Spanish state.

Linehan describes how historians forged that paradigm over the course of seven centuries and allows the reader to reflect on the extent to which this account, so full of contradictions and distortions, became a national ethos. Their supposed descent from the Visigothic kings reigning in Toledo has been used to justify monarchs and caudillos ruling in Madrid, while the legend of the oath of Covadonga has been called on to legitimize both *cortes* and coups.

And historians have continued to reshape this paradigm of the past into forms better suited to control the present. Linehan notes that this is only to be expected. It is, after all, an old story. It is also a story on which historians would do well to reflect. It is commonly said that "every generation writes its own history," but it is more precise to say that "every generation rewrites its own history." Linehan provides an account of some twenty-five generations busying themselves with this never-ending task.

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SALVATORE TRAMONTANA. *Vestirsi e travestirsi in Sicilia: Abbigliamento, feste e spettacoli nel Medioevo*. (Prisma.) Palermo: Sellerio. 1993. Pp. 252. L. 38,000.

As he explains in his preface, Salvatore Tramontana's book is not a history of clothing but an essay on the role that dress played in Sicily between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries in expressing the status and aspirations of its diverse groups and classes. The intent to be dressed properly is mingled with the desire to impress, to be admired, or to deceive. The Italian title may be rendered as "Dress and Mask in Sicily" and its subtitle as "Clothing, Feasting and Showmanship in the Middle Ages." His essay proceeds with two long chapters in which dress, as distinguished from undress and the nude, symbolizes the part that a person plays in society from maturity to death, and in which dress is the vehicle for participating in its celebrations and in its power play. In this respect, dress becomes mask not only in traditional masquerades, like the two-day Feast of St. Agatha at Catania, but also more broadly as a pretense to power or beauty greater than the true worth of the person so clothed. Dazzling corteges, like the triumphal entry of King Alphonse the Magnanimous of Aragon in Naples in 1443, orchestrated the people to facilitate control by the court and the aristocracy, veiling poverty and squalor by a great show. The second chapter ends with a section on the persecution of heretics, mainly Muslims and Jews, and their public burning as a result of the notorious policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, applying also to Sicily. A society noted under its Norman kings for its fair-minded acceptance of all its groups, Christian women enjoying the luxury of Muslim dress and a Muslim poet reveling in the joys of the court of Roger II, feasted three centuries later the inhumanity of man against man.

Against this dark accent are set two short, final chapters on the participation of Sicilians in the pleasures of life, banquets, taverns, and prostitution, and the laws intended to channel and restrict this participation. Here, too, opulence and illicit indulgence reflected in the written and pictorial sources hide a society that was more governed by necessity and want.

Tramontana writes from a rich experience of his subject as scholar and university teacher. He explores

the exact reconstructive value of his sources; notarial documents, law codes, city ordinances, and contemporary literature and art. He focuses not only on the island but also on the mainland south, part of the kingdom of Sicily until 1282. In that year the islanders placed themselves under the House of Aragon in the revolt of the "Sicilian Vespers." The House of Anjou, which had ousted the Hohenstaufen heirs of the Norman kings in 1266, continued to rule the mainland from Naples until 1443. Tramontana draws widely on material from before and after these periods and from other parts of Europe where the opportunity arises. He is aware of the study of *mentalités* and of gender-equal reconstruction. Indirectly, he adds to the controversy on the relative decline of the island since the Sicilian Vespers by showing a vibrant and even spendthrift society by the middle of the fifteenth century. But how much of this is dress, how much mask? His is a fast moving, spirited, and powerful essay, amply annotated, well illustrated, and with a competent index covering the notes as well. One hopes that it will soon become available in translation to a wider English-reading public.

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS. *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Late Mediaeval Greek World*. (Studies in the Social and Religious History of the Mediaeval Greek World, number 2.) New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas, for the Speros B. Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism. 1992. Pp. 190. \$60.00.

In his earlier study, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (1968), Demetrios J. Constantelos exploited Byzantine sources through the twelfth century. In this sequel, he extends his coverage to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The result is an exploration of how the concept and practice of *philanthropia* survived over two centuries of Byzantium's decline. Accordingly, the subject of poverty predominates. Whereas the two books constitute a unified work, this later one by itself is a useful contribution to the study of the late-Byzantine era.

Given the scattered, fragmentary, and sparse information, Constantelos offers, even more than before, essentially a culling of citations, allusions, and anecdotes, as gleaned from a wide range of Byzantine literary sources and texts. This gives, perhaps unavoidably, an impressionistic rather than sharply analytic character to the book. But the author has attempted to control his material by organizing it into a series of thematic chapters.

After attempting to sketch late-Byzantine social conditions, the author examines "Society's Reactions to Poverty," which he subdivides into theory and practice: church teachings and moral preaching on the one hand, and examples of social protests and governmental responses to poverty on the other.

Under the heading of "Philanthropic Activities," the author considers examples of outstanding philanthropic churchmen and laymen. The issue of slavery is dealt with in a section that itself is a valuable assemblage of evidence on this often obscure topic. He concludes with short sections on "Special Institutions": hospices, hospitals and the medical profession, and charitable asylums.

This volume shows some signs of being dated. One notices, for instance, the rather antiquated description of earlier Byzantine social and agrarian history (pp. 11 and following). The author does have an impressive command of source texts, but he has marshaled his evidence to do little more than document the persistence of the philanthropic spirit amid harsh late-Byzantine realities. The author's deep sympathy for his topic sometimes disposes him too readily to take at face value assertions, affirmations, or information in his sources that involve some degree of rhetorical exaggeration or literary formality. He also misunderstands his sources here and there, as in his mistaken use of a passage in the spurious *Chronicon maius* of the Pseudo-Sphrantzes (actually by Makarios Melissenos), reporting an unrealized proposal for a marriage of Constantine XI to a princess of Trebizond. This results in the author's creation of an imaginary "last empress of the Byzantine Empire" (pp. 96, 99).

There are many illustrations (mostly of period coins), but few are really germane. Constantelos also refers explicitly in his text (pp. 42–44) to an icon at Iviron Monastery, on Mt. Athos, as "reproduced here." In fact it appears nowhere in the book; presumably it would have been the photograph he published earlier in his short article, "A Note on 'Christos Philanthropos' in Byzantine Iconography," *Byzantion*, 46 (1976), 9–12.

These cavils aside, Constantelos has, in noble dedication to a noble Hellenic ideal, laboriously assembled a great deal of valuable information into a comprehensive synthesis—in this volume alone, and in combination with its predecessor—that is unique for its demonstration of an important dimension of Byzantine social and spiritual life, and for the guidance it will offer to future scholars interested in that dimension.

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BARBARA A. HANAWALT, editor. *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context*. (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, number 4.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1992. Pp. xxii, 240. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

This volume of essays edited by Barbara Hanawalt is compiled from papers presented at the University of Minnesota in 1990–91. The book is divided into three

sections (political context, London as a literary setting, and the literature of the countryside), although it might also have been organized by social context, as it moves from court culture to gentry society, to the world of burgesses, laborers, outlaws, and, finally, those who revolted in 1381. Throughout, the contributors comment on the interconnections between history and literature, which, as Hanawalt notes in her introduction, have been poorly effected in the past. This volume illustrates the detailed advances and enhanced richness of interpretations that result from a more sophisticated marriage of the two disciplines. Several of the authors also reach into other disciplines—sociology, criminology, geography—to further our understanding of Chaucer's England.

The portrait of the second half of the fourteenth century that emerges shows England at a time of cultural revolution, particularly in terms of the literary use of the English language and the spread of literacy, where the complex upper social strata (gentry households, aristocratic circles, and the court of Richard II) offer a variety of contexts for literary production. Michael Bennett, in particular, argues for redirecting attention back to the royal court as a center of literary patronage. Nicholas Orme focuses on hunting, an activity that crossed social barriers and even gender bounds, finding expression in archival records (including judicial proceedings), treatises of instruction, and literary productions, where the historical and literary realities converge remarkably.

Several articles remind us of the interpretive quality of all texts as well as the absence of texts, with Bennett arguing that the destruction of artifacts relating to Richard II needs to be taken seriously, while Paul Strohm details the Lancastrian manipulation of texts surrounding the new king's coronation and warns scholars, in passing, to be wary of secondary works. Nigel Saul reminds us of Chaucer's concern with gentility but leaves the text and context at odds, since Chaucer's most courteous figure (the Franklin) did not, according to historical record, yet aspire to gentility. David Wallace documents the perhaps surprising absence of an urban context for *The Canterbury Tales* along with some disturbing elements of distrust and duplicity that emerge from London records and dismisses earlier, naive, less historically grounded scholars who saw in London society a communal harmony. In an essay on William Langland, Lawrence Clopper posits Langland's very personal concern with labor, wandering beggars, and the legitimate poor, but he struggles with the absence of a secure biographical context for Langland. In contrast, as Caroline Barron shows, the historical context of *Piers Plowman* (the London of the middle and lower classes) is reasonably unarguable. Hanawalt compares the activities of and attitudes toward bandits with the balladic banditry of a Robin Hood. And, finally, both Richard Green and Susan Crane dissect the problematic discourse surrounding the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, with Green suggesting a

popular preaching context that relates more readily to mendicant preaching than to a Lollard sensibility, and Crane suggesting relationships between inarticulateness, illiteracy, lack of power, and written distortions or disdain of revolting masses who had no legitimate access to writing. In this intriguing article, the last in the volume, Crane reads a common sense of exploitation behind rebel attempts to act against the established discourse by erasing written documents, a parallel Crane then relates to Chaucer's Wife of Bath and the clerkly misogynist literature she attacks.

JO ANN HOEPPNER MORAN
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DAVID GARY SHAW. *The Creation of Community: The City of Wells in the Middle Ages*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 334. \$60.00.

With this study of the town of Wells, David Gary Shaw joins those historians who have made the examination of urban life and institutions in medieval England their specialty. Unlike many of his predecessors (and, indeed, contemporaries), however, it is not the large, sprawling city that attracts his attention but rather the small town, which, as he emphasizes in the introduction to this compact and provocative volume, demands close investigation because it is likely to have been more representative of medieval English urban experience than such a place as London or even Norwich. If he does not go so far as to claim Wells as a model of small towns, he does suggest that it is certainly indicative of other similar and even smaller-sized locales. Whether, in the final analysis, this book actually demonstrates Wells' "typicality" is a question each reader will have to answer individually, but for me, at least, the book demonstrates the difficulties of exploring any medieval town, and especially one served by as random and fragmented a body of records as Wells seems to be.

In eight chapters, Shaw attempts to cover a wide area of inquiry. He examines first the origins of Wells in the Anglo-Saxon period and its gradual evolution from a loose conglomeration of some twenty-seven hamlets into a more integrated settlement centered around, first, a monastery, and then, by the late twelfth century, a cathedral, when the town itself—with borough status—can be said to have truly come into existence. He then moves on to explore the changing size of the town. It never was very large, generally embracing a population of from 1,000 to 2,000, and lost demographic ground by the end of the fifteenth century. He focuses next on the economy of the town, ranging from a consideration of its occupations (some sixty-five at the end of the thirteenth century) to the shift in emphasis from the leather trade to wool and finally to cloth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In succeeding chapters he covers the relationship between the bur-

gess establishment and the bishops of Wells; the social history of the borough from the late fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century; the culture of the borough over roughly the same period (a chapter that is a virtual excursus on the meaning and nature of "community"); the non-citizen population and the poor, along with provisions for their care; and the place of the church in the life of the town.

His desire to embrace such a broad spectrum is commendable, his courage is admirable, and his achievement is genuinely impressive. Each chapter, however, is affected by the relative sparseness of source materials. There is precious little information on Wells prior to the mid-twelfth century, and even from that point on the sparseness of records is enough to cause problems. Convocation Books—the main record of the activities of the borough community itself—survive only from 1377 to 1500. There are few court roll materials and rentals or parish records, virtually no charters (at least from the evidence of the text), and no narrative sources. In addition, Shaw has chosen to concentrate his inquiry on the lay society of Wells, rather than the clerical, so he makes minimal use of those cathedral records that do exist, thereby intensifying the laconic nature of the remaining sources.

Throughout, the main focus of this study is an exploration of the nature of community itself, which Shaw would identify with a sense of group awareness and consciously articulated traditions. Thus, he seeks a more precise definition of community than that favored by, for example, Gervase Rosser. Shaw's book, therefore, is a study of a very specific community—the power group of the burgesses of Wells—while other possible "communities" are set aside. This quest for precision and sharp definition, including the meaning of the word "town," is a characteristic of the book. Thus, although he admits that farming and gardening will always be present in medieval population centers, Shaw insists that in "the true town these activities will always be distinctly auxiliary" (p. 43), thereby denying the label "town" to a number of places whose medieval inhabitants, not knowing any better, normally described the place where they lived as a "town" (for example, Godmanchester and Ramsey).

None of this is meant to slight Shaw's accomplishment. However much he is inclined to find absolute values for many of the terms currently tossed around by historians, he has written a book that deserves careful attention. It is a serious contribution to an ongoing discussion about the nature of medieval society. I look forward to his future work, on Wells or any other place. I also hope that now, freed from the scrutiny of a doctoral committee, he will have the opportunity to focus on any of the questions raised in his book, instead of trying to address each issue presently of concern to medieval scholars.

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J. I. CATTO and RALPH EVANS, editors. *The History of the University of Oxford*. Volume 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xlii, 823. \$160.00.

This volume is the fourth to appear of the planned eight volumes of *The History of the University of Oxford* and is the second in the series, concluding the study of the medieval period and looking toward the changes of the Tudors. Its 800-odd pages contain a wealth of material for late-medieval intellectual and social history, a collection that in its range and depth is unique not only among university histories of this period but also as an intensive study of a period insufficiently known as yet even to cultural historians.

The book presupposes information about the administrative organization of Oxford dealt with in volume 1 (*The Late Oxford Schools* [1984]), and it is divided into three topical sections: "The Learning of the Schools," "From Speculation to the Practical Arts," and "A Community of Learning," in the last of which there is a chapter by R. L. Storey dealing with governmental changes from 1450 to 1500. It is richly documented throughout, with photographs, maps, diagrams, and tables, and a remarkable "List of Unprinted Sources Cited" that, apart from its bibliographic value, forms a kind of gazetteer of the influence of medieval Oxford throughout the learned world. The index, like those previously published in this series, is extensive and meticulous.

W. A. Courtenay opens the first section with a clear and incisive account of Oxford theology and theologians from William Ockham to John Wycliffe, a chapter complemented by J. I. Catto's two opening chapters in the second section dealing with the more difficult and precarious times of Wycliffe and Wycliffism at Oxford to 1430, then with theology after Wycliffe. Together these studies form an essential account, in which much new material is to be found, of the development of Oxford theology in the later Middle Ages.

E. J. Ashworth and P. V. Spade deal with logic in late-medieval Oxford, and J. D. North with natural philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics. Following Catto's chapters already mentioned, the second section deals with the Faculties (law by J. L. Barton, arts by J. M. Fletcher, medicine by F. M. Getz, and music by F. L. Harrison), and it concludes with a remarkably interesting chapter on "the provision of books" in which M. B. Parkes challenges the view that in Oxford the *pecia* system was ever used as it was in Paris, by university stationers.

In the concluding section, Ralph Evans, co-editor of the volume, brings together materials on "the number, origins and careers" of scholars, some of it from articles already published in *Past and Present*, to indicate both the extent and limits of our knowledge of the medieval student body. Joining R. J. Faith, he then presents an excellent account of the place of the university in the medieval economy, using college

archives to examine financial management through changing agricultural and social circumstances. R. B. Dobson, in a full account of the place of the religious orders in the university from 1370 to the dissolution, contradicts persuasively the conventional wisdom that this commitment was waning in the later Middle Ages with convincing evidence that on the eve of the dissolution, the contribution of the orders to the intellectual and institutional life of the university was not only important but also, if anything, on the increase. Storey's chapter provides a vivid reminder of the university's quandary as an institution heavily dependent on "politic rule and governance" amid factional strife and civil war. A. B. Cobban takes the story of the secular colleges and halls from the foundation of New College to 1500, and J. H. Harvey deals with the history of architecture in the same period, when the influence of William of Wykeham dominates the scene, creating a unique contribution to the development of the perpendicular style nationally, and when the building of the remarkable Divinity School dominates the concerns of the university itself.

In the epilogue, Catto's reflections on "Scholars and Studies in Renaissance Oxford" deal with an issue lost in conventional historiography, the appearance in late-medieval Oxford of intellectual influences thought to be characteristic of the "Renaissance." Arguing for the growing professionalism of the university and its scholars, he perceives an assimilation of their career aspirations to the new humanist pedagogy in Mantua and Ferrara. In presenting as symptomatic of the time figures such as Thomas Netter OC with his collection of patristic texts, or Reginald Pecock in his questioning of the authenticity of the donation of Constantine, or Dr. Thomas Gascoigne, bibliophile and perhaps England's first professional university administrator, or William Worcester the antiquarian, Catto advances a subtle and convincing case for the effective implantation of intellectual and cultural ideals and aspirations that conventional historiography has tended to acknowledge only in milieux where direct connections with Italian influence can be determined. It is an original and illuminating essay that (with the rest of the volume) puts to rest any surviving notion of an ossified scholastic culture and forms a worthy conclusion to an excellent collection of scholarly investigations in which the interest and vitality of late-medieval Oxford is admirably portrayed.

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MODERN EUROPE

JOHN W. O'MALLEY. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 457. \$35.00.

In the first four decades of this century, Jesuit historians produced a comprehensive set of official ac-

counts of their order in the various regions of the world. These meticulous but inward-looking compendia reflected a Society of Jesus wedded to a sometimes grateful papacy and devoted to the defense of faith and church. The next half-century wrought great changes to both the church and the order. The Jesuits embraced Vatican II, with its ecumenical openness to all forms of spirituality and its passion for social justice. Lately, the order has often been at odds with a pope nostalgic for a more Tridentine past. John W. O'Malley, who as scholar, teacher, and administrator has seen these developments up close, in this important book offers an extended meditation on Jesuit roots that cannot but reflect this recent history.

This book is less a survey than an erudite reflection on the origins of the order which aims to recapture the Jesuits from their earlier historiography. O'Malley thus rarely cites the old standard works, even when on familiar ground. Rather, he forever returns to primary sources, putting old evidence to novel arguments. In his studies on Catholic humanism in the Roman high Renaissance (*Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court c. 1450–1521* [1979]), O'Malley celebrated a spirituality that found beauty in the world and promise in human nature. Such attitudes barely survived the Council of Trent and the concomitant repression. Tradition ties the Jesuits to Trent, the papacy, and the defense of hierarchy, thus to all that undid the earlier humanism. O'Malley strives to loosen these bonds of affinity. He therefore sees in the Jesuit cultivation of their own and their fellows' inner life a vestige of an earlier Catholicism more compatible with Christian humanism than with later trends. His Jesuits are papal champions *à contre cœur*: "Perhaps the most telling paradox of all was their cultivating fidelity to the divine inspiration within while defending the laws, institutions, and usages of the church" (p. 370). O'Malley stresses divergences from Trent, a council that championed bishops and parish clergy while Jesuits strove to elude the former and not to unburden the latter. He downplays the oath of obedience to the pope, arguing that it only reflected the fluid conditions of the primordial missions. He also tries to distance the Jesuits somewhat from the Inquisition, the bannings and burnings of books, the harassment of the Jews, and the war on heresy. He does not deny the order's participation in these developments, but argues that it did not lead but followed. O'Malley prefers to emphasize what he sees as a kind of applied humanism, the service of fellow Christians. He therefore stresses the *consueta ministeria*, both the works of charity, solace, and instruction and the countless schools.

O'Malley makes other changes as well. He somewhat demotes Ignatius of Loyola, who remains an inspiration, and traces much of the development of the order to his lieutenants, especially the assiduous Juan Polanco, his eternal secretary, and the ubiquitous Jerome Nadal, an ever-roving visitor. These two

men here figure as central to the routinization of the Jesuits, to their extraordinarily rapid transformation from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, from sect to semi-church. O'Malley also jettisons the triumphalism of the old historiography, and concedes defeats, compromises, swervings, and unexpected adaptations.

Despite all its revisionism, this remains a book about religion as seen from within. For all his familiarity with recent developments in the social history and the anthropology of early modern beliefs, practices, and values, O'Malley, like Erasmus, often treats piety, charity, love, loyalty, and zeal for learning as eternal qualities, discernible across transparent time.

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JILL RAITT. *The Colloquy of Montbéliard: Religion and Politics in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 226. \$45.00.

As the Genevan Reformed spokesmen prepared for the colloquy with the Württemberg Lutherans that was held in Montbéliard in 1586, they expected the discussions to revolve around the interpretation of the Eucharist, the issue that had divided them from the Lutherans since the initial decade of the Reformation. To their surprise, their counterparts in Tübingen insisted on placing on the agenda three other issues that now also separated the two groups: the nature of Christ, baptism, and predestination. This episode illustrates how the points of difference between Europe's religious families increased as confessionalization advanced during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

A French-speaking *apanage* of the duchy of Württemberg, Montbéliard had an ecclesiastical history marked by tension between local church traditions oriented toward Swiss models and pressures emanating from Stuttgart and Tübingen for adherence to Lutheran orthodoxy. Late in 1585, requests from newly arrived Huguenot refugees that they be admitted to communion without renouncing their French Reformed confession of faith prompted Count Frederick to take a new look at church policy. At the same time, Henry of Navarre was eager to see Lutheran-Reformed divisions overcome so that the German Protestant princes would be more eager to lend him support in the emerging struggle against the Catholic League. He encouraged Count Frederick's idea of arranging a parley between the leading theologians of Geneva and Tübingen, Theodore Beza and Jacob Andreae.

Jill Raitt's first two chapters spell out this background to the colloquy. In her book's three central chapters she provides a detailed exposition of the precise issues taken up at the discussion and the arguments advanced by the two chief interlocutors over the week of its course. Raitt is a historian of

theology, and she is at her best here, reducing discussions of daunting technical complexity to clear and helpful summaries. Her concluding chapters review the angry polemics provoked after the debate by the publication of partial accounts of its proceedings, and then look briefly at the religious politics of Montbéliard and France in the following years.

The participants approached the colloquy with little confidence that it would yield any agreement on the by-now long-controverted points at issue, and indeed it only increased their mutual dislike. Although Raitt remarks at one point that one might just as well expect water to flow uphill as expect theologians to agree, she generally—and probably wisely—represses the impulse to Voltairean irony that her story of long-winded theologians frustrating princely efforts at reunion might be expected to arouse. She is not always successful at developing a strong narrative line to guide her readers through the events she describes, and her failure to explicate the features of the colloquy itself or of the theological culture of the time that made agreement between the parties so unlikely yields a book that illuminates the dynamics of confessionalization less than it might have. All specialists in Reformation history will nonetheless be grateful for her book's careful exposition of the issues separating the two main wings of magisterial Protestantism by the late sixteenth century.

PHILIP BENEDICT
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NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS and ARLETTE FARGE, editors. *A History of Women in the West. Volume 3, Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 595. \$29.95.

This book, the third volume in a series edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, contains articles by seventeen scholars who have made remarkable contributions to the history of women in Europe. The research of Olwen Hufton, Martine Sonnet, Françoise Borin, Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, Claude Du-long, Nina Rattner Gelbart, Jean-Michel Sallmann, and Kathryn Norberg, to name a few, appears here in an abbreviated form. At first glance, one might be inclined to prefer reading these scholars' rich and highly focused monographs to the brief articles that span three centuries (the sixteenth through the eighteenth) and generally more than one country. To do so, however, would be to miss an opportunity to think about women's history in a larger context, to benefit from a superb bibliography, and to reflect on critical methodological issues whose resolution will shape the future of the field.

In their foreword, Duby and Perrot define the purpose of the series: to create a history of women seen from many different points of view; to summarize the results of recent research and to raise new questions; to bring the pleasures of history to new

readers. The editors of this volume, Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, have succeeded admirably in realizing these goals. The articles reveal with startling concreteness the contours of women's everyday lives, the discourse that framed their experience, and the efforts that some made to elude or rebel against cultural constraints. The apparently eclectic range of topics that includes work, beauty, religion, politics, literature, theater, medicine, journalism, and criminality is held in check by the editors' well-articulated views on how to conceptualize women's experience.

Davis and Farge frame their analysis of Renaissance and Enlightenment women in terms of paradoxes. The term paradox connotes complexity and requires one to acknowledge contradictory currents. Paradox takes many forms in this book. The simplest paradox is the tendency of Western culture to dichotomize woman. Thus, when analyzing female images appearing in medical texts, scandal sheets, and political cartoons, Borin observes that woman was depicted as both angel and devil, goddess and animal, life and death, Eve and Mary. Woman was nearly always denied an average, "normal" position.

A more complex paradox is that, although women were infinitely present and relentlessly discussed during the early modern period, they were presumed by contemporary male writers and later historians to be absent from the worlds of work, politics, philosophy, and mass protest. Davis and Farge emphasize that woman was not revealed but invented by male discourse. Rather than taking contemporary male discourse at face value, they advocate relating this discourse to knowledge of the reality of women's lives obtained in other ways.

By such an approach, Davis and Farge would transform women's history into a history of the relations between the sexes. They argue that these relations are not natural but socially constructed, and thus have a history. Tensions and conflicts between men and women, although recurrent, have changed in response to changing times and circumstances. To assume that women were always dominated and men were always oppressors is to fall victim to a myth that fails to recognize that women could make themselves active agents in history even though they suffered from inequality.

The articles in this book describe how women found room in which to maneuver despite being confined by norms, prohibitions, and controls. Debate, controversy, and countercurrents are documented in literary, philosophical, and medical texts, revealing how many different strands humanist and Enlightenment thought had and how dissenters could turn the arguments of prominent figures against them or use these arguments for their own ends.

Many of the historians, by exposing countercurrents, seem intent on provoking reassessments of commonly accepted opinion. This is the third form of paradox to be found in this book and probably the most discomfiting. Did the persecution of witches in

early modern Europe amount to a holocaust, or was witchcraft treated no differently than sodomy, a crime associated specifically with men? Sallmann asks the question, and the editors note that in Geneva from 1555 to 1678, fifty men were tried for sodomy and half of them were executed, compared with 318 persons tried for witchcraft, three-fourths of them women, of whom one-fifth were executed. Were prostitutes victims of male domination, or were they, as Norberg suggests, social insurgents bent on gaining autonomy by subverting the right of fathers and husbands to monopolize female sexuality?

A certain tension between the perspectives of some of the authors and the editors emerges as the final paradox in this book. Whereas Sonnet concludes her discussion of early modern education with the observation that an education limited to the rudiments of religion, the "three R's," and needlework severely restricted women's options for centuries, the editors laud the expansion of such schooling for enabling women to survive outside the marital system by becoming teachers. While Dulong characterizes the *salonnières* as invalids suffering from hypersensitivity, allergies, and phobias because they could not create, the editors exalt salons as places of intellectual and social promotion, where people unequal in education and rank could interact. Whereas Hufton underlines the wretched, volatile quality of the work of many women, the editors admire women's resourcefulness in adapting their labor to each phase of the life cycle from unmarried girl to wife to mother to widow.

Becoming attuned to another way of looking at things, listening to other voices, is an enormously challenging and stimulating task. This volume prompts us in some ways to think the unthinkable, imagine the unimaginable. Whether or not the sources will ultimately bear out all of the alternate interpretations remains unclear. In any case, in good Enlightenment fashion, the editors have demonstrated that one interpretation need not necessarily preclude another. In so doing, they have laid the foundation for the next stage of women's history.

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GRAHAM RICHARDS. *Mental Machinery: The Origins and Consequences of Psychological Ideas*. Volume 1, 1600–1850. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 490. \$49.95.

This is a challenging and insightful book, most likely to be of interest to scholars working in the history of psychology and related fields. On the basis of extensive research, Graham Richards, a British psychologist turned historian, has produced a panorama of psychological thinkers and thought from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The panorama is so vast that his treatment tends toward being episodic rather than continuous. In covering the nineteenth

century, it splits into separate discussions of national traditions—the British, the French, and the German—usefully highlighting differences, although at the expense of some similarities and overlaps. To Richards's considerable credit, his book goes beyond the typical recitation of great thinkers and their ideas to touch on lesser-known aspects of recognized works and to introduce some lesser-known figures. It also undercuts some of the well-worn assumptions about the founding thinkers of psychology, sometimes more effectively than others.

As for its core purpose, Richards's book is largely but not completely persuasive. His thesis is that psychological awareness and knowledge have been shaped by the evolution of psychological language, which (he claims) has been at the receiving end of a one-way continuum running from the external world to the inner person. Through an inward turn of a culturally dominant "physiomorphic," he argues, the mind was "mechanized." That is, the mind came to be experienced and understood through a set of mechanistic expressions, which were generated by means of metaphorical extrapolations from scientific discoveries, technological innovations, and sociological changes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the late nineteenth century, according to Richards, these inward-turned analogs had coalesced into a new psychological language that helped to bring about the discipline of psychology.

There is much to say for Richards's basic argument, which is all too succinctly summarized here. Clearly, metaphorical thinking has been a crucial factor in the evolution of the language, consciousness, and understanding of human experience. Yet Richards's too-exclusive focus on physiomorphic metaphors, as opposed to other types of metaphor, and his thesis about the invariability of the inward push of such metaphors, underestimate the complexity of the matter. Even if the mechanical view of nature was as singularly dominant as he suggests (and this is not clear), where did this view come from? What analogs inspired the scientific discoveries and technical devices to which he refers? And similarly, what accounted for the contemporaneous changes in the sociology of life? The analogies used by early natural philosophers, by later biologists, chemists, and physicists, by a variety of inventors, and by social theorists and reformers were frequently drawn from the human rather than physical sphere. "World language," as Richards calls it, often developed from expressions borrowed from what he calls "person language," so that the application of physiomorphic metaphors to "inner experience" often represented a homecoming of sorts: the return of originally human analogs, albeit in transmogrified form, to the realm from which they came. Indeed, the very concepts of "law" and "cause," so basic to the scientific world view, were drawn very long ago from human legal procedures. Natural philosophy—and its more recent descendant, natural science—is nothing if not a continual boot-

strapping operation, and the conceptual bootstraps—typically metaphorical—do not extend invariably from the inanimate to the animate realm. In fact, the story of modern history has as much to do with the subjectivization of the world as with the mechanization of the mind.

In sum, although Richards is correct in emphasizing the crucial influence of metaphors and of the cultural contexts in which they were shaped, the evidence and analyses he presents in this first of two planned volumes are not fully sufficient to the strong version of his thesis. A modified and more complex version might have been argued more successfully. In any case, if its core argument remains the same, Richards's promised second volume will carry a heavy burden of proof. Although central to his intentions, however, the ultimate success of Richards's thesis is not coterminous with his book's value. Readers ready and willing to sift and weigh the many interesting discussions in this book will be rewarded for their effort.

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LEONARDO BENEVOLO. *The European City*. Translated by CARL IPSEN. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xix, 243. \$24.95.

This volume is part of a series titled "The Making of Europe," a series that is distinctive for being the joint product of five European publishers in as many languages and for issuing short works intended for a wide public. Specialists invariably view small books on large topics with suspicion; few genres are attempted so often or succeed so rarely. A fellow sinner can appreciate the challenges Leonardo Benevolo faced whether or not one can completely endorse the result.

The author did not begin with a fresh sheet of paper. In 1975 he published a much larger book, in Italian, that appeared in English five years later as *The Story of the City* (1980). Despite the change in title, both that older book and the present volume focus largely—but not wholly—on Europe and European influences. Both are limited to the evolution of urban form and structure; that is, the physical city. They also share many illustrations, as well as ideas and examples. Finally, both accord more ample coverage to Mediterranean Europe and pre-industrial periods than to industrial urban developments and the north.

There are, of course, differences as well as similarities. The earlier study subordinated the text to a wealth of pictures. Individual cases, quite fully developed, took up the bulk of the book. This volume, with far fewer and smaller pages, ambitiously attempts to relate developments in urban form to larger processes of social, intellectual, and political change. Although still generous, the illustrations are now ancillary to the text and a good deal more modest in number and scale. For instance, whereas the author's

study of Venice included over forty illustrations (several in parts), here the "Hausmannization" of Paris, with five illustrations, is among the most extensive examples.

Because the interested reader can still consult the earlier, larger book, and is certain to profit from its expansive documentation and wealth of pictorial detail, the present volume must largely stand on the strength of its text. Here the reader will have to decide whether the nuggets of insight amid much tightly packed information outweigh the limitations due to compression and a rather wooden translation. Few, even among historians, will catch all the historical allusions that crowd into the discussion of cases. Complex arguments regarding, for example, the changing roles of art and science or how public and private initiative affected urban design can only be sketched in the few paragraphs allotted. Many will question the relative emphasis on monumental versus everyday urban spaces. And every reader will have to struggle with an elliptical, latin style that the translation does not manage to anglicize or to elucidate.

These criticisms should not cause readers to ignore the book's merits. Benevolo's cases are not all familiar; Pisa, Prague, and Palermo figure alongside Venice, Florence, and Paris. The big ideas are at least suggestive, the exhibits are instructive, and the erudition is impressive. A case in point occurs at the beginning of the book, when Benevolo offers the view that cities represent both a "motor pushing . . . ahead to the future and an anchor . . . to the past" (p. xv).

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MICHEL MOLLAT DU JOURDIN. *Europe and the Sea*. Translated by TERESA LAVENDER FAGAN. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xiii, 269. \$24.95.

Only infrequently do subject, interpretation, and style join in such appealing configurations as they do in this book. Ranging over 2,000 years of history and coursing along the entirety of Europe's coasts, Michel Mollat du Jourdin invites his reader to appreciate the role of the sea as measure and reflector of European culture. In a telling statistic, he reminds the reader that no European need travel more than 350 kilometers in order to swim in the sea.

Rather like the aerial descent on Istanbul, which he describes as personal experience, Mollat du Jourdin offers a compelling panorama of ever-intensifying seascape. The shape of ports, the cosmopolitan nature of maritime commerce, the importance of sea-yielding iodine and salt, and the literature and painting that have informed and enriched our picture of the sea are all there for consideration. They form the lines and the shadowing of what the author felicitously calls "the silhouette of Europe." That silhouette was formed in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries when, first, Mediterranean ships sailed out into the Atlantic and along the coasts, and then Northern European vessels reversed the process by sailing in.

Divided into two parts, this study proceeds from a geopolitical survey of the history of maritime development to topical consideration of the sea as a cultural determinant. If, along the way, mercantilism as sea-freighted doctrine is ignored while the architecture and sail configurations of the ocean-plying vessels that conveyed the likes of Ferdinand Magellan and James Cook around the world are slighted, the effect is negligible. Within the definitions of the series of which this study is a part, this book succeeds admirably. Written with poetic economy, containing a careful selection of quotations and examples by which to anchor the generalizations, this volume is a pleasure to read, the text conveyed by a fine translation.

No doubt the book's greatest appeal will be to those who have, as students, already followed the advice of Alfred Lord Tennyson's Ulysses: "Come, my friends/ 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world." For others who have not figuratively put out to sea, much of the text may seem epigrammatic. No one, however, will put this book down without an expression of great appreciation to the author who has elegantly embraced the seas that have floated European history as has been by no other.

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BRUNO NAARDEN. *Socialist Europe and Revolutionary Russia: Perception and Prejudice 1848–1923*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. 595. \$69.95.

Bruno Naarden's lengthy book consists of three rather disparate parts that differ among themselves in approach, method, and quality. First, there is a grand theory of relations between Russia and the West. Naarden argues that the attitude of Western socialists toward their Russian counterparts manifests a millennial tradition of perceiving and defining Russia as the "other"; whether admired or feared, this other world was not to be judged by the same standards as one's own community.

Second, Naarden offers a close examination of Marxist groups, both Western and Russian, and their mutual relations from the 1890s through the revolution of 1917. He examines ideological disputes and their implications, using as his main source the published works of the major disputants.

Finally, Naarden follows the fate of the two groups that moved to the center of his attention during the preceding section: Western "centrists" of the short-lived "Second-and-a-Half International" and the Russian Mensheviks. This final section is based on archival research, primarily the letters exchanged among the principal actors, most now housed in Amsterdam.

Naarden's attempt to frame his research with a general examination of Western stereotypes about

Russia, dating from Greek views of the Scythians, is the least successful part of the book. He had no choice but to draw on secondary material and his use of the information is both highly selective and unsubtle. The overstatements and inaccuracies in this portion of the book undermine rather than enhance the far more valuable section on Social Democracy, East and West.

In this volume many thinkers, Western and Russian, argue about revolution and democracy, war and peace, the labor movement and the intelligentsia. Although an entire literature is devoted to disputes among Marxists, Naarden brings to the task of exegesis a vigorous anti-Marxism combined with an impressive skill at deciphering the meaning of the texts. There is dramatic conflict here as some Russian socialists, primarily those who would eventually establish Menshevism as a separate ideological tendency, attempted to establish their position on a fully Western and gradualist basis, while their Western mentors were quite content to support the revolutionism of populists and Bolsheviks. In effect, Westerners hoped that revolution in Russia would stimulate the European movement, whatever the outcome for the Russians themselves. They were thus working at cross-purposes with their most devoted disciples, who wished the Russian movement to be as solid and as ethical in its methods as they perceived German Social Democracy to be. In the course of this analysis, Naarden also nicely deconstructs both Marxism and the Western socialist movement (especially on pp. 85–93).

Only in the last years before World War I did some Western Marxists, the most prominent of whom was Karl Kautsky, adopt the Menshevik view of V. I. Lenin, revolution, and democracy. Out of this awareness emerged "centrism," a "less optimistic" current between revolutionism and reformism, which perceived that revolution and socialism were not synonymous: "The revolution would not achieve socialism if it came too early, if the proletariat was not sufficiently prepared, or if it was badly led" (p. 258).

In 1917, the revolution did come, and, in Kautsky's, Iulii Martov's, and Naarden's view, it brought neither socialism nor democracy. The last portion of Naarden's book deals with institutional changes in the West—the establishment of the Third and "Second-and-a-Half" Internationals and the rise and fall of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany—while in Russia the Mensheviks tried to chart a course in the new circumstances. It is gloomy reading and, although solid and worthy, this section lacks the intellectual excitement of the prerevolutionary material.

Throughout, Naarden's work focuses on statements by socialist leaders. The relationship between the issues he discusses and the revolutionary events of 1917 is never clarified. Thus, although the reader may share Naarden's irritation at the obtuseness and insensitivity of Western Marxists, it is not clear that

this made any difference to the outcome of events in Russia.

Naarden has not been well served in the production of this book. The translation is frequently awkward and occasionally incomprehensible. The footnotes (at the back) often cover a broad subject and cite a group of authorities, with full titles given only in the bibliography. At times it is quite impossible to link a particular statement to a specific authority. The book is also poorly bound; several pages were loose in the review copy.

JUDITH ZIMMERMAN
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MOIRA DONALD. *Marxism and Revolution: Karl Kautsky and the Russian Marxists 1900–1924*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 324. \$35.00.

Moira Donald elaborates on a point that many of those familiar with the international socialist movement before 1914 may not resist as much as she thinks: that Karl Kautsky, the most influential theorist of Marxism after Friedrich Engels's death, developed theoretical positions much closer to those of V. I. Lenin than later recognized, especially once Kautsky had been denounced as a "renegade" by the Bolsheviks. Donald demonstrates that even a few of the closest students of Russian social democracy and of Kautsky have not adequately recognized this point.

How significant a point is this? There is room for honest differences in that regard. To some readers a topic so narrow, spread over nearly three hundred pages, will appear to be like the proverbial doctoral dissertation that tells us more than we care to know about a subject. Such detractors may also note some familiar problems in this volume: repetition, laborious attention to minor points, and a reticence to leave out anything found in the primary sources. The rough-edged feel of a dissertation is there, too, in stylistic matters, the many little things that a copy editor (was there one?) should have remedied: inconsistent formatting, typographical errors, dangling modifiers, independent clauses separated only by a comma, and stylistic eccentricities (for example, the too-frequent resort to clauses beginning with "whilst," oddly archaic to the American eye, making this minor stylistic bad habit all the more noticeable).

The arcane theoretical controversies of the Russian social democrats in the generation before the Bolshevik revolution have been the subject of countless studies. Those debates have qualified for many as something akin to a sacred narrative (or demonology). Whether that aura can survive the recent collapse of the Soviet empire remains to be seen. Donald, who began her research on this volume in 1980, watched the whole thing unravel while she was writing.

Donald may have lost a large part of her potential audience in the process, but for those who remain

interested she is a competent, judicious guide. She is intimately familiar with the sprawling literature, both primary and secondary, in Russian and German. She offers a number of those useful correctives that provide the rationale for having a work published. For example, some scholars have been inclined to dismiss such constructions as the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as typical of Lenin's bizarre mental habits, but Donald shows their remarkable similarity to Kautsky's ideas about how a bourgeois revolution in Russia might develop (and, indeed, how close other Russian Marxists were to Lenin on this point). Donald presents us with a Lenin whose theories in a broad range of other regards resemble those of leading Marxists, Russian and German, pace Richard Pipes (whose work Donald sees as especially in need of correctives). Even personally, Donald persuasively documents, Lenin was not the aberrant or marginal figure prior to 1917 that many works describe. He was, to be sure, awesomely single-minded, impossibly quarrelsome, a splitter, a conspirator, and a Machiavellian, but so were the others—whether Menshevik, Bolshevik, or somewhere in between—to a greater extent than is often recognized.

Not all experts in the field will agree with Donald, and some no doubt will disagree vehemently; the hope for a "last word" on a historical subject, that laughable dream of nineteenth-century historians, becomes almost unbearably comical in the history of Russian Marxism. One of Donald's peculiar, sentence-long section headings states: "Kautsky is misunderstood by the Russians, and the Russians are misunderstood" (p. 62). Donald concludes that Kautsky "never clearly understood the differences between the two factions [Menshevik and Bolshevik]" (pp. 66–67), and scholars thereafter, even with the benefit of hindsight and years of calm study, have also failed to understand the differences. How odd it all is: the most influential Marxist of the day failed to understand, and that failure has been endlessly repeated. And this has occurred in a field where the role of intellectuals, and of "correct understanding," was considered of great importance. It has parallels in the plethora of volumes, from which anything but a consensus has emerged, about "what Marx really meant." For those who continue to have hopes for the role of the intellectual and ideology in politics, it is cause for renewed reflection.

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JOHN NEUBAUER. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 288. \$30.00.

"The world about and above us, which directed all its thoughts only to the fetish of security, did not like

youth." So lamented Stefan Zweig in his autobiography, *Die Welt von Gestern* (1942). Reading the memoirs or the avant-garde novels of *fin-de-siècle* Europeans, studying the period's art movements, especially those associations that deliberately sought to move away from the older and conservative aesthetic visions (the various *Secessions*, the Fauves, *Brücke*) to new and radical formulae, reveals the familiar litany of generational revolt. World War I certainly aggravated the confrontation between youth and adult. John Neubauer, whose previous work described eighteenth-century theories of music, tackles the literature of adolescence at the turn of the century. He arranges his chapters by topic, discussing literary and visual representations of adolescent groups, adolescents at school, in the streets, and at church; the psychology of adolescence, including homosexuality; and female sexuality. But has the author succeeded in capturing the youthful moment through his exploration of literature, art, and adolescent institutions?

A reader may be initially puzzled by the author's frank introductory admission that while the volume "explores historical and cultural aspects of adolescence . . . these were not my original concerns, nor are they the central issues for me today." He further admits that he "can no longer reconstruct the original motives for embarking on this project" (p. xiii). One comes away from the book with similar misgivings. Although there is a richness and variety to the materials employed, there appears to be, simultaneously, a haphazard, almost random quality to Neubauer's account. He intersperses selected quotations on and about adolescence from well-known turn-of-the-century writers such as Frank Wedekind, Thomas Mann, Rudyard Kipling, Robert Musil, and Maurice Barres, along with relatively obscure authors such as Lodewijk van Deyssel and Zsigmond Moricz. This randomness is further accentuated by what seems to be an afterthought in chapters 9 and 10. Therein he discusses several social and educational institutions of European adolescence, such as the Boy Scouts, the German *Wandervögel*, and school systems, but in extremely cursory fashion. The author suggests the novelty of *fin-de-siècle* constructions of adolescence, contrasting them to the earlier absence of these literary, aesthetic, and social constructions. Yet the examples and arguments Neubauer has advanced are not entirely convincing.

Neubauer has sought to isolate those characteristics peculiar to late-nineteenth-century adolescence, such as peer-group pressure, emerging sexuality, or juvenile delinquency. His treatment, however, lacks historicity. He acknowledges the problematic nature of scholars' search for alternative models of cultural history: "the attempt to bridge the gap between literary text and context—among them reception theory, readers' response theory, New Historicism, neo-Marxism, Jonathan Culler's theory of literary conventions, Peter Bürger's theory of literary institutions, and Stanley Fish's interpretive communities—

remain methodologically problematic" (p. 205). His approach, however, does not appear to displace the alternative models. And despite its focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the author's literary and visual examples, there is a timeless quality to several examples he selected. One of the sources cited is George Orwell's essay "Boy's Weeklies": "The year is 1910—or 1940, but it is all the same . . . Everything will be the same for ever and ever" (p. 89). If it is "all the same," what is particularly distinctive about *fin-de-siècle* literary and visual representations of adolescence?

Why did the literary and artistic self-categorization of youth have such resonance in pre-World War I Europe? What is unique in consciously representing this period in one's life? One of Neubauer's major arguments rests on the theory that social scientists later converted literary and artistic musings and fictional observations about adolescence into hypotheses to advance scientific ideas regarding human development. Here, too, the argument is casually advanced with many caveats included.

One can read this book as a linked series of essays rather than as a tightly constructed theory. Neubauer ends by rightly suggesting that texts obviously do not merely "reflect" society, but that they can shape the social construction of that society as well. Although the volume contains some interesting and useful observations and literary examples of this social construction, one comes away disappointed at the looseness and incoherence of this important theme, a theme that has been more successfully tackled in some earlier, now classic works such as Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (1979) and Robert Wohl's *Generation of 1914* (1979).

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MICHAEL BERKOWITZ. *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 255. \$49.95.

Histories of Zionism have hitherto focused either on the variety of Zionist ideologies or on the political development of the Zionist movement. Michael Berkowitz, however, seeks to examine the early history of the Zionist movement from a previously unexplored angle: how the movement consciously "invented" a new Jewish national culture, to use Eric Hobsbawm's term, and subsequently propagated this culture, especially among West European Jews (Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* [1983]). The task of "inventing" a Zionist culture was a formidable one. Unlike other European nationalist movements, Jews lacked a territory and had not had one for centuries. At the same time, the Zionists completely rejected nearly every aspect of contemporary Jewish culture. They disdained the

assimilation of West European Jews as a craven betrayal of Jewish national identity and as politically unviable given the intractability of anti-Semitism. At the same time, they scorned the ghettoized existence of East European Jews as politically passive and out of touch with mainstream European culture. The task the Zionists set for themselves, therefore, was to create a new Jewish culture that would allow Jews to enter the modern world, thus achieving true emancipation, while retaining a distinctive Jewish identity, now to be defined in national rather than religious terms. Whereas ideology served as one vehicle for the dissemination of this new culture, Berkowitz, picking up on a theme raised by Carl E. Schorske in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1979), argues that myths and symbols were no less potent cultural transmitters. These myths and symbols, represented through visual imagery as well as the spoken and written word, enabled Zionism to depict itself simultaneously as harbinger of the future and standard-bearer of the Jewish past.

What were the principal myths and symbols of the early Zionist movement and how were they represented? Several were quite obvious attempts to rebut anti-Semitic stereotypes. The theme of "muscular Jewry," the notion that Jews had to become physically strong like their gentile neighbors, in contrast to the anti-Semitic stereotype of them as weak and effeminate, figured prominently in early Zionist rhetoric and gave rise to the creation of Jewish gymnastic societies throughout Central Europe. Another Zionist myth designed to disprove anti-Semitic stereotypes was that Jews, once settled in their own land, would turn to productive trades in manual labor and agriculture, leaving behind forever their parasitical diaspora pursuits of commerce and finance. Not surprisingly, the "new Jew" of the Yishuv, the Jewish settlement in Palestine, was almost always depicted as a farmer or craftsman.

By far the most fascinating visual images that Berkowitz analyzes, however, were those that reflected the duality of Zionist goals, the ways in which the movement sought to reconcile its modernist aspirations with its desire to read itself into the mainstream of Jewish tradition. Pictorial representations of Theodor Herzl himself were ideally suited to convey these dual aspirations. As Berkowitz explains, "the Herzl portraits were both forward and backward looking: his beard and visage placed him squarely in the recollection and idealization of traditional Judaism, while his gaze was directed toward the future" (p. 135). At the same time, Herzl's handsome and masculine appearance served to rebut the anti-Semitic stereotype of the ugly, effeminate Jew, while his messianic visage stirred unconscious longings for salvation among the Jewish masses. Representations of the new Jewish existence in the Yishuv, which figured prominently on postcards, travelogues, and fund-raising materials, also evoked past and future simultaneously. Images of youthful Jewish farmers

and artisans were frequently juxtaposed with those of an older generation of mournful, elderly Jews engrossed in prayer. Although Berkowitz suggests that such images were perhaps designed to appeal to religious traditionalists, it is more likely, as he acknowledges, that their aim was to show the new healthy Jewish life of the Yishuv supplanting the travails of Jewish diaspora existence. Either way, however, the Zionists were clearly seeking to portray themselves not as rebels against Jewish tradition, but as that tradition's rightful heirs.

By having complemented his study of Zionist rhetoric with an exploration of visual imagery, Berkowitz has greatly enriched our understanding of the formation of Zionist culture prior to World War I. His analysis, however, has several weaknesses. One of Berkowitz's major subthemes is that the Zionist movement was far more unified over cultural questions than previous historiography has suggested. According to most interpretations, the early movement was racked by dissension between the political Zionists, led by Herzl, who believed the chief priority was to secure diplomatic recognition for a Jewish political entity in Palestine, and the cultural Zionists, followers of Ahad Ha-Am, who argued that a strong Jewish cultural center in Palestine had to precede the creation of a Jewish state. Berkowitz argues that these differences have been vastly overblown, and as evidence he adduces the fact that these two factions cooperated in the creation and propagation of the movement's unifying myths and symbols. Although some degree of consensus had to have existed, since otherwise these people could not have participated in the same movement, Berkowitz has gone too far in minimizing these ideological rifts. Despite the fact that Herzl did eventually drop his opposition to Hebrew culture, he never believed it had any inherent value, as Berkowitz suggests. For Herzl, Hebrew culture was of importance exclusively as a propaganda tool. Similarly, although the members of the Democratic faction, as the adherents of cultural Zionism were called, ultimately accepted the notion of statehood, for most of them diplomatic considerations always remained secondary. Moreover, the fact that the Democratic faction eventually dissolved was less a sign that they had dropped their differences with the political Zionists, as Berkowitz suggests, than that their program emerged victorious after the failure of Herzl's diplomatic efforts and his death in 1904. Ultimately, the cooperation of these two groups in the dissemination of Zionist myths and symbols tells us little about whether genuine consensus existed. Indeed, had such consensus prevailed, it is difficult to see why these unifying myths and symbols were necessary in the first place.

Furthermore, it is not clear why this study of Zionist culture is limited to West European Jewry. Although Berkowitz claims the propaganda he has examined was consciously aimed at winning support

among Western Jews, there is no proof that this was the case. Zionism was a minority movement in Eastern Europe as well, and there is no reason to believe that the movement limited its propaganda efforts to Western Jews or that the nature of the propaganda directed at them differed from that targeted at East European audiences. Themes such as the movement's stress on enlightenment values and education would have appealed to East European intellectual elites, eager to escape their Jewish cultural ghettos, as well as to Western Jews who wanted Zionism to reflect Western liberal values. Hence, although Berkowitz may have examined only propaganda aimed at Western audiences, it would be useful to know whether that propaganda differed from that disseminated in the East.

Finally, while examining the content of Zionist propaganda is important, it is also necessary to ask how successful this propaganda effort was. Who actually read these journals and periodicals? Who sent these Zionist postcards? How much money did the Jewish National Fund raise during these years, and which Jewish constituencies contributed the most? Moreover, if many of these efforts were in fact directed primarily at Western Jews, it would be helpful to know how many Western Jews actually supported the movement. Berkowitz provides absolutely no figures on the sizes of the various West European delegations to the World Zionist Congresses, and, as we know, many of these delegations were composed of large contingents of East European immigrants.

These shortcomings aside, Berkowitz is almost certainly correct in his hypothesis that through the medium of these myths and symbols, the Zionist movement implanted an image of the Yishuv in the minds of the majority of Western Jews by the time of World War I, a remarkable achievement given that at the turn of the century only a few Jews had even an inkling of what Jewish life in Palestine was like. Thus, in considering the factors that gave rise to a Jewish national home under the British mandate, and ultimately the creation of the state, Berkowitz shows that these cultural efforts were no less significant than the diplomatic maneuverings of Herzl and Chaim Weizmann. Moreover, by having mined the rich and previously unexplored field of visual imagery, Berkowitz has made a major methodological contribution that undoubtedly will inspire other historians to turn to non-literary sources to raise new questions and reconsider old ones in a new light.

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P. J. CAIN and A. G. HOPKINS. *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914*. New York: Longman. 1993. Pp. xv, 504.

P. J. CAIN and A. G. HOPKINS. *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914–1990*. New York: Longman. 1993. Pp. xiv, 337.

These two books must be considered together. They share two central arguments. First, the growth of the financial service sector in London, and not the development of manufacturing industry elsewhere in Britain, is the key to understanding British overseas expansion. Second, because British imperialism has to be understood in terms of an international trading system centered on London and mediated by sterling, its study cannot be confined to the formal empire under direct British control, but must be extended to include other areas of the world (such as South America, the Middle East, and China) where the British—sometimes successfully, sometimes not—shaped affairs according to their imperial design.

"Gentlemanly capitalism" is the pivotal concept of these works. The gentlemanly order, as defined by P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, developed in England after the Revolution Settlement of 1688. New educational and social ties brought landed gentlemen into close touch with City bankers and a service sector that included insurance, the professions, communications, distribution, transport, and the civil service. This union of landed and service wealth eventually produced a new gentlemanly capitalist class, an amalgam of the world of acceptable business (finance and commerce) with politicians whose wealth and power derived from the land. Gentlemen capitalists adhered to a model of an elite dedicated to public service who promoted a sense of national solidarity focused on the monarchy, disdained those engaged in the mundane world of work and money, and instead involved themselves in approved capitalist activities in relation to land, finance, and associated businesses of high repute. Such people operated according to certain "rules of the game." The basic ones were that sovereign debts should be honored among countries as among gentlemen and that free trade should prevail, not so much to meet the demands of industrial interests for new markets as to ensure the smooth flow of international payments. Debtors must have the means to repay, which meant keeping the British market open to enable the white dominions, India, the South American republics, and the African colonies to earn the necessary sterling to meet their obligations. In sum, the major objective of British imperialism in its heyday, which Cain and Hopkins consider extended up to and after World War II, was to secure returns on capital investments rather than markets for British manufactures. By the late 1950s, however, policy makers calculated that the City, and invisible earnings generally, had more to gain from opportunities provided by a wider world than by the empire. As the value of the imperial component of the sterling area diminished, so did the economic obstacles to decolonization. Once the empire had outlived its *raison d'être*, it could be dispensed with.

It is not possible to do full justice to these stimulating works in a short review. The scholarship is solid, with an astonishing range of sources quoted in the extensive footnotes. One can surely concede the au-

thors' claim that they have attempted to set their interpretation of imperialism in the context of the existing literature and that they have provided an adequate if compressed account of the voluminous research the subject has generated. Their own interpretation is clear throughout: that imperialism served the needs of British finance, not of British industry. This theme is argued forcefully and consistently. Yet the very clarity of this explanation of the purpose of British imperialism and the single-minded pursuit of the theme lend a precision to this picture of the empire and its working that it never really had. There is little place in this analysis for the human factor, or indeed any other factor. Instead Cain and Hopkins provide a one-dimensional view of a topic far more complex than the machinations of rather abstract City bankers. I found their arguments less convincing for my own area of expertise, India, than for other parts of the empire—formal and informal—and I suspect that historians of Africa or Argentina, for example, may find the same.

In the end, however, this is a work of major importance. It complements the findings of Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback, who demonstrated that the empire was not profitable for most of British business but only for shareholders in a limited number of companies. These shareholders were mostly the elites of British society and business people in the City (*Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire* [1986]). Cain and Hopkins provide a critique of imperialism that will oblige all interested in the topic to argue their positions anew. Its scope is impressive, both in the period of time covered and in the area considered. It will revive the argument about informal empire developed by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher forty years ago, although the term means something different in this study. It will also renew debate over the role of finance capital originated by J. A. Hobson at the beginning of the century, although again the term is used here in a different sense. In sum, it will appeal to historians of Africa, China, India, the Middle East, and South America as well as those interested in imperialism in a more general sense. The response of those historians to the thesis advanced in these books, however, is likely to be as diverse as the regions covered.

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ROBERT THOMAS FALLON. *Milton in Government*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 288. \$42.50

In March 1649 John Milton was appointed by the newly established English republican Commonwealth as its Council of State's secretary for foreign languages. This office, which he doubtless owed not only to personal connections but also to his authorship of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), a defense

of regicide and the right of revolution, involved him in numerous functions. Its basic responsibility, however, was the drafting and translation into Latin of the republic's diplomatic communications with foreign states. Milton continued to hold this position for almost eleven years, during both the Commonwealth and the Cromwellian Protectorate, relinquishing it only a few months before the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in May 1660. Robert T. Fallon's book presents a fresh and painstaking review of this aspect of Milton's career in order to ascertain the full extent of his diplomatic activity as Latin secretary.

To carry out this task, Fallon has made a careful study of both Milton's published letters of state (contained in several printed collections) and of the English government's diplomatic correspondence and negotiations during the period of the interregnum. This investigation has led him to hold that Milton was much more involved in the preparation of official documents relating to foreign affairs than biographers and literary scholars have given him credit for. In particular, he has concluded that Milton wrote many more diplomatic letters than editors of his prose works have attributed to him and that even after the onset of total blindness in 1652 and other adversities, he remained more actively engaged than has been supposed in his duties as Latin secretary. In the course of presenting these conclusions, Fallon also gives a description of the secretarial organization and personnel of the interregnum governments, as well as a summary of the latter's foreign relations and treaties with various states. Among the appendixes is one that usefully lists all Milton's printed letters of state chronologically and by country and another containing an additional list of diplomatic documents that Fallon thinks can probably or certainly be credited to Milton.

Fallon also devotes one chapter, not too relevant to his subject, to Milton's political opinions and tracts in 1659–60. This survey includes several questionable judgments. Fallon pictures Milton as more favorable to the Protectorate than was probably the case. Milton's writings in 1659–60, such as *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* and *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, strongly suggest that he felt growing disappointment with the Protectorate, although he never recanted his admiration for Cromwell's personal greatness as a virtuous leader. When the republican Milton expressed his opposition in *The Readie and Easie Way* to rule by a "single person," he did not mean only kingship, as Fallon believes. He had equally in mind a government like the Protectorate, in which supreme authority, according to its founding charter, was vested in a single person and Parliament. Fallon also surprisingly characterizes Milton as a political realist, a misreading that ignores the poet's extreme political and religious idealism and apocalyptic expectations for his country at the beginning of the English revolution, only to be followed during the

later 1640s and the interregnum by increasing disillusionment with the English people and parliaments.

In previous chapters Fallon several times quotes without any reservation the disparaging opinion attributed to Milton that the members of the Commonwealth's Council of State were mostly mechanics and soldiers inexperienced in public and political affairs. Milton was reported to have made this statement in 1651 in conversation with the Count of Oldenburg's diplomatic agent, who recorded it. If he actually said this, and we are entitled to wonder, he was certainly wrong. Of the forty-one members of the Council of State in 1651, most were gentlemen who had been active in local government, while over half had attended Oxford or Cambridge and the Inns of Court. More than a few, moreover, had probably traveled abroad.

This book represents an approach and choice of subject quite remote from the prevailing interests in contemporary Milton studies, which are dominated by literary theory, deconstructionism, feminism, and the new historicism. Although it adds nothing new to our understanding of the poet's politics or his work as an artist, it does show better than before the extent of his participation in the preparation of the English government's diplomatic documents and also identifies a number of new letters of state assignable to his pen. Since Milton devoted over a decade of his life to public office, it is useful to have this scholarly amplification of the record of his activity in the conduct of foreign affairs by the revolutionary regimes that replaced the deposed English monarchy.

PEREZ ZAGORIN
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RICHARD L. GREAVES. *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688–89*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 465. \$49.50.

This is the third and final volume of Richard L. Greaves's study of British radicals from the Restoration of 1660 to the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89. It is indeed a study of a large number of individual radicals rather than a study of radicalism in any intellectual, social, economic, or institutional sense. Neither is it biographical in its approach. Greaves offers instead a factual accounting of a great deal of plotting by a large number of individuals, many of whom are barely, if at all, known to the average student or even scholar of the period. Although each volume has been published separately, all have a similar format. Each contributes to Greaves's general assertion that those who fought for the "Good Old Cause" of a parliamentary commonwealth during the Puritan Revolution did not face extinction in 1660. Many of the same men, joined by new ones, continued the radical tradition at least until the Glorious Revolution. (Caroline Robbins, in her *Eighteenth-Cen-*

tury Commonwealth [1959], showed that radical ideas, if not plots, survived through the next century.)

The volume under review centers on those involved in the Rye House Plot of 1683, the very existence of which has been denied by some historians. The plot called for the assassination of Charles II and his brother James, the duke of York. The plot was seen as necessary because of the earlier failure of radicals to exclude James as heir to the throne. The exclusion effort had itself been accompanied by the so-called Popish Plot. Greaves readily admits that there was no such plot, and then proceeds to investigate the Rye House Plot, moving from a plot that all agree did not exist to one that may well have existed but never came off. Greaves cites as proof that there was a Rye House Plot the fact that the dukes of Argyle and Monmouth launched invasions of Scotland and England in 1685. If they did that in 1685, Greaves suggests, they must have wanted to rebel in 1683. From there he moves to the Glorious Revolution. That it was the work of the same kind of radicals as the Rye House Plot is questionable.

In spite of all opposition, James came to the throne in 1685 and was shortly confronted by two rebellions by the duke of Argyle in Scotland and the duke of Monmouth in England. Greaves describes some of the individuals involved in planning the invasions, but then passes over them in a few sentences. He is really interested only in the work of a few conspirators. The wider story does not concern him.

Greaves admits that the invitation to William of Orange in 1688 was not the work of his few radicals. In fact a quarter century of plotting had achieved nothing. All the plots led to was a government crack-down on opposition. Three men of wider historical interest figure in the story: the earl of Shaftesbury, who failed to exclude James and died in exile; Algernon Sidney, eventually convicted and executed; and John Locke. Other than stating that Locke was one of the radicals, Greaves almost totally ignores him and his writings.

This is a disappointing book. A vast amount of research has gone into it. The book is almost totally based on primary sources. But what do we learn from it in the end? Little to change our views on any of the great issues of this most fascinating period in the life of the English-speaking peoples.

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LAWRENCE STONE. *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England 1660–1857*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 355. \$35.00.

Lawrence Stone over the past thirty years has published 3,600 pages in seven volumes on the history of the English aristocratic family since the sixteenth

century. The work has been more or less evenly divided between the function of these families as a ruling elite and the nature of their interior lives as families. His history of the family comes in two parts: a big book on romantic love and companionate marriage in the eighteenth century, and three volumes on marital dissolution in the same century, one of which is the volume under review. The first volume in the divorce trilogy (*Road to Divorce: England, 1530–1887* [1990]) studied divorce law in the two centuries before the Act of 1857, which took jurisdiction in these causes away from the ecclesiastical courts and gave it to the common law courts. Stone's evidence in this volume came mainly from the printed law reports that had been conspicuously absent from his big book on marriage. He also used some manuscript materials from the Court of Arches, which was the ecclesiastical appeals court for the province of Canterbury and covered southern England. The second volume in the trilogy (*Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England, 1660–1753* [1992]) was a series of case studies of the irregular forms of marriage that existed between 1660 and the passage of the Marriage Act in 1753 that established a single legal form of marriage. Most of the material was drawn from the Court of Arches, but there were a few cases from other consistory courts.

The present volume is composed of a dozen divorce cases heard between 1660 and 1857. Eleven of them are from the Arches court, seven entirely so, with four others supplemented with pamphlet material. In a twelfth case, the divorce of the duke and duchess of Grafton, there is a cache of private correspondence that provides an intimacy of understanding not possible in any of the other cases. Six of the marriages were made before 1750, six after, with the last of them in 1812. This distribution cannot have been accidental. It was after 1750 that romantic marriage and domesticity came to prevail among elite families and that there arose the ideal of divorce for incompatibility that Roderick Phillips (*Putting Asunder* [1988]) has documented for most of Western Europe and North America. The twelve case studies are, therefore, one supposes (Stone does not actually say), intended to show the situation before and after 1750; but the second six cases take up twice the space of the others, largely because two are extremely detailed. One of these, the Middleton case, produced a larger documentation than any other, and is apparently being made into a film for public television. It is the story of a Roman Catholic gentlewoman who after years of what seemed like a happy marriage of the modern kind, fell passionately in love with her groom, declaring that she "never knew what love was until I knew him" (p. 190).

Stone clearly likes these adulterous wives. Seven of his cases deal with them. He usually interprets them as the unleashing of powerful female libidos, but this is not a very satisfactory explanation. The number of these cases also creates a false impression as to their

incidence in the court system as a whole. Certainly before 1750 in the London consistory court, which was the busiest court and must have provided the Arches with most of its appeals (Stone and I discovered in 1979 that he had begun to work on one court and I on the other), the majority of cases were brought by women against their husbands for cruelty. But only three of Stone's cases before 1750 are for cruelty. It is true that after 1750 in the London court the number of cases brought by women declined as those brought by husbands against adulterous wives increased, but this needs careful interpretation. The Grafton and the Middleton cases together do raise interesting questions about differences between male and female adultery and their relationship to romantic marriage after 1750. They suggest that men may have combined romance and sexual desire from the beginning of their marriages, but that women became conscious of desire only after they had experienced sexual relations in marriage, coming (as William Simon and John Gagnon have put it) first to heterosociality and only later to heterosexuality. Stone ends with the case in which Lady Westmeath sought to have her husband's adultery viewed as equivalent to adultery in a woman and tried unsuccessfully to keep custody of her child.

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BRIDGET HILL. *The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catharine Macaulay, Historian*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1992. Pp. vi, 263. \$55.00.

Much celebrated and much maligned in her lifetime, Catharine Macaulay, eighteenth-century historian, political radical, and proto-feminist, quickly faded into historical oblivion as did her younger contemporary, Mary Wollstonecraft, and for much the same reasons. The demeanor, publications, and personal lives of both simultaneously defied and confirmed gender stereotypes, prompting derisive and self-righteous attacks that undermined their reputations. Wollstonecraft was rescued some time ago from the "dustbin of history" by feminist literary scholars, but Macaulay has remained an obscure reference in studies of English radicalism during the first decades of George III's reign. Bridget Hill's study of the "republican virago" not only "reclaims" this "remarkable woman" but also places her exactly where she belongs, in the pantheon of "important historical figure[s] whose writings . . . influenced English radicalism" as well as American and French revolutionary ideas (pp. 3–4).

Contributing to Macaulay's elusiveness is the paucity of personal papers. Hill reconstructs her life from occasional references in the diaries and correspondence of contemporaries, commentary and critiques

in periodicals and newspapers (although the latter could be more heavily mined, particularly during the years of Macaulay's greatest celebrity), and Macaulay's writings. Although Hill subtitled her book the "life and times of Catharine Macaulay, historian," she avoids the temptation to pad her slim volume with extended commentary on the milieu in which Macaulay operated, wisely preferring, in this first full-length treatment of the historian, to keep her clearly in focus. Hill is particularly effective in challenging the longstanding assumption, rooted in a Horace Walpole anecdote, that Macaulay's history of seventeenth-century England is an inferior piece of work. An extraordinary achievement, and not just by dint of the author's sex, the eight-volume work constituted "an important landmark" (p. 31) in the articulation of the popular radical myth that Anglo-Saxon institutions and liberties were subverted by the Norman Conquest. Based on extensive research into hitherto unused Civil War tracts, the "widely read" and "widely praised" work manifested a "dry wit, shrewd judgment, a strong moral approach, and considerable humanity" (p. 49). Hill's discussion of the *History's* impact on French revolutionaries like Mirabeau, Brissot de Warville, and Madame Roland suggests there may well have been more cross-fertilization between English and French radicals than previously appreciated. By contrast, Hill's surprisingly abbreviated discussion of the dynamic between Macaulay and American patriots is disappointingly derivative.

Hill nicely defines the challenges Macaulay confronted as a "woman in a man's world," noting that in "her determination to let no social convention interfere with what she wanted to do and say . . . [Macaulay] was unique" (p. 147). Periodically problematic, however, is Hill's recourse to gender stereotypes as she attempts to gloss some of the more controversial episodes in Macaulay's career. Although commenting that Macaulay was a "shrewd judge of character" (p. 32) and conducted herself as if she were the "equal of men" (p. 148), Hill makes the unsubstantiated assertion that Macaulay was "ill-prepared" to cope with the role of wealthy widow and thus, "without considering its implications and inherent dangers," she "naively" (pp. 105–06) agreed to live with the octogenarian Thomas Wilson in his Bath home where he feted her at a widely lampooned birthday party. To explain Macaulay's participation in this obsequious event, Hill characterizes her as "ill prepared to cope with fame," "surprisingly unsure of herself," and desperately needing "encouragement and acceptance" (p. 99). And in discussing Macaulay's republicanism, Hill is inclined to cast her not as mentor or peer, but as pupil, indebted to her brother, to Thomas Hollis, and to other Commonwealthmen.

Clearly, Macaulay's sex complicates any interpretation of her extraordinary career, threatening to diminish our appreciation of her real significance in the development of English radicalism. Hill underscores

this pitfall. If she does not always avoid it, she does ably frame issues that warrant further discussion as this "important historical character" (p. 249) emerges from the periphery of eighteenth-century studies.

CARLA H. HAY
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IAN GILMOUR. *Riot, Risings and Revolution: Governance and Violence in Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Pimlico; distributed by University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. 1993. Pp. viii, 504. \$19.95.

Ian Gilmour, the Tory politician sacked by Margaret Thatcher in the fall of 1982 over differing approaches to the municipal rebellions of Toxteth and Brixton as well as to unemployment policies (for which he was labeled a "wet"), has written a scintillating survey of eighteenth-century English history that explores the relationship between government and violence, but not (alas!) between government and wealth. It is thus an indirect, deep-rooted, and anything but dry apologia for the paternal policies of government that he has espoused.

The traditional nature of his project is clear from the structure and style of the book. Part 1 considers actual episodes of violence, dynastic and religious, from the Glorious Revolution (was it either?) to the Jacobite Forty-Five. "An aristocratic revolution had produced an aristocratic state," he summarizes with typical pith (p. 37). Departing from a chronological framework in part 2, he offers eight chapters that take up specific types of violence, such as food riots, cruelty to animals, the press gang, election skulduggery, and dueling. Part 3 resumes the chronological narrative under that old chestnut, "Avoiding Revolution." Gilmour exhibits his fondness for Edmund Burke, his sympathies for George III, and his disdain for Tom Paine. He writes in a clever, paradoxical style that owes as much to the formulas of eloquence of the House of Commons as to the elegant periods of Augustan prose. The wit is light, the irony is familiar, the sarcasm is savage.

Although he has read broadly in a generation of social history of the eighteenth century, the conception of his theme is narrow. Ireland is wholly omitted, at least until 1798. The slave trade is mentioned two or three times, usually in association with the Game Laws. The West Indies is quite out of his view, as is India. Imperial warfare is not considered integral to violence or even peripheral to it. These extraordinary omissions permit him to remark that "the English aristocracy and gentry had lost the habit of using violence" (p. 116). His notion of England is entirely insular, yet the majority of English people, its poor and working subjects, are conceived as a different race and at one point quite seriously as "another country, like the Scottish Highlanders and the Irish Catholics" (p. 175). Gilmour never doubts that England belongs to its landholders. Hence there is no

chapter on enclosures. The violence of men against women and the violence of grown-ups against children is largely absent. The reader will not find anything about industrial pathology or the violence integral to the capitalist manufacture of cloths, textiles, coal, minerals, pottery, bread, grain, books, and Brummagen ware. This is social history with the economics left out. Despite the fact that the longest chapter in the book is on the 1760s and "Wilkes and Liberty," in vain does a reader search for the London wage and price struggles that resulted in a general strike in 1768.

Such omissions are perhaps not unexpected and they should not detract from the strength of the book (also the strength of the politician): an unwavering opposition to the violence of the criminal law, especially hanging. "Judicial terror" or "judicial murder," as he calls capital punishment, helped to ensconce the Whig oligarchy and the Hanoverian dynasty. Twenty-five were hanged on trumped-up charges during the Popish Plot. Thirteen were hanged after Thomas Venner's tiny rising. The Bloody Assize of Lord Chief Justice George Jeffreys after Monmouth's Rebellion tried 1,336 prisoners in nine sitting days. They confessed and they were hanged, as the saying went. He hanged more than 250 by process of law, not counting the hundreds who were summarily executed. Forty were hanged after the Jacobite rising of 1715; 120 were hanged after that of 1745, including sixty of General Hawley's own troops. Thirty-five smugglers were hanged in 1748. In 1786 and 1788 in London fifteen were hanged on one day. "The true hangman," said Sir William Meredith, was "the member of Parliament," a fact that Gilmour can unashamedly acknowledge.

PETER LINEBAUGH
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JANET SEMPLE. *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 344. \$60.00.

In 1785 Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) visited his younger brother Samuel, a civil engineer, who was in Russia building ships for Catherine the Great. To compensate for a shortage of skilled men to supervise his poorly trained work force, Samuel had devised a plan that consisted of a large circular building of several stories. Workrooms around the circumference surrounded a central inspection tower. A large window on the outside wall of each workroom enabled a supervisor in the central tower to see into each one while remaining invisible himself.

Jeremy became convinced that this invention should be adopted for English convicts. He named it the Panopticon and described it in a letter home, which he later supplemented with lengthy "post-scripts" adding many details and refinements, not only to the building but also to his ideal prison

regime. In 1791, he sent William Pitt, the prime minister, a proposal for a Panopticon to house 1,000 inmates. Bentham intended to run the prison himself, paying the costs of maintaining the prisoners but keeping all profits from their labor. Although Pitt's administration actually accepted this proposal and obtained an act authorizing the purchase of land for the building, the scheme soon became mired in difficulties. For twenty years Bentham struggled without success to build his prison. His effort was frustrated by a series of powerful landowners who did not want such a structure in their backyards and encouraged government ministers to drag their feet.

To Bentham, this bitter experience came to symbolize all that was wrong with the British system of government: secret cabals, self-interested administration, sloth, nepotism, the bartering of influence, the concentration of power in the hands of a few, and the tradition of secrecy. He devoted the rest of his life to the creation of a government that would be free from these deficiencies, a system that would be open, fair, democratic, and efficient. To later critics, however, Bentham's Panopticon anticipated and encapsulated all the evils of the totalitarian modern state: pervasive surveillance, cradle-to-grave state intervention in all activities, the reduction of human life to its economic value, and a disregard for liberty.

Drawing on many unpublished manuscripts, Janet Semple's book offers a complete, well-organized, and lucid account of the Panopticon project and a fresh assessment of its value. On the whole, the assessment is judicious, although much of the story is told from Bentham's point of view. At some points, greater familiarity with penal history and the practical difficulties of prison administration would have helped. The greatest flaw of the book is its failure to appreciate just how unlikely it was that Bentham's scheme could have succeeded. For hundreds of years Western societies have tried to wring a profit from convict labor, but few of these efforts have come close to breaking even. Even in the prison hulks of Bentham's day, where the costs of housing, food, and supervision were pared to a brutal minimum, convicts' labor covered less than two-fifths of the cost of their maintenance (W. Branch Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks* [1970], p. 27). It is unlikely that the most gifted prison warden could have made a success of the Panopticon and inconceivable that Bentham, an armchair philosopher who had never even managed a household, could have directed such an enterprise. Indeed, the men whose delaying tactics inspired Bentham's savage and effective campaign against the establishment probably saved him from a disastrous and degrading life. They abraded his ego, but sharpened his pen.

Nevertheless, this is a very rewarding book that steadily becomes richer and more fascinating as it progresses. One of the more amusing themes is the effort by Bentham and Samuel Wilberforce to use each other for their own purposes: Bentham wanted Wilberforce to champion the Panopticon in Parlia-

ment while Wilberforce sought to convert Bentham to evangelicalism, surely a forlorn hope.

Bentham's project emerges as far more ambitious and idiosyncratic, even bizarre, than most accounts have suggested, but at the same time Semple shows that it was taken seriously by many otherwise level-headed and competent reformers and even by some in the government. Moreover, many of the innovations that appeared strangest at the time anticipated later developments.

This book addresses many themes of interest to social and intellectual historians of this era and would be enjoyed by a wide range of readers, from students to scholars.

MARGARET DELACY

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ANDREW SCULL. *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain, 1700–1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 442. \$45.00.

In 1979, Andrew Scull's *Museums of Madness* challenged historians of psychiatry to rethink complacent assumptions about the reform of lunatic asylums and the treatment of the insane in nineteenth-century England. Now he has reissued that challenge under a new title, with extensive footnotes to augment the sometimes inadequate citations of the original volume. More than a decade of further reading in primary sources and secondary works has contributed to the expansion of the study and produced what Scull calls an "extensive reworking of [the] original text" (p. xvi).

That description is not altogether accurate. Most of the original text has been incorporated verbatim into the new volume. Although much new material has been added, a significant proportion is relegated to the footnotes, where, for example, the reader has to look for any sustained commentary on recent feminist contributions to the history of psychiatry. Furthermore, as he acknowledges, Scull's fundamental beliefs about the malign impact of the Victorian lunacy-reform movement, and the conclusions these beliefs prompted him to adopt, remain unaltered. With, if anything, intensified anger, Scull recounts the development of mammoth custodial asylums whose institutional needs took precedence over those of patients; of a psychiatric profession more determined to secure monopolistic control over the treatment of lunatics than to cure insanity; and of a capitalist market economy that relentlessly prompted the changes in public attitudes toward madness, which, he claims, fueled all these processes. Scull's story still features social control as the paramount motive for the behavior of authority figures, and he insists that humanitarian concerns served as a smoke screen for selfish interests.

Much in this account is powerful and persuasive. Scull's prose occasionally achieves a chilling intensity,

as when he dubs the inmates of late-Victorian asylums "dead souls in cemeteries for the still breathing" (p. 332). His refusal to accept a rosy view of nineteenth-century lunacy reform is fully justified. A rallying cry that struck an original note in 1979, however, today sounds a little flat. Scholars hardly need instructions to look beyond "the rhetoric of intentions" and to inquire "what a more searching examination of the historical record reveals about the establishment and operation of the new apparatus for the social control of the mad" (p. 3). Thanks in part to Scull himself, that examination dominated the history of psychiatry for a period during the 1980s, but the most painstaking and original work in the field now seeks a more nuanced reading of Victorian developments.

Scull makes a gesture in that direction. In a new passage, he describes nineteenth-century lunacy reform as "Janus-faced," embodying "structural tensions between repression and rehabilitation" that only gradually resolved themselves in favor of the former (p. 379). He even faults some critics of psychiatry for veering so sharply away from the official professional histories that they become blind to the few redeeming features Victorian asylums possessed. Yet Scull himself seems unwilling to depict any of those institutions and their medical superintendents in a favorable light. When he reports, for example, that the Lunacy Commissioners took extreme pains to investigate suicides and sudden deaths among asylum patients, Scull remarks that this policy tended "to stifle initiative and innovation on the part of the asylum doctors, and to foster a dull, protective environment" (p. 306).

Certain that Victorian asylums became dumping grounds for the community's most troublesome members and that society's growing intolerance of nonconformity proceeded in step with psychiatry's imperialist program for professional expansion, Scull never stops to question seriously the generalizations that have informed this work since its first appearance. Surprisingly for a historical sociologist, he betrays only a vague sense of Victorian class distinctions. He is content frequently to invoke the "English ruling classes," the "English elite," or the "upper classes" as if they formed an undifferentiated mass functioning in unison to suppress all threats to their hegemony. Although this volume presents a finished canvas where *Museums of Madness* offered only a sketch, the underlying design is the same, and it still needs more shades of gray to become a fully convincing picture.

JANET OPPENHEIM
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DAVID H. SOLKIN. *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London. 1993. Pp. 312. \$55.00.

In attempting to locate the production of visual culture within a shifting discourse of politeness, this study of eighteenth-century British painting finds a way to open an area of art history that has been a stronghold for the discipline's insular tendencies. Here painting is not ensconced in a separate sphere reserved for art, but participates in a complex process of negotiation that sought to reconcile the acceleration of commerce and consumption with the established ideology of civic humanism. David H. Solkin shows how this process was reproduced and readjusted through different institutions and social interests, and through multiple forms of representation: textual and visual, art historical icons and images that the discipline has relegated to the "minor arts." He tackles his materials in suggestive ways, interweaving the representational strategies of diverse genres of painting (conversation pieces, history paintings, scenes of "low life") with the priorities of diverse audiences (the gentlemen's club, the pleasure garden, hospitals, art exhibitions, the Royal Academy). There are a number of interlinking threads, the main one being the formation of a public space that, defined in terms of refined social exchange, managed to secure individual private interests. It is at the crucial intersection between visual representation and what Henri Lefebvre called "the production of space" (*The Production of Space* [1991]) that this book does much of its work.

The analysis of discursive formations is of course not new, and Solkin's book is indebted to literary and cultural criticism, in particular to John Barrell's work on the relationship between eighteenth-century British art theory and the ideology of civic humanism (*Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt* [1986]). But Solkin does not simply fill in the historical and visual gaps in Barrell's intellectual history. Nor is his contribution limited to the confines of art history. What this study confirms is that visual representation is too important to leave to a disengaged discipline or to fit into literary theory. Solkin is most effective when addressing pictorial vocabularies, as in his discussion of the different strategies used in conversation-piece portraiture that served to rework notions of social cohesion so crucial to commercial interests. He considers mid-eighteenth-century history painting (and its tendency to blur differences between public history painting and private portraiture) from the position of both a broader and more commercially viable audience for public art and individual painters who now faced the conflicting demands of the marketplace and new art institutions.

Solkin shows that the push to promote the visual arts as autonomous (and not simply at the service of other institutions) both overlapped and was in conflict with the ways in which visibility came to be foregrounded in the refashioning of public subjectivity. The Royal Academy may have reinstated the centrality of an ideal classical model, but new viewing practices came to privilege individual sensibility and com-

passion over stoic heroism precisely because they brought visibility to the particular units rather than to the ideal whole. Solkin pursues this strand of his argument most successfully in relation to a group of paintings by Joseph Wright of Derby that art historians have tended to see as marginal. In an excellent analysis of Wright of Derby's *Three Persons Viewing the Gladiator by Candlelight* (1765), Solkin demonstrates how specific notions of visibility and visual representation intersect in setting up the distinctions (between the potential for change of the modern and the transcendence of the classical) and reconciling the contradictions (the particularities of individuals and a cohesive society) that produced not simply a new genre of painting but also a different social configuration.

Even with such a wide array of issues, Solkin offers a clear, well-knit argument and hence a very readable book. Yet it is not without its drawbacks. Solkin keeps his argument firmly focused on the discourse of politeness and, although he explores its contradictory strategies, he is less willing to engage with conflicting or alternative discourses. Traces of these alternatives do emerge even in his choice of materials, as in the case of the supper-boxes of Vauxhall Gardens, where paintings representing popular games were consumed undistinguished from the food and drink. But this and other such instances are viewed as evidence that "this process of transmutation was as yet incomplete" (p. 148). Within this one particular discourse, the representation is of an inevitable top-down circulation of culture, all forms of the "popular" in the process of being overthrown, or at best incorporated as contradictions, in a newly emergent elite culture. Thus, although the book seeks to expose what was at stake in eighteenth-century reformulations of cultural hierarchies, its conclusions stay well within art history's own hierarchies, in particular the discipline's long-standing commitment to a developmental model for the arts and a static and polarized notion of elite and popular culture. Ironically, this is the legacy of the situation that Solkin so persuasively plots out by the conclusion of his book: the establishment of a division between those who would now be classified as a mass of passive consumers and those who, with the foundation of the Royal Academy, declared themselves as the defenders of high culture.

ROSE MARIE SAN JUAN
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GEOFFREY TIMMINS. *The Last Shift: The Decline of Handloom Weaving in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 253. \$69.95.

As cotton manufacture expanded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, thousands of small farmers were seduced by high wages to become handloom weavers. Their subsequent displacement and tragic fall into poverty has been the subject of

much historical discussion and debate. Regardless of the subtitle, this book is about the survival, not the decline, of hand weaving. It is a historiographical masterpiece in which Geoffrey Timmins drives a bulldozer (sometimes less than persuasively) into the arena of historical debate.

Timmins breaks new ground by using occupational data from parish register entries to uncover the extent of hand weaving from district to district in Lancashire in 1818–22, and then census enumerators' schedules from 1851–71 to determine how long the trade survived. Parish registers confirm 150,000 to 190,000 persons engaged in hand weaving in Lancashire in 1821, and census returns suggest as many as 77,000 were still employed in the trade in 1851. These facts lead Timmins to question the notion that a sudden cataclysm occurred beginning in the later 1820s. He argues that the 1840s was the critical decade, although he is unable to quantify this with the same precision with which he established the rising and falling points. Nevertheless, he extends the history of hand weaving by several decades, suggesting that the decline was much more gradual than heretofore acknowledged.

Timmins shows that the power loom's importance came a decade or so later than ordinarily claimed. The power loom was not economical until improvements allowed the production of cheaper grade cottons and until an upturn in trade in the 1840s made investment practical. With regard to the thesis that the perpetuation of outwork was due to an oversupply of labor, he warns against overstating the influence of labor availability in perpetuating outwork or in delaying technological change. He suggests that one reason weavers stayed at their trade was to uphold workplace freedom and the family working group. To them the factory was an immoral environment.

Timmins uses trade directories, patent submissions, and census data to show the number of hand-weaver dwellings in certain villages, how weavers prolonged their trade by shifting to other fabrics, and how children of weavers followed their parents' trade. He demonstrates most interestingly how growth of the trade varied among districts and among large towns. Although Manchester and its satellites (Bolton, Rochdale, Oldham, and Bury) accounted for 40 percent of hand weavers, the trade became localized in certain upland pastoral districts where advantage was taken of underemployment and partible inheritance. Here hand weaving became most heavily concentrated, and the building of tens of thousands of hand-weaving houses gave an architectural face to nineteenth-century Lancashire.

Some may quibble with Timmins's use of parish and census records, but perhaps the most bothersome aspect of the book is the absence of any discussion of how the decimation of labor power contributed to the decline of hand weaving, an argument set forth many years ago by E. P. Thompson. Furthermore, it is

unfortunate that Timmins's fine scholarship did not encounter a more meticulous publisher: misspellings, tables without sufficient explanation, a map that does not fulfill claims made in the text (p. 57), a misleading chapter title (chap. 2), and so on make for confusion and weaken the argument. The uplands/lowlands model is abandoned when analyzing the statistical data in later chapters and some data simply are poorly presented (for instance, Table 5.2 does not indicate what is meant by percentages; Table 5.1 leaves the reader confused about estimates and ranges; and Table 6.2 does not show, as claimed, that cotton weaving declined). Furthermore, some of the tables appear unsuitable to Timmins's argument (such as Table 4.1, where the data do not match the book's conclusions). Timmins also pushes some of his data beyond the limit of their validity. Indeed, in some places good old anecdotal and literary evidence prove the most convincing.

Overall, Timmins has harvested much that is new about the handloom weavers. The message is clear: the Lancashire textile industry is no exception to the current view that the early nineteenth-century economy was one of low-level and slow technological change, considerable diversity within industries, and heavy and prolonged use of outwork. This book is a significant contribution to the subject.

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DERMOT QUINN. *Patronage and Piety: The Politics of English Roman Catholicism, 1850–1900*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 277. \$42.50.

This book examines how Catholic politics worked and how English politics responded to it between 1850 and 1900. Dermot Quinn shows that patronage, not merely piety, was a dynamic of Catholic politics: Catholics, too, desired political rewards. He draws on an impressive variety of manuscript sources in the Bodleian Library and the British Library as well as official publications, newspapers, periodicals, and the secondary literature. His style is lively, although harsh at times. For example, Quinn concludes of William Ewart Gladstone's first ministry (1868–74): "Such were the acerbities prompted by six years in the company of Catholics and their problems" (p. 31). He is harder on Catholics than on politicians!

A crucial factor in the English political response to Catholics was that Protestant votes outweighed Catholic votes. Neither Tory nor Liberal was inclined to favor Catholics if it would cost Protestant support. Anti-Catholicism, moreover, remained an ugly fact of life in late-nineteenth-century England. Politicians, knowing that such prejudice could win votes, on occasion played to it, as Quinn shows in detail. English Catholic politicians often overestimated the significance of the Catholic vote. At times, consequently, they blustered; at other times they carried favor.

Quinn's rhetoric, however, sometimes goes astray. "Quixotic" appears so frequently in his narrative that the usage itself becomes a bit quixotic.

Three of the last four chapters of the book center on the political careers of Lord Ripon, a Catholic Liberal, and the Duke of Norfolk, a Catholic Tory. Quinn shows that the Catholic vote was neither unitary nor national; the reality was altogether more complicated. Ripon or Norfolk might deliver some Catholic votes, but they could by no means deliver the entire Catholic vote. Nor could Archbishop Henry Edward Manning, whose relations with Benjamin Disraeli during Disraeli's second ministry (1874–80), discussed in chapter 5, make interesting reading. Manning's social-reform activities, however, are not treated. How did Disraeli view them? Quinn treats Ripon more sympathetically than Norfolk: he views the one as a competent professional in politics, the other as an eager amateur.

Anti-Catholicism continued in the 1890s and early 1900s. When a Catholic—Stuart Knill—became lord mayor of London in 1892, neither Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rosebery, nor John Morley went to the lord mayor's dinner, as Lewis Harcourt recorded in his journal. A eucharistic procession in London in 1908 was prohibited. Ripon had long recognized that English Catholics overestimated the significance of the Catholic vote and that anti-Catholicism was a factor in English politics. Still, the prohibition produced his resignation from H. H. Asquith's government. Quinn rightly views Norfolk as a lesser figure in politics than Ripon, but he is sometimes unduly harsh toward Norfolk, as when he writes: "He went to great lengths to protect his good name, suggesting perhaps how little he deserved it" (pp. 173–74) and "Norfolk had much pride but little shame" (p. 174). Despite such flights of rhetoric, this is a good book.

WILLIAM SCHOENL
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NAYANA GORADIA. *Lord Curzon: The Last of the British Moghuls*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 309. \$27.00.

In the historiography of the 200 years of British imperial rule in India no proconsul has been so extensively written about as Lord Curzon, the imperious viceroy whose administration from 1898 to 1905 has long been regarded as the high-water mark of the Raj. Nayana Goradia does not indicate precisely why she undertook this latest study, although her treatment focuses heavily on Curzon's character and personal life. In any case, it is a novelty to have an Indian scholar and a female write a biography of this conceited, male-chauvinistic, blue-blooded aristocrat who was so heavily denigrated by Indian public opinion in his lifetime and has been treated little better in subsequent nationalist historiography. What-

ever her motives, Goradia has presented a well-informed, lively, interesting, highly readable, and remarkably balanced account of Curzon's life. While she rarely engages the existing scholarship on Curzon, the text and notes reveal that she is conversant with it, although it is surprising that she makes no explicit reference to David Dilk's thorough two-volume study *Curzon in India* (1969). She has also delved deeply into Curzon's voluminous private papers and those of his close contemporaries.

The book opens with a prologue that provides an insightful and dramatic account of how the prime ministership of Britain eluded Curzon in 1923 because his ingrained superiority complex deluded him into thinking he could stay above political infighting. The first six chapters focus on his family background, youth, and education at Eton and Oxford, Goradia's most significant contribution being a convincing argument that Curzon received far more loving nurturing from his parents than has been conventionally thought. Chapter 7 focuses on his well-publicized Asian travels in the 1880s and early 1890s, and chapter 8 recounts the familiar story of his courtship and marriage to Mary Leiter, the beautiful daughter of a Chicago millionaire.

The remaining nine chapters and the epilogue deal with the Curzons in India. The chapter on the princes demonstrates his well-known penchant for pomp and ceremony, and another shows how he forthrightly tackled several notorious cases of European racial abuse against Indians. The chapters on the partition of Bengal and his well-known and fateful conflict with Commander-in-Chief Herbert Kitchener are informative and balanced. There is, however, little new in this Indian material. Overall, Goradia confirms the conventional view that Curzon's major setbacks were due to his inflated ego.

The book has a few minor errors in areas with which I am especially familiar. The initials for Cotton (p. 143) are H. J. S.; the date of A. O. Hume's Indian retirement (p. 125) should be 1894, and he was dismissed from the secretaryship (p. 126) by Lord Lytton and not Lord Ripon. There is also some distortion in the implication that Hume killed "100 rebels" during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (p. 126). Hume recruited an Indian irregular force that was involved in several armed clashes, but how many deaths he was personally involved with is unclear in the records.

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ROSEMARY O'DAY and DAVID ENGLANDER. *Mr. Charles Booth's Inquiry: Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambleton. 1993. Pp. viii, 246. \$60.00.

Rosemary O'Day and David Englander's book is a work of recovery. The authors, members of the

Charles Booth Research Group, want to provide a coherent account of the previously little-known large archive of diaries, notes, and other documents that lie behind Charles Booth's seventeen-volume *The Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902–03) so that historians and others may use them: "The object here is not to assess the worth of the printed survey . . . but to discuss the making of this survey in the light of the archive" (p. 9). They also want to rescue Booth's reputation as a social investigator from critics both in his own time and in ours, in particular his biographers T. S. Simey and M. B. Simey (*Charles Booth: Social Scientist* [1960]). They conclude that Booth's work "should be seen less as a starting point of contemporary sociological inquiry, more as a unique form of investigative reporting which was altogether more ambitious in scope and grander in spirit than the modern social survey" (pp. 23–24). About his intentions and research they conclude that "his relativistic concept of poverty was grounded in the testimony of working people as well as in the statements of teachers, philanthropists, clergy and the other authorities whom he consulted" (p. 8).

In order to demonstrate these conclusions, O'Day and Englander painstakingly reconstruct from the archive and other sources a narrative of what motivated Booth, what influenced him, the collaborative way the research and writing was done for each of the three series—on poverty, industry, and religion—and considerable information about his collaborators. In the process they produce not only a survey of the archival material but also a glimpse into the "world, little known to historians, of professional or semi-professional researchers," particularly women (p. 12).

The strengths of the book are obvious, both in the opening up of the archive for future scholars and in the thoroughness with which the authors construct the making of Booth's work and reevaluate his intentions and achievements. Since their judgment is based on the archive rather than the printed record, however, there is an odd tension in the book: praise for the intentions and sources coupled with a kind of regret that Booth did not produce different and, yes, better books from these sources. As O'Day and Englander admit, "there was a discrepancy between his presentational skills and his technical accomplishments" (p. 22).

Furthermore, in the effort to rehabilitate Booth's reputation, the authors are not content with a thoroughly documented reconstruction of his preparation and methods. They feel they must also criticize his competition, in particular Beatrice Webb and Sidney Webb and Henry Mayhew (who is like a ghost hovering over much of this book). This part of their project is less successful and, furthermore, unnecessary. They dismiss Mayhew's surveys, for example, as "sensational" (pp. 37, 62, 95), but they never justify this judgment, which seems to be based on Mayhew's survey being published journalistically. If they are going to introduce Mayhew's work at all, they have an

obligation to say more than this. More to the point, they do not need to make such comparisons, because their reconstruction of Booth's work from the archives is enough in and of itself to prove the thoroughness of preparation and investigation that lay behind the printed volumes and to mandate a reevaluation of Booth's place in the late-Victorian intellectual scene.

This book achieves its goal of making clear what lies behind Booth's printed texts and provides a useful source of information about the archive for those scholars working in the field of late-nineteenth-century social history, for which we should all be grateful.

ANNE HUMPHERYS

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PETER WEILER. *Ernest Bevin*. (Lives of the Left.) New York: Manchester University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 232. \$69.95.

This excellent study of Ernest Bevin is perhaps the most impressive of the twenty volumes published thus far in Manchester University Press' "Lives of the Left," a series of concise biographies of prominent figures in the European and American labor movements. Peter Weiler has the daunting task of following in the wake of Alan Bullock's monumental three-volume biography of the massive figure who dominated British trade unionism in the first half of the twentieth century and served from 1945–51 as foreign secretary in the Labour government. In a scholarly work ten times the length of Weiler's, Bullock detailed every aspect of Bevin's career with his customary narrative skill, but his account was laced with partisan piety. Bullock belongs to the generation of Labour loyalists for whom Bevin, staunch defender of working-class interests during World War II and architect of the postwar Atlantic alliance, remains a hero. Writing with post-Cold War hindsight, Weiler is far more critical, especially of Bevin's handling of foreign affairs, a focus of Weiler's own earlier *British Labour and the Cold War* (1988).

Weiler situates Bevin within the complementary traditions of labourism and corporatism. Born into extreme poverty and orphaned in childhood, Bevin developed a heightened sense of deprivation and injustice, but he became convinced that accommodation to the capitalist system would do more to foster the well-being of fellow workers than direct action to overthrow it. As he progressed from delivery boy to general secretary of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, he looked to organized labor to protect the interests of workers, not through coercive strikes, but by means of negotiations underpinned by a growing movement. The abortive General Strike of 1926, which demonstrated that capital and the state were more resistant to

economic concessions than Bevin had anticipated, confirmed his sense that militancy was ineffective. From then on Bevin was instrumental in steering British trade unionism on a corporatist course, seeking partnership with employers and the state, exchanging industrial peace for tangible concessions that would end the exclusion of workers from equal citizenship. Calling himself a "revolutionary conservative" (p. 23), Bevin clung to the view that economic conflict could be resolved rationally and that the capitalist system would operate more efficiently if workers were treated decently.

This policy achieved fruition during World War II when Bevin, as minister of Labour, mobilized the working class—male and female—for the war effort, managing in the process to raise wages, expand welfare facilities, improve living standards, and establish much of the administrative framework for post-war industrial relations. In this he continued to trust trade unions and collective bargaining, thereby fostering the kind of corporatist industrial order that he had endorsed since the end of World War I.

If Weiler sees Bevin's stewardship of working-class interests as an unqualified success, he is far less charitable about Bevin's term at the Foreign Office. Bullock depicted a visionary statesman who, recognizing that American involvement was crucial to European recovery, was instrumental in promoting the Marshall Plan and NATO; Weiler, in contrast, sees Bevin as narrow-minded and prejudiced, exaggerating the Soviet threat, and unrealistically seeking to maintain Britain as a world power in friendly rivalry with the United States. His egotistical propensity to label opposition to his policy treachery overcame the more balanced perspectives of Clement Attlee and Hugh Dalton, dispelling the possibility of compromise in Germany and Eastern Europe. His old-fashioned nationalism led him to promote British interests in the Middle East, socialism proving no obstacle to an "imperial vision [that] differed only slightly from that of Lord Curzon or Winston Churchill" (p. 186). But after 1945 the world role that Bevin espoused was no longer viable unless underwritten by Washington. Weiler contends that rearmament, by diverting resources from private industry, hastened Britain's economic decline, while the reliance on the chimerical "special relationship" with the United States helped to isolate Britain, a lost opportunity whose consequence was slower modernization and delayed membership in the European community.

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FERENC MORTON SZASZ. *British Scientists and the Manhattan Project: The Los Alamos Years*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xx, 167. \$45.00.

Why write a book on the limited topic of British scientists at Los Alamos during World War II? It is

not as if their story remains untold. The official U.S. report (the "Smyth Report," 1945) eventually carried an appendix describing British contributions, popular science writer Ronald Clark told the British side of the story in *The Birth of the Bomb* (1961), and Atomic Energy Authority historian Margaret Gowing presented the official version in *Britain and Atomic Energy, 1939–1945* (1964). But to the world at large the Manhattan Project remains an American accomplishment.

Ferenc Morton Szasz's goal is not to present new information or even different interpretations; he simply wants to promote the correct understanding that construction of the atomic bomb was a multinational endeavor. His focus is narrowly on British activity at Los Alamos. Szasz thus skims through the work done in England and deliberately ignores research in Canada and other American sites where scientists from Britain worked. He expands the time period, however, discussing matters up to the present.

The British contingent was small, numbering only about two dozen men. They began to arrive in New Mexico in December 1943, about nine months after the bomb laboratory opened. First came Otto Frisch and Ernest Titterton, and soon thereafter James Chadwick, Rudolf Peierls, Philip Moon, George Placzek, Geoffrey I. Taylor, Joseph Rotblat, James Tuck, William Penney, J. Carson Mark, Klaus Fuchs, Egon Bretscher, Niels Bohr, and several younger scientists. It was an extremely talented group, including more than a few refugees from the Continent. They were integrated into all activities at Los Alamos except plutonium chemistry.

Szasz argues that British contributions were essential to the construction of uranium-235 and plutonium bombs by August 1945. This is not a controversial point; without their work (especially some excellent encouraging reports written in England in the early 1940s), an entirely American project would have produced the bombs some months later, perhaps after the war had ended.

In the postwar period, which occupies half of the volume, Szasz focuses on the British feeling of betrayal over the U.S. Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which prevented America from sharing much nuclear information and hampered Britain's efforts to construct their own fission and fusion weapons. He also highlights the careers of Rotblat, the central figure in the Pugwash movement of scientists seeking a means of slowing the arms race; Penney, who went on to head the British bomb project and then the Atomic Energy Authority; Bohr, whose stature as the world's foremost atomic scientist gave him a platform to advocate arms control; and Fuchs, whose espionage helped, but was not indispensable to, the Soviet bomb project.

Szasz is surprisingly energetic in his archival and bibliographic efforts for such a thin book. This only serves to highlight the contrast between his obvious scholarship and such careless errors as calling the

famous chemists Glenn Seaborg and Harold Urey physicists or writing that Chadwick's cyclotron at Liverpool was built after the war (it was prewar). Like other authors, Szasz has difficulty characterizing the British contribution, probably because it was so well integrated into the total project. But this lack of focus makes the book somewhat pointless, despite its genuine interest.

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DAVID POTTER. *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy 1470–1560*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 393. \$69.95.

Examining the steps that led to the creation of Picardy as a French province, David Potter tries to turn back the clock on the coming of the absolutist state. He shows that Picardy was forged by crown interventions well before the end of the sixteenth century, the period normally identified with the beginnings of absolutism. Breaking away from a historiographical tradition emphasizing the political or fiscal origins of this process, Potter shows that Picardy was transformed from a loose regionalism to a recognized province through the effects of regular, prolonged warfare. He argues that such military intervention and the need to maintain large numbers of troops in the province led to the creation of networks of patronage that linked the *gouverneurs* and *capitaines* in Picardy with their patrons at the royal court. Reflecting the flexible and evolutionary approach to patronage developed by Sharon Kettering, Potter sees this network as an umbrella structure through which troop commanders asked for reinforcements and pay for their soldiers, towns lobbied for tax exemptions and royal aid, and the countryside sought declarations of "neutrality" or the protection of provincial governors. He argues that the links established by these contacts served to reinforce royal control over the evolving provincial structures.

Potter uses a combination of chronological and thematic approaches to develop his arguments. The first two chapters are essentially chronological, dealing with the initial conquest of the lands that eventually constituted the province during the Franco-Burgundian Wars (1470–93) and then with the subsequent reinforcement of French sovereignty through patronage links and particularly through an alliance with the French branch of the Luxembourg family, a preeminent local dynasty that came to be one of the most important intermediaries used to solidify royal power. The links established between patrons such as the Luxembourg heirs and their local clients are demonstrated through thematic treatments in the following six chapters on the staffing of the principal army positions in the province (*gouverneurs* and *capitaines*), on the organization, financing,

and provisioning of the Picardy war machine (cavalry, infantry, and the *légion*), on the effects of war on the countryside and on the towns (*tailles*, military taxes, and forced loans), and on the impact of royal diplomacy in stabilizing the borders of Picardy.

The major strength of Potter's study is his demonstration of the depth and importance of patronage links in Picardy, and in this context chapter 4 is one of the best in the book. Among the weak points is Potter's essentially descriptive approach in the first two chapters. In chapter 2, for instance, the reader has difficulty following the evolution of such positions as governor, deputy-governor, and *lieutenant-général*, and a more structured thematic approach would have been welcome. Of a more fundamental nature, one wonders whether Potter is correct in using the term "absolutism" to describe the nature of late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Picardy government. What he shows is that nobles, towns, and villages regularly lobbied the royal court through patrons for favors; there are few examples of the crown intervening directly to seek greater power. Even *taille* levies in Picardy were well below those collected elsewhere.

Even if the "absolutist" motivations behind the Picardy interventions are not absolutely conclusive, Potter's book still remains an excellent study of the role of war and patronage in the foundation of the early modern state.

DANIEL HICKEY
Université de Moncton

MICHAEL WOLFE. *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 112.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 253. \$39.95.

Michael Wolfe has written an important and interesting book that is based on extensive research in manuscript and printed sources but contains occasional slips. Its importance rests on its thematic unity, although some may find its argument overstated. The author maintains that the mind-set underpinning the new political and social order of absolutist France was created by the circumstances of Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism in 1593.

To put "religion back into the Wars of Religion" (to quote the dust jacket) is a laudable endeavor. The early part of this study provides an introduction to the religious concepts of Reformation and Counter Reformation and a background to the French conflicts before 1584. In that year the death of the last Valois heir to the throne made the religion of Henri de Navarre, the Bourbon heir presumptive, a crucial issue. Whereas the Catholic League arose to deny Navarre's claim, his Huguenot supporters abandoned resistance theory to the League and supported Bourbon dynastic right. Wolfe suggests that natural law absolutist arguments entered Huguenot political the-

ory, and it thus became the ancestor of Hobbes as well as of Locke. It strains credibility to give the Calvinist polemicist François Hotman this dubious honor. He was not the author of the *Antisixtus*, which Wolfe uses to support his assertion, but he did compose another diatribe against Pope Sixtus V's excommunication of Navarre, the *Brutum Fulmen*, or *Brutish Thunderbolt*. When discussing the excommunication Wolfe mistakenly assumes that the insulting title invented by Hotman was the actual *incipit* of the papal bull.

The full revolutionary potential of the League, justly described here as the greatest challenge to royal authority until the French Revolution, was realized when Henri III murdered its leaders, Henri de Guise and the cardinal de Guise (misnamed in one passage as the cardinal de Lorraine). With the subsequent assassination of the last Valois king, the conversion crisis entered its most intense phase. There were divisions between the new king's Catholic loyalist supporters, as well as among his Protestant followers, just as the League had its own provincial separatists together with a radical wing to trouble the elite leadership in church and state. The latter tensions became more acute after the death of the Leagues' candidate for the crown, the Cardinal de Bourbon, for whose demise Wolfe provides two different dates, neither of them the one accepted by the cardinal's biographer Eugène Saulnier. Shades of Catholic opinion are analyzed with subtlety and perception. Wolfe likens the conversion issue to a prism refracting the aims and values of the educated classes, so that light emerging from the glass splits into a spectrum representing the colors of the new order. This persuasive image allows him to affirm the central importance of the conversion issue for the ensuing era. He separately reviews Catholic opinion in terms of sword, miter, and gown. Only in the last respect does he falter at times, for he misreads Sarah Hanley's *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France* (1983) when he describes *parlementaire* reaction to Charles IX's declaration of majority, and while he gives an excellent account of the rallying of the Leagues' magistrates to the peace movement, he omits their revolutionary response to the murder of the Guises.

One of the most attractive aspects of the book is the way in which the pace of the narrative quickens as the actual conversion approaches. Debate, of course, was to continue, since the king's sincerity remained in doubt for many until the papal absolution of 1595. The confessional details that would normally be available to public gaze were withheld to protect the royal dignity. When the king's conscience became part of the mysteries of state, Wolfe suggests, the path to absolutism had been opened. The testing crisis of the League contained other elements that contributed to the new regime, notably the revolt of the lower classes, the decay of representative institutions, and the revival of authoritarian tradition from the past.

Yet the conversion was certainly a key factor, and Wolfe has given an impressive account of it.

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JEAN IMBERT. *Le droit hospitalier de l'ancien régime*. Foreword by PIERRE CHAUNU. (Histoires.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1993. Pp. xii, 307. 248 fr.

By writs of *commodo et incommodo* the parlements reviewed the public utility of charitable endowments; by the procedure of *commitimus* the *hôtel-Dieu* of Paris and other privileged charitable institutions brought their pleas more expeditiously before the Grand-Chambre. Such legal mysteries, derided by Voltaire, become more reasonable in this study of "le droit hospitalier," a field of study that Jean Imbert describes as "the ensemble of hospital institutions . . . placed in the context of the social needs of the kingdom of France" (p. 1). "Hospital," here, is any institution that provides shelter to voluntary or involuntary inmates, whether for a night or for life.

Earlier studies by Imbert focused on the hospitals in canon law (1947) and in the period of the French Revolution (1954). In a recent collective work, he addressed the challenge of the *longue durée* while contributing anew to the pivotal history of the Directory.

The first part of this book deals with the shape of royal policy from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, the second part traces the growth and decline of the various types of charitable institution in the same period, and the third describes the evolution of charitable administration, focusing on oversight, personnel, and finance. Throughout, the author cites the work of students distilled from theses read over the last five decades.

Imbert characterizes royal initiatives to promote hospital reform as a "hesitation waltz" (p. 34). In the sixteenth century, the king fostered lay control, launching inquests and financial audits to hold institutions to their charitable mission. But royal measures were sporadic, returning initiative to the parlements and the bishops. The decrees of the Council of Trent gave prestige to the bishops, but, in allowing revisions in the will of testators to carry out charitable priorities, they reinforced royal policy. The crown led new campaigns to eradicate begging in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and granted fiscal privileges to hospitals (the tax on theater tickets, for example, and exemptions from municipal octrois). Such privileges were especially important to *hôpitaux généraux*, landless by comparison with the ancient *hôtels-Dieu*.

In Imbert's central chapter, "recession or expansion," the campaign to reduce the extent of property held in mortmain plays off against a competing royal effort to make hospitals more responsive to the challenges of poverty, illness, and debility. The effort to

consolidate could lead to abuses, as Imbert shows in the case of the "unions" (later reversed) of former *maladreries* with the order of Notre Dame de Mont-Carmel that served retired military officers (pp. 104–10). Imbert also traces how institutions developed by describing the various categories of population they served—pensioners, the poor, the insane—and sketching what it was like to live and die by their rules, schedules, standards, and routines.

In a final section, Imbert offers rare documentation on how finances were administered, religious duties were performed, and the duty for medical care was assigned to old and new categories of personnel. He touches on the role of the new woman's orders and the emergence of the teaching hospital. Although Molière and Sébastien Mercier thought that a quick way to get rich was to control hospital funds, Imbert reminds us that directors commonly served *pro bono* and dug into their own pockets to cover expenses. He also corrects the received opinion that hospitals were always mired in debt. Warfare and lawsuits with relatives of testators might wreak havoc, but good years commonly offset the bad. Hospital fund raisers dramatized the latter.

In a concluding assessment of the hospitals of the Old Regime, Imbert demurs from Camille Bloch's thesis that a concept of public assistance as a service of the state took hold in the eighteenth century, while arguing that hospitals were on the whole somewhat less dysfunctional as institutions than critics claimed. Imbert's variegated panorama should encourage more extensive use of the still underexploited and vastly rich hospital archives.

THOMAS M. ADAMS
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OLIVIER BLANC. *La corruption sous la Terreur (1782–1794)*. (Les hommes et l'histoire.) Paris: Robert Laffont. 1992. Pp. 238. 125 fr.

Political corruption has been a disheartening topic for historians of the French Revolution, unworthy of the great issues at stake in the struggle from whatever angle one views them. Its existence cannot be doubted: the sobriquet of Robespierre, "the Incorruptible," was in itself a commentary on politicians in general. Democratic politics distributed some power to many individuals and with it, something to sell. At the same time, an accusation of corruption, even without evidence, could be an effective means of discrediting a politician. Accusations and exculpations alike frequently contained unjustified inferences and falsehoods.

Olivier Blanc knows the difficulties of finding trustworthy evidence. He has searched diligently for scraps in diplomatic correspondence, the papers of the French royal civil list, papers seized from arrested persons, and notarial archives. He has not, however, taken as much care over standards of judgment. In

various passages, Blanc seems to accept guilt by association and inferences that naturally lead to suspicion as if they established something much more solid.

Blanc's contribution is mainly to illustrate some typical sources and beneficiaries of corruption. He says little on other principal questions, such as the prevalence of corruption and how it fits into the nation's first encounter with democracy.

The corrupt men he identifies were revolutionary politicians, members of the National Convention, agents of its principal committees or the Paris municipality. The major figures he regards as corrupt are Jacques-Pierre Brissot, Bertrand Barère, and Antoine-Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, the prosecutor at the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. He exhibits three collections of obscure rogues, one consisting of associates and acquaintances of acquaintances of the marquis de Mirabeau, others surrounding Brissot and Barère. Counterrevolutionaries paid politicians, Blanc finds, in order to influence them to vote against removing Louis XVI from the throne, to save him from execution, and above all to provide information to the British government. The prominence of these motives in Blanc's account reflects the candor of some of his principal sources, notably correspondents of the French king's civil list and of the British ministers and diplomats.

Blanc devotes two chapters to the means by which wealthy persons who had been arrested were subjected to extortion and were sometimes able to forestall execution and obtain their release or a period of residence in a *maison de santé*. Amid many anecdotes he occasionally expresses a flash of indignation: "the Revolutionary Tribunal was nothing but the instrument of a little group of assassins and usurpers who controlled the assembly through fear and decorated themselves with tricolor ribbons and cocardes in order the better to hide their crimes from the public" (p. 175).

This book is welcome because it opens up a subject often discussed vaguely or evaded altogether. But it also demonstrates that plenty of work remains to be done on the conceptual issues surrounding corruption, on the handling of specific evidence, and on assessment and interpretation.

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MICHAEL BURNS. *Dreyfus: A Family Affair, 1789–1945*. New York: HarperCollins. 1991. Pp. xvi, 576. \$30.00.

This new account of the Dreyfus affair is both timely and worthy of the coming centenary. Incorporating the latest scholarship and setting events in the usual politico-historical context, Michael Burns's book also

takes up a fresh and illuminating viewpoint: the history of the Dreyfus family.

The first part begins with Abraham Dreyfuss, a butcher in the Alsatian village of Rixheim in the later 1700s, and traces the rise of his descendants over the next century. Abraham's son moved to Mulhouse in the 1830s. His son, Raphael, became a commission agent there in the burgeoning cotton industry and in the 1860s established his own factory, which became the basis of the family's wealth and acceptance into the local employers' elite. At about the same time he altered his name to Dreyfus, only one sign of a general assimilation to French culture and identity. This family history is set in the context of the emancipation of French Jews after the revolution, sporadic anti-Semitism, and the strengthening of bonds between German-speaking Alsace and the French nation. After the defeat of France in 1870–71 and the consequent annexation of Alsace by Germany, the Dreyfus family, which was firmly French in its loyalties, became physically divided. Raphael and three of his sons (including Mathieu) ultimately stayed in Mulhouse to manage the factory, while the rest moved to Paris, Provence, and elsewhere.

Alfred, the youngest child and closest to Mathieu, was sent in 1873 to college in Paris. Intense French patriotism, exacerbated by the loss of Alsace, had led Alfred to a military career. He pursued this difficult path with enormous determination, gradually passing the formidable barrage of examinations and overcoming shyness and hostility to become a general staff officer in 1892. Meanwhile, he married and became a father. The family firm had expanded with a new mill at Belfort. Periods of separation were punctuated by holidays and family visits. All seemed to be going well for Alfred Dreyfus and his family. They were now rich, successful, and accepted within the French upper bourgeoisie.

Then came the accusation of treason and the affair. This story, which occupies about half of the volume, is well told, with special emphasis on the role of Mathieu. There are affecting accounts of the degradation parade, the imprisonment on Devil's Island and the Rennes trial. The "background" is competently handled, although political résumés do sometimes intrude, breaking the spell of the personal and family narrative.

Part 4 is the most novel section of the book. It takes up the story after the affair, focusing on the children of Mathieu and Alfred. There are two fascinating chapters on World War I that are based on the letters and journals of the four Dreyfus family members who fought in it, including Alfred. Mathieu's son and son-in-law were both killed in action, but Alfred's son, Pierre, survived service at Verdun and the Somme and being gassed. Two chapters on the interwar years (dealing with Alfred's promotion of trade unionism) are followed by a chapter on World War II, which provides a fitting and tragic conclusion. Like so many others, the Dreyfus family was scattered again by the

French defeat in 1940. Some escaped to the United States and Canada. Some chose to seek anonymity and survived, even in Paris. Alfred's widow, Lucie, was sheltered by nuns in Valence. Four members of the family joined the Resistance; three supported the Free French. Several were arrested, imprisoned, and sent to forced labor camps. Altogether five were killed, four of them at Auschwitz.

The book is at its best when it uses family documents, conveying human experience under terrible stress with simple immediacy. It provides a good view of a "typical" assimilated French-Jewish bourgeois family with its "religion" of patriotism and belief in justice, which makes the fate of Alfred and the victims of the 1940s even more ironically poignant. The background material, which may be necessary for the general reader, is at times a distraction for the better-informed. And perhaps the family history approach should have been followed more methodically with some analysis of marriage strategies, roles, and relations within the family. There is also space for a more imaginative interpretation of the personalities concerned. Alfred in particular remains a contradictory and enigmatic character. But one should not carp. I highly recommend this informative, well-written, and at times moving book.

STEPHEN WILSON
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RONALD AMINZADE. *Ballots and Barricades: Class Formation and Republican Politics in France, 1830–1871*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 321. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$18.95.

Why did certain towns in France erupt into communal insurrection in 1871 while others did not? Why were revolutionary communes, however short-lived, erected in Toulouse and Saint-Étienne but not in Rouen? Such are the questions Ronald Aminzade asks in his thoughtful and lucid book. The answers he proposes turn out to be an intriguing mix of the old and the new.

The radical artisan, a prized discovery of the social history of the 1960s and 1970s, plays, as might be expected, a leading role in Aminzade's drama. The first stirrings of industrial expansion during the July Monarchy years proletarianized tailors and shoemakers in Toulouse and ribbon weavers in Saint-Étienne. These artisans met the grinding experience of deskilling with resistance, organizing self-help institutions, and concocting an alternative vision of society that was both democratic and mutualist. In 1848 and again in 1871, such working-class militancy exploded into revolutionary activism.

Aminzade, however, complicates this by-now familiar tale in critical ways. The political orientation of a working class in formation is shaped, he argues, not just by work experience but by political conjuncture as well. In the aftermath of the Second Republic, for

example, the new Bonapartist state stifled ribbon-worker militancy in Saint-Étienne with ruthless efficiency. The local mining and steel-making industries took off in the very same period, but, for lack of adequate cadres, socialists were in no position to organize the new, industrial working class, and so the privilege fell to radical republicans. The plausible supposition here is that, had the political climate been less repressive, miners and steelworkers might have taken a more militant turn. It was a bifurcated working class that took shape in mid-century Saint-Étienne, a simmering household sector on the one hand, apt to burst into insurrection, a newborn industrial sector on the other, better integrated into republican politics. The former made the Saint-Étienne Commune in 1871; the latter helped to broker a settlement between the Commune and Versailles, bringing the local insurrection to what was on the whole a peaceful end.

All this seems to point toward a simple equation: proletarianized artisans have a tendency toward revolution, but not so industrial workers who in the main incline toward a more moderate politics. But Aminzade rejects such a conclusion, pointing to Rouennais textile workers who took up arms in both February and April 1848 and who, in the late 1860s, sustained one of the largest branches of the First International. But if such workers were so militant, why did they not rebel once more in 1871? Aminzade's reply is elegant and innovative. The structure of political opportunity in Rouen, he maintains, left little opening for revolutionary action, however much such action might have been desired by local militants. The city, in the aftermath of the military debacle of 1870–71, was under Prussian occupation. Local institutions like the National Guard and municipal council, which elsewhere were used as starting places for insurrection, were in the hands of conservatives. The Rouennais republican party and the prefect's office were controlled by liberal republicans who would have little truck with revolutionary agitation. Would-be communards had no room to maneuver and no institutional point of access to the political arena. In Toulouse and Saint-Étienne, however, it was different. Radical and socialist republicans in these towns had since the 1860s been a considerable presence. In 1870–71, they took over local institutions and opened them up. No revolutionaries themselves, left-wing republicans were not for all that unsympathetic to the ideological goals pursued by certain working-class militants. Such militants profited from the more open climate, moved into local institutions, and, when circumstances seemed to cry out for militant action, used these institutions as a base from which to stage insurrection.

In the end, Aminzade argues, it is not only the experience of work that configures political aspiration but also political conjuncture and local structures of political opportunity. Having reached this conclusion, Aminzade's discussion takes one last and inter-

esting turn. For French workers, in the nineteenth century at least, the gateway to effective political action seems to have lain through the middle-class dominated republican party. Where that party was weak, where it had closed itself off to working-class constituencies, there as a result dreams of a social and democratic future made little headway either at the polls or on the streets. Partisans of a democratic socialism today, Aminzade intimates, might do well to learn from such experience. Depending on political conjuncture, the *démoc-soc* agenda may best be pursued through ballots or barricades. But either way, effective action requires access to the political arena, which means creating alliances with middle-class democrats. Latter-day radicals who have survived into the 1990s of Bill Clinton, take heed.

PHILIP NORD
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ROBERT BADINTER. *La prison républicaine (1871–1914)*. Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 429. 140 fr.

In his provocatively titled book, Robert Badinter captures the essence of his subject: a prison system badly in need of reform administered by a republican government supposedly dedicated to civil liberties and the advancement of human happiness. Although he examines punishment in France in the period from the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 to the eve of World War I, Badinter is confronting a dilemma facing all modern democracies: how to make sense of the "permanent contradiction" between a democratic system of justice and the grim and even ghastly realities of the penitentiary. He asks why the Third Republic failed to make prisons safer and seek greater punishment when it was precisely the kind of government that should have.

The history of the early Third Republic is viewed here through the prism of penal legislation. Badinter's work is above all a tour de force about the parliamentary lobbying, wrangling, and infighting among parties and factions that shaped the body of reform legislation governing punishment in the period between 1871 and 1914. He traces projects for new laws from their inception and dissects and explains the votes in the Chamber of Deputies. He presents moderates, radicals, and opportunists as acting out of necessity and political expediency in their appeal to voters' fears about the marginal classes.

When it comes to understanding how legislation is shaped behind the scenes, Badinter is a man who knows what he is talking about. As one of the longest-serving ministers of justice of the Fifth Republic, Badinter was responsible in the period from 1981 to 1986 for the Socialist legislation that attempted to "humanize" and "modernize" the French penal system. Most notably, Badinter engineered the abolition of the death penalty and the relegation to museums

of France's two functioning guillotines. Much of what his ministry accomplished was hotly contested in France and many proposed reforms were defeated. This book, which he wrote while president of the powerful Conseil constitutionnel, appears to be in part an attempt to measure his own experiences against the political wranglings of the early Third Republic.

Budgetary exigencies, "cette passion des économies," Badinter explains, prevailed over humanitarian programs and social reforms. The penal reforms passed between 1871 and 1914—pardon, conditional release, suspended sentence, amnesty, educational solutions for juveniles—all had as their goal the avoidance of the prison, not its reformation. The author singles out Georges Clémenceau as the one great political leader of the period interested in penal questions. Clémenceau began as a reformer who, early in his career, opposed the death penalty and penal transportation but who, by 1906–09, had abandoned his humane concerns to become a law-and-order politician and "first cop of France." In this account, the future prime minister's transformation is taken as emblematic of the uneasy political accommodations of the republic as a whole.

Badinter asserts that the Third Republic changed the face of France with its patriotic, laic, and economically progressive policies. The republic rooted itself in educational values and created a culture of shared republican ideals. Yet in failing to transform justice, and above all in failing to bring republican values to bear on the prison, the republic's culture, Badinter argues, is exposed for what it was: profoundly conservative and a betrayal of the liberal ideals of 1789.

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MARTIN JAY. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 632. \$35.00.

Those who have doubted the value of intellectual history for the emerging fields of cultural history, cultural studies, and cultural criticism are advised to look first at Martin Jay's book. Jay's previous works on the Frankfurt school, Theodor Adorno, and the concept of totality have established his reputation as a leading intellectual historian. In collections of essays (*Fin-de-Siècle Socialism and Other Essays* [1988] and *Force Fields* [1993]) he unabashedly defended mainstream methods of intellectual history, which he called "paraphrase" or "synopsis," although modulated recently to account for the historian's role as narrator. The current volume dispels any skepticism about the value of such an approach as it splendidly recounts the treatment of "the visual" in recent French thought. The first half of the volume traces

the problematic of vision from Plato through Jean-Paul Sartre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty; the second half focuses more narrowly on major poststructuralist thinkers, omitting only Gilles Deleuze's work on cinema.

Jay is dazzlingly learned and grandly generous, characteristics that graced his earlier works but are even more highly developed here. About a third of the volume consists of notes, indicating places for further study, usually with comments about the value and scope of the cited work and often extended small excursions on topics related to the main text. The reader is simply stunned at the breadth and depth of Jay's reading and at the great variety of disciplines and subjects he treats with a sure, judicious hand. The book begins with a look at current scientific views on vision and examines all aspects of the philosophical treatment of vision; but it also explores with considerable expertise the theme of vision in art history, from the Renaissance through the Surrealists, and provides illuminating analyses of the visual in film theory, photography, psychoanalytic thought, and feminist theory. In each case Jay is able to extract the central issues in the body of often considerably obscure writing, present them in clear, provocative prose, and cogently connect them to his argument.

And Jay, as his readers know, does have an argument. Long skeptical of poststructuralist claims, Jay deploys the thematic of the visual to expose the limits of its position. But Jay is no superficial polemicist: he engages sympathetically with the works of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, and the rest, examining how their positions on the visual function to define and articulate their discourse. Jay's main contention is that the French aversion for the visual has considerably restricted the development of their positions. Yet he recognizes that many of the poststructuralists had deep affinities for the visual arts (Foucault, Lyotard) and many simply cannot be characterized as antivisual (Derrida especially). This volume is therefore enormously fair-minded, betraying a rare openness of intellect and balance of judgment. My admiration for its accomplishment and for its author's deepening skills are difficult to restrain.

Perhaps the most controversial feature of the text is Jay's treatment of the relation of Emmanuel Levinas and Lyotard, linking them in a bond of filiation that exemplifies Jay's methodology but exceeds its limits. The Jewish prohibition of graven images as it appears in Levinas is to my mind entirely too prominent in the discussion of Lyotard and in other places in the text.

As a material object, this book echoes its conceptual matter in a number of ways. The volume has been produced by the University of California Press as "a centennial book," with special attention to its visual appearance. Indented quotes are printed in a different typeface (Helvetica) from the main body (Times Roman), visually urging the reader's attention to changes of voice. In addition, on the inside back

dust-jacket flap, near the top, a small photograph of the author faces the reader whenever the jacket is raised so that Martin Jay watches you read. But looked at carefully, the reader soon realizes that Jay's gaze is not directed at the camera, straight ahead, but peers below the camera with downcast eyes. For an object with such attention to detail, it is surprising that there are no illustrations.

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JOHN HELLMAN. *The Knight-Monks of Vichy France: Uriage, 1940-1945*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 326. \$39.95.

In May and June 1940, two French military officers with aristocratic, Catholic, and antirepublican backgrounds commanded tank squadrons in the futile campaign to repulse the German invasion that resulted in the defeat, disarmament, and division of France into occupied and unoccupied zones. Both men had been prewar admirers of Marshal Henri-Phillipe Pétain, who headed the collaborationist regime that sprouted in the unoccupied zone at Vichy after the demise of the Third Republic. Once the military fate of France was sealed, their paths sharply diverged. One fled to London and formed a government in exile in opposition to the Vichy regime, which he denounced as a creature of Germany and whose leader he condemned as a traitor to France. The other enthusiastically proffered his services to the octogenarian marshal, whom he venerated as the savior of France who would shield it from the adverse effects of the German occupation while replacing the discredited ideology of the republican regime with an inspirational faith for the future.

As Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle assembled the organizational structure of "Free France" across the English Channel, Captain Pierre Dunoyer de Segonzac created a national leadership school in unoccupied France at the behest of Pétain's government. As John Hellman recounts in this engaging, elegantly written work, its purpose was to instill in the traumatized, demoralized youth of vanquished France the values of the "National Revolution" that the Vichy regime intended to disseminate. Ensnared in a seventy-room Alpine château near the mountain village of Uriage overlooking Grenoble, Dunoyer de Segonzac and a close-knit cadre of army officers, Catholic priests, and idealistic young intellectuals dispensed an austere regimen of vigorous physical exercise, intense religiosity, and a chivalric code of honor to over two thousand young Frenchmen in the years 1941-42. The reigning ideology of the school reflected the intellectual influences of Charles Péguy, Henri Bergson, Jacques Maritain, Nicolas Berdyaev, and especially the communitarian personalism of

Emmanuel Mounier, a frequent guest lecturer at the château.

Hellman, author of an excellent earlier biography of Mounier (*Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left* [1981]), has given us the first study in English of this remarkable exercise in idealism and spirituality amid what we now know (thanks to recent scholarship) to have been the sordid reality of Vichy France. In the years after the Liberation, those who had taught or studied at Uriage—including such potent intellectual forces as Mounier, Hubert Beuve-Méry, and Jean-Marie Domenach—nostalgically recalled it as the "Vichy that might have been." Although repelled by the anarchic individualism, liberalism, and materialism they associated with the parliamentary regime that had collapsed so ignominiously in 1940, the "knight-monks" in their Alpine retreat had vigorously opposed collaboration with Germany and execrated the crude anti-Semitism of Pierre Laval and the Parisian fascists. By the end of 1942, the rumblings of discontent at Uriage, together with Dunoyer de Segonzac's spirit of independence from his superiors, had so antagonized the authorities at Vichy that the recently reinstated Laval abruptly closed the school. The teaching staff, in clandestine contact with hundreds of young alumni, drifted into an anomalous kind of "Pétainist resistance." They forged ties with the Gaullists and eventually participated in the Liberation while retaining their disdain for republican institutions and nurturing hopes for a postwar spiritual renaissance based in the "personalist" principles preached at Uriage.

Although this absorbing chapter in the history of Vichy France had for years remained largely unexplored by scholars, several studies based in research in the Uriage archives and interviews with surviving participants have recently appeared in France. The two most important of these, a doctoral thesis by Bernard Comte (*"L'Ecole Nationale des Cadres d'Uriage"* [1987]) and a book by Antoine Delestre (*Uriage* [1989]), paint a highly sympathetic portrait of the school from the post-Liberation perspective that deemphasizes Pétainist loyalties and highlights resistance sympathies. Relying extensively on Comte's and Delestre's works for his data—he cites the former 213 times and the latter 104 times—Hellman nevertheless reaches diametrically opposite conclusions from those of the Uriage apologists. Following in the footsteps of Bernard-Henri Lévy, he strives to expose ideological affinities between the collaborationist regime and its leadership school. He focuses on such common threads as elitism, anticommunism, antipathy for the liberal parliamentary institutions of the Third Republic, as well as "sexism" and "little sympathy for women's liberation" (pp. 91, 236). Hellman's revisionist attempt to dethrone the "myth of Uriage" propagated by the postwar left-wing Catholic intelligentsia rests on the application of this ideological litmus test to the disciples of Dunoyer de Segonzac. His otherwise persuasive analysis loses much of its cogency

when one imagines such stringent criteria being applied to the disciples of de Gaulle.

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H. R. KEDWARD. *In Search of the Maquis: Rural Resistance in Southern France, 1942–1944*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 340. \$49.95.

H. R. Kedward's book seeks "to re-member the *maquis* at its most basic level and to present it as a phenomenon of rural existence in certain parts of southern France" (p. 280). It is not a history of the French Resistance during World War II or even of the Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (FFI). Kedward contends that postwar historiography has shortchanged the rural *maquis* by focusing on the towns and the upper classes. General Charles de Gaulle's argument that the Resistance had been the work of the entire nation also devalued the role of the rural *maquis*. Almost half a century later, important archival material is still closed to historians and some memoirs are still unwritten for fear of controversy.

Kedward plans the present book as the second installment of a three-volume history of the Resistance in France's southern zone, which was unoccupied until November 1942. Volume 1, *Resistance in Vichy France* (1978), focused on the development of protest movements in the towns. It is virtually impossible, however, to disentangle the rural *maquis* from the larger Resistance. The *Trésor de la langue française* (1985) defines *maquis* as clandestine rural resisters but also as the totality of the internal wartime French Resistance (vol. 11, p. 355). Kedward notes that, because many of the units were an amalgamation of rural communist-oriented Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (FTP) *maquis* and town-based FTP, it is "meaningless" to try to separate their histories (p. 206). Gendarmes from Lozère carried out their Vichy duties while also helping the local Resistance, Kedward claims, but it was often difficult to know which position was cover for the other. In reality, the *maquis* comprised idealistic volunteers, adventurers, self-appointed justifiers, gangs, Nazi spies, British and American agents, and people just being set up.

There is much, nonetheless, for the World War II specialist in this book. It is enhanced by regional maps of the *maquisard* zones and enriched with interviews of Resistance veterans. Within the detail offered, four points stand out. First, the *maquis* fought in a tradition of rural resistance to central authority dating back to the struggles of the thirteenth-century Cathars against the Albigensian crusades and continuing through more recent Protestant dissenters, who used eighteenth-century rebel Camisard pathways to hide Ahmed Ben Bella during the Algerian War. Regional self-consciousness was stimulated by the *maquis*, who Kedward sees as having contributed to a revival of

Occitanianism in postwar Languedoc. Second, women did not generally fight, but they formed linkages helping *maquisards*, who were often from distant towns and cities, gain rural acceptance. Third, the FTP had to raid police offices or mining areas for weapons and therefore tended to be closer to the towns than were the more conservative Armée Secrète and Organisation de Résistance de l'Armée, whose arms were received from parachute drops in more remote areas. Finally, heroes included Dr. Joseph Bec of Saint-Pons, in the Tarn, who, during a battle between *maquisards* and German occupation forces, attended the wounded of both sides, but put the Germans in hospital beds, making the French lie on mattresses on the floor. His act deterred the German commander from a plan to kill all of the town's inhabitants.

The book's narrow focus is accentuated by Kedward's concentration on the southern Massif Central without offering selection criteria for his sample (p. viii). In practice, he does not observe his own definitions when he notes that most of the attacks on railways in 1943 were staged by nonrural Resistance groups and when his story spills out into England, Algeria, and other centers of French Resistance beyond the southern Massif Central. It may be hoped that the planned third volume will bring together the history of all the underground units, from the beginnings of organized resistance by French exiles in London and including French Communist refugees who formed part of the *maquis* in Russia.

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STANLEY G. PAYNE. *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931–1936*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 477. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Because of the enormous attention that has been paid to the Spanish Civil War, Spain's Second Republic has been generally ill-served by historians. Most have treated the period from 1931 to 1936 as the backdrop to the war itself, and therefore they have tended to judge the Republican experience in a negative light. Stanley G. Payne's latest book is a welcome departure from this historiographical practice. By clearly establishing the historical connections between the Second Republic and the various reform and modernizing movements of earlier periods, Payne convincingly demonstrates that there was a substantial political and economic infrastructure on which a durable democratic government could have been built.

Erected on the ruins of Miguel Primo de Rivera's military dictatorship and the crumbling foundations of a thoroughly discredited monarchy, the Second Republic was greeted by a wave of popular enthusiasm. But from the beginning, forces set themselves

against the new regime. Particularly inimicable to the development of democratic institutions were the groups on the extreme Right (Carlists, monarchists, and Falangists) and far Left (anarcho-sindicalists and communists), all of whom were determined to do everything in their power to overthrow the republic. The ever-stronger pull of these and other centrifugal forces (the separatism of the Catalans and Basques, for example) continuously threatened to splinter Spain into many disparate fragments.

Although he acknowledges that these were inauspicious circumstances for undertaking a democratic political experiment, Payne rejects the widely accepted view that they necessarily foreshadowed the coming of civil war. Instead the author insists that the objective conditions existed—literacy had been steadily increasing since the 1920s and Spain's economic structures were rapidly evolving—for allowing the growth of representative government. Payne further contends that the spectrum of competing democratic parties was much broader than some (especially left-wing) historians have allowed. Challenging recent scholarly writings about the Second Republic that have been especially critical of the authoritarian Catholic Party (Confederación Española de Derechos Autónomos, or CEDA), the author chooses to dismiss the highly inflammatory antiparliamentarian language of *cedistas* such as José Gil Robles as party rhetoric rather than to interpret it as a meaningful indication of their true intentions to overthrow the republic and replace it with a clerical-corporativist state. Yet, as Payne concedes, this is not how the CEDA was perceived by the vast majority of Spanish workers. Having observed that the demise of liberal regimes in Germany, Italy, and Austria was in each case accompanied by the wholesale repression of the Left, the workers were acutely apprehensive that, with the CEDA in power, a similar fate awaited them. Their fears were reinforced by the brutal government reaction to the Asturian uprising of October 1934, when thousands of left-wing workers were either killed or imprisoned.

By 1935, the rank and file of the major unions were confirmed in the belief that the forces supporting the liberal democratic system had neither the capacity nor the will to resist the forces of the Right, and thus few were open to the appeals of the politicians who implored the masses to restrain their revolutionary impulses in order to save the republic. Payne accepts that the radicalization of the Left greatly accelerated the polarization of Republican politics, but he nevertheless believes that previous histories have tended to exaggerate the extent to which this process contributed to the destruction of Spain's first democracy. Payne argues that one of the fundamental reasons for the demise of the republic can be traced to the collective failure of the leaders of the principal political parties to transform its democratic institutions into modern ones. Although he is reproachful of the "semi-loyal" behavior exhibited by the Left (Partido

Socialista Obrero Español [PSOE]) and (much more mildly) the Right (CEDA), Payne holds no brief for the center parties, the Radicals and Republicans, for having also defaulted on their leadership roles. The republic's two presidents, Niceto Alcalá Zamora and Manuel Azaña, come in for some particularly hard knocks. For example, when the CEDA established a parliamentary majority in 1933–34 Payne argues that Alcalá Zamora seriously undermined the constitutional process by denying them the reins of government. By resorting to the elitist and personalist methods characteristic of the old regime, Payne explains, the "royalist" Alcalá Zamora and the arrogant Azaña were inevitably overwhelmed by the political challenges they faced. Had Republican politicians been more willing to abide by the "rules of the game" and more responsive to the demands of the new political institutions, Payne tells us, constitutional democracy would not have irretrievably broken down and civil war could have been averted.

The reader unfamiliar with Spain's variegated political terrain during the 1930s will find no better guide than this work. Besides being a masterly synthesis of an impressive array of primary sources and secondary works, Payne's study offers a judicious treatment of complex and highly controversial events, the abortive *Sanjurjada* coup of 1932, the anarcho-sindicalists' "revolutionary gymnastics" between 1932 and 1933, and the famous Asturian rising of October 1934, to name only a few. In addition, the numerous comparisons he draws throughout the narrative with France, Germany, and Italy situate the Second Republic in the broader context of European politics during the 1930s. Payne's book also has important and interesting things to say to the specialist. Although not intended as a polemical work, his study raises a number of points that will no doubt stimulate further debate on the significance of the Second Republic and the origins of the Spanish Civil War.

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PIERRE BROUÉ. *Staline et la révolution: La cas espagnol (1936–1939)*. (Pour une histoire du XX^e siècle.) Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 365. 150 fr.

DAVID WINGEATE PIKE. *In the Service of Stalin: The Spanish Communists in Exile, 1939–1945*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 453. \$49.95.

Communism constituted a major aspect of the Spanish Civil War and the controversies surrounding it on two different levels: the actual role of Communists within Spain and the broader policy of the Soviet Union both internationally and domestically. Pierre Broué is more concerned with the second level than the first, but these dimensions often closely intersect. Broué is a veteran French scholar of Trotskyist per-

suasion who has previously published nine books on the history of Communism and Trotskyism, and is best known for his major study, *La Révolution et la guerre d'Espagne*, which he co-authored in 1961.

This study is a reinvestigation of salient points of Soviet and Communist policy vis-à-vis the Spanish Civil War. He does not attempt a systematic and detailed study of so complicated a process, but devotes individual chapters to approximately a dozen key aspects. These involve such major themes as Comintern policy toward Spain before the civil war, the Soviet decision to intervene, Communist policy toward the revolution in the Republican zone, military policy, government structure, public order, the repression of the extreme Left, the end of the war, and a comparison of the Spanish revolutionary wartime republic with the postwar East European people's republics.

Most of this is rather heavily worked ground and, moreover, comes little more than a year after the appearance of Burnett Bolloten's massive study of wartime Republican politics, *The Spanish Civil War*, to which Broué pays appropriate homage in his preface. Since there are few, if any, points of fundamental disagreement between Broué and Bolloten, it is appropriate to ask what the new book has to contribute. The answer lies in a clearer focus on a few aspects of Soviet policy, several individual points of interpretation, a more thorough use of available French sources, and also the investigation of the first limited Soviet documentary sources to have become available.

Broué has a decided point of view, which has changed little since the publication of his first book more than three decades ago. As a devout Trotskyist, he holds to what many would consider the "anarchist" interpretation of the Spanish Civil War, which contends that the popular social and economic revolution unleashed in the Republican zone by the conflict was so powerful that, if given full priority by the Republican forces, it would have provided the key to victory. In this view, the Communist insistence on order, unity, and moderation was a guarantee of defeat, the Communists becoming the gravediggers of the Spanish revolution.

Broué here makes little further effort to justify the general thesis, but concentrates on specific aspects of Communist "counterrevolutionary" policy. Most of these matters are already well understood, although occasionally the author does succeed in providing some new data. In general, he views Joseph Stalin as having been under pressure from other Communist leaders and cadres to provide assistance to the wartime republic, but, as in the standard interpretation, having thoroughly and unscrupulously manipulated Soviet intervention to serve his own designs. The latter conclusion is, of course, undeniably accurate. One striking aspect of the book lies in the author's great concern for the Republican and Communist repression of the extreme revolutionary Left, whereas he shows not the slightest concern for the

tens of thousands of conservatives and liberals executed by the Left. This selective indignation, of course, tends to mirror that of Trotsky himself toward events in the Soviet Union.

David Wingeate Pike's book is refreshingly different, being a detailed and exhaustive empirical account of Spanish Communists in exile during World War II that is informed by warm human sympathy, combined with scholarly rigor, scrupulous objectivity, and keen analysis. This work builds on Pike's earlier study, *Jours de gloire, jours de honte* (1984), but goes well beyond it. His volume constitutes a major piece of research, being based on investigation in various archives in France, Germany, and the United States, numerous primary sources, extensive work in oral history, and a bibliography of secondary works that comprises fifteen printed pages.

Pike treats four themes: the political history of the Spanish Communist Party during World War II; the experiences of Communists in exile in France, the Soviet Union, and the Western Hemisphere; the horrors endured by the numerous Spanish Communists (and many others) imprisoned and liquidated in the Mauthausen concentration camp; and the Spanish Resistance in France. In each dimension he makes a significant contribution to our knowledge. If Comintern archives never become available—as now seems likely—this book will constitute the definitive study of Spanish Communists during World War II. In addition, it provides considerable information about French Communists and the role of non-Communist Spaniards, as well.

Aside from the thoroughness and judiciousness of the research itself, one of the most striking aspects of Pike's study lies in his ability to combine penetrating criticism and analysis of Communist policy and the amoral Communist leadership with full appreciation of the courage and self-sacrifice of many rank-and-file Communists. This talent to place in critical and human perspective a grim period in recent history forms a striking contrast with the selective indignation of Broué's volume.

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H. F. K. VAN NIEROP. *The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500–1650*. Translated by MAARTEN ULTEE. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 252. \$59.96.

Until quite recently, the nobility of those provinces that were to compose the Dutch Republic had been largely neglected by scholars. In particular, the province of Holland, with its high degree of urbanization and precocious development of commercial capitalism, had been associated with the rise of the bourgeoisie and with the political dominance of the urban

patricians (the regents), and its nobles had attracted little attention. This neglect is remedied by H. F. K. Van Nierop's book, which was first published in Dutch in 1984. Now the question of the role and importance of the nobility in the supposedly bourgeois republic is a central issue for historians. Important work has begun to appear on the nobles of other provinces of the Dutch Republic as well, and this literature is briefly reviewed in the introduction to this translation. As far as Holland itself is concerned, however, this study is still the latest word.

Van Nierop is concerned with the problem of the decline of Holland's nobility from its political and social prominence at the beginning of the sixteenth century, through its brief but spectacular role in the revolt, to its apparent eclipse under the republic. His approach is thematic, examining the nobles successively from demographic, economic, and political angles. The central argument of the book is that there was indeed a decline, but it was largely demographic. The Holland nobility had already been an increasingly closed group in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and after the revolt no more new nobles were created, leaving the group open to a long-term demographic attrition that weakened it significantly by the middle of the seventeenth century and led to its near extinction by the end of the eighteenth. Yet the nobility as a whole was, and remained, wealthy, despite the tales of economic distress that circulated about its members during the revolt. The greater part of noble income came from rents from extensive landholdings, and they were able to benefit from the general rise in agricultural prices and profits during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although individually wealthy, however, as a group they owned only a relatively small proportion of the land and played almost no part in the commercial expansion of the period.

Van Nierop argues that, politically, far from being eclipsed in the aftermath of the revolt, the nobles of the province were able to become an important part of the new ruling group, although they never integrated with the regents of the towns. Here, perhaps, Van Nierop is somewhat less convincing: although he is right to stress the role of the members of the *ridderschap* (the noble element in the states of Holland) in provincial and even national politics, and the continuing prestige of the nobility, it remains clear that the politics and policies of the province were determined by the urban regents, with their supremacy only challenged by the power and influence of the *stadhouders*. The nobles had in practice no independent power.

This edition is a translation of almost the complete Dutch text, but the substantial appendixes of the Dutch edition have been omitted. Some sections, usually brief, have also been left out; in most cases these changes are justifiable, but some bear the hallmarks of overzealous editing and have blurred the meaning of the text. The translation is well crafted

overall, although there are some careless slips and in at least one case a loose translation has left the meaning unclear.

This is a welcome addition to the literature in English on Dutch history for this period, and it is also an important contribution to the history of the nobility in early modern Europe.

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JAAP R. BRUIJN. *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. (Studies in Maritime History.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 258. \$34.95.

At long last we have, in English, a history of the Dutch Navy in the age of sail, and it is a good one. Jaap R. Bruijn not only interweaves operations and administration but also places both within the changing strategic, diplomatic, and political contexts. He marks out three distinctive periods; in fact, he speaks of three navies.

The "old" navy was preponderantly a small-ship navy, mainly devoted to the basic seapower needs of the Eighty Years' War for independence: controlling home waterways, escorting convoys, and blockading the southern Netherlands. The "new" navy dates from 1652 when the First Anglo-Dutch War broke out. The Dutch lost that war and the effect on the navy was seismic: the Dutch had to create a battle fleet. The result was a force capable of holding off the rising naval challenges of both England and France while still providing for Dutch interests in the Baltic and Mediterranean. After 1672, however, even though England ceased to be an enemy in 1674, the aggression of France on land and sea forced the republic into an expensive combination of military and naval expenditure. By 1713, after three great wars, financial exhaustion was complete, and one result was the "second-rate" navy of the eighteenth century.

The early Dutch Navy has the best claim to be considered the first "standing navy" in the world. The five admiralty boards collected their own customs revenues and received supplementary funding from the States General. Yet in many respects the Dutch Navy remained backward. It was slow to develop naval shipyards, and until 1654 even purpose-built warships were commonly sold when hostilities ended. It trailed in warship design. Against the advice of their admirals, Dutch authorities during the 1650s and 1660s were slow to build ships larger than fifty-four guns, although it was obvious that their opponents were building them. There was no half-pay to sustain officers between active commissions, and the system of promotion was irregular. Victualing continued to be arranged by the ship captains themselves. They were expected to turn a profit, the difference between actual cost and the admiralty's allowance per man, the *kostpenningen* ("provisioning pennies") being

recognized as a key element in their remuneration. When captains were at sea their wives sometimes helped out with provisioning arrangements ashore. One surmises that this embedded system was the reason why the Dutch Navy had no centralized victualing service until 1808. Many more instances of administrative backwardness could be adduced.

Yet the fact is that in the 1660s and 1670s the "new" navy was quite successful. A primary reason was the magnitude of operations and the level of skills and experience. The seventeenth-century Dutch Navy never seriously lacked seamen and never resorted to impressment. Its officers were active and professionally skillful. Moreover, the "new" navy's leadership was superb. Bruijn's account gives prominence to two men, John De Witt and Michiel De Ruyter. As grand pensionary, De Witt took the navy under his special care—passionately, it appears. His duties were of course administrative, but he evidently seized excuses to embark with the fleet, and, in a manner reminiscent of Winston Churchill, hoped to be involved in a battle. As for De Ruyter, Bruijn's account supports anyone who would place him among the half-dozen greatest admirals of all time.

In contrast to the "new" navy, the navy after 1713 was a feeble instrument, afflicted by reduction, disuse, and decay. Although its officers were educated and were required to pass a demanding examination, they accumulated scarcely any sea experience. In 1780, when the British, already hard-pressed by the maritime exertions of France, Spain, and the American revolutionaries, added the Dutch to their list of naval opponents, they evidently knew what they were doing; the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War was an unmitigated disaster for the Dutch.

I must record one disappointment. Evidently the process by which officers were promoted to captain and higher ranks remains "difficult to discern" (p. 124). The destruction of most of the navy's records by fire in 1844 may have impeded inquiry, yet perhaps someday Bruijn will be able to explore this subject with the same scholarly care that he has devoted to the investigation of officers' social backgrounds and remuneration.

There is one final point, a warning really. This is a history of the navy of the five admiralalties; it is not, and was not intended to be, a comprehensive study of Dutch seapower. Much of the global naval activity was conducted by the Dutch East and West India companies; that is left out of this history, and even the interconnections between the company fleets and the navy proper, regarding personnel for instance, are not made a particular subject of study. Nevertheless, this is a welcome and satisfying book.

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JAN WILLEM BUISMAN. *Tussen vroomheid en Verlichting: Een cultuurhistorisch en -sociologisch onderzoek naar enkele*

aspecten van de Verlichting in Nederland (1755–1810) [Between Piety and Enlightenment: A Cultural-Historical and Cultural-Sociological Study on Certain Aspects of the Enlightenment in the Netherlands (1755–1810)]. In two volumes. Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders. 1992. Pp. 265; 269–507. \$65.00.

Good up-to-date accounts of the Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic are almost as rare in Dutch as they are in English. Only in the last twenty years has a new generation of Dutch and Anglo-American historians rescued the eighteenth-century republic from the once commonplace picture of decline, backwardness, and political domination by the major powers. This study by Jan Willem Buisman is the first attempt in many years to synthesize the new historiography. It provides depth as well as breadth to the hypothesis that in the second half of the century secular culture gradually offered a serious and reforming alternative to traditional Dutch piety. On the whole Buisman succeeds, although access to his book in English remains limited; there is only a French summary.

Studiously avoiding the first half of the century, Buisman assumes the predominance by mid-century of a moderate, generally liberal Protestant movement, a new and enlightened version of Christian piety articulated by non-Calvinist preachers and natural philosophers. Yet in contrast to the picture now commonly painted of the French Enlightenment—either the work of grand philosophes or the mechanistic productivity of greedy publishers—Buisman finds the Dutch version of enlightenment among over 600 scribblers who took pen to paper on behalf of science, women, slaves, reform of prisons, the educational system, and the political institutions of the republic. The more radical, even atheistic version of *de Verlichting* (à la Benedict de Spinoza) generally did not interest these literate and diverse commentators, although they read widely in French and commented extensively on the European intellectual scene. Buisman's portrait suggests a more intimate conversation appropriate to a loosely unified nation of barely two million, where discussion was sometimes heated but often reasoned, and where, very gradually but unmistakably, it altered the urban mental landscape forever. Reinforcing these debates about the nature of providence, child-rearing, or smallpox vaccination was a vast network of philosophical societies, reading clubs, masonic lodges, and by the 1780s clubs dedicated to utilitarian reform active in every Dutch town and city.

Buisman searches for new ways to measure the effects of secular and scientific explanations, not by counting membership lists or books bought but by ingeniously surveying written responses to natural disasters. In 1729–30, when seaworms attacked the wooden and fragile infrastructure that protected the republic from inundation, clerics and xenophobes denounced French "libertines" and blamed homosex-

uals; both, they said, were signs of decay in the land of the God-fearing. As Theo van der Meer has so richly documented, dozens of men were then convicted and executed for homosexuality; others fled or went silent, while publishers grew cautious and free-thinkers like Jakob Campo Weyerman died in prison. By the last quarter of the century, precisely under the impact of the Enlightenment, arguments based on fear and intolerance were harder to come by as well as less often believed. Similarly, female and male writers who identified with the Enlightenment put women's political participation on the agenda, and those demands for emancipation only increased with the Batavian Revolution. The same story is told for slaves and the institution of slavery, although paradoxically the Dutch abolitionists succeeded only later in the nineteenth century.

Perhaps inevitably—if we are sympathetic to its historical and ethical importance—the Enlightenment offers varying degrees of moderacy or radicalism depending on both the vision of the historian and the records chosen for presentation. Thus, the technique employed here, that of surveying a vast field of writers, inevitably flattens the landscape. The major and radicalizing impact of Jean-Jacques Rousseau or the Abbé Raynal in the republic gets lost amid names even as relatively well-known as the theologian J. Stinstra and the scientist Jan Van Swinden. We are left wondering why the authorities in 1787 singled out the *Social Contract* for condemnation, or how it was possible that the most respectable of gentlemen freemasons in Amsterdam could assemble on Christmas Day early in the 1790s not to welcome their Lord's birth but to celebrate the feast of the god Saturn. Some went on to join in the post-1795 reforms that were fundamental in building a new national culture. Yet, aside from the excessive moderacy of its own vision, this good book should be translated into English and shortened by half. It is corrective of a recent American historiographical vision of the Enlightenment that now needs to know more about countries other than France.

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FRANS VAN POPPEL. *Trouwen in Nederland: Een historisch-demografische studie van de 19^e en vroeg-20^e eeuw* [Marriage in the Netherlands: A Historic-Demographic Study of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries]. (A.A.G. Bijdragen, number 33.) Wageningen, Netherlands: Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis Landbouwniversiteit Wageningen. 1992. Pp. 654.

The kernel of demographic study lies in the signal events of people's lives. Demographers also want to understand why people do the things they do, but discovering why is much more difficult than discovering vital events themselves. Frans Van Poppel tackles not the task of reconstructing the history of

marriage in the Netherlands in the period 1811–1939 but rather the much thornier problem of why people married when they did. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere in continental Western Europe, the late nineteenth century was marked by three new trends: larger proportions of men and women married than had in the past, they married at younger ages, and they had fewer children. This conjunction suggests a rupture with a past, in which fertility had been controlled to some degree by less-frequent and later marriage, toward a future in which marriage would no longer be so important a constraint on births. Thus the period of transition draws our attention.

Most of the scholarship now available about marriage reports on aggregate experience but advances theories that can be tested only from disaggregated data. Van Poppel's book is important because so much of it is based on individual-level records, including a data base of 63,142 marriage acts concluded in fifteen locales and regions between 1811 and 1912. Marriage practices show rich cultural diversity in a small land; they indicate further that observers at the time missed leading differences. Dutch moralists worried that the poor and unfit were marrying too early. Van Poppel dismisses these fears, showing that class differences were not pronounced either in the trend or scale of marriages. Seeking to refine a model for explaining regional differences, Van Poppel is able to reject many features of E. W. Hofstee's argument that class differences mattered most. His substitute model emphasizes differences in opportunity and points up an interaction between migration and marriage: different income levels affected migration more than marriage, and migration in turn affected marriage rates.

Van Poppel also supplies interesting information about ages at which youths became sexually active, attitudes toward appropriate ages—minimum and maximum—for marriage, and differences among occupational groups in amassing the artifacts considered essential to marriage. Equally, he supplies copious data on points of little or no apparent interest: upper-bourgeois women in Naarden married nearly three years earlier after 1870 than before, while those in The Hague married only a half year earlier.

Remarriage takes a leading place in this book as Van Poppel seeks to explain why the proportion of people remarrying diminished from about 20 percent of all marriages in 1850 to about 10 percent in 1870, and to account for divorce and remarriage. Many nineteenth-century marriages ended in the death of a partner when the other partner was young enough to want to remarry and still fit the society's standards as a candidate for remarriage. The retreat of mortality, and to a lesser degree the improving economic status of widows and widowers, made remarriage less likely. As for individual grounds, Van Poppel studied 6,583 marriages from Gouda and Breda dissolved by the death of a partner between 1850 and 1889, searching for characteristics that distinguish those who remar-

ried from those who did not. Men wed again more often than women, widows and widowers with no or few children more often than those with more, younger widows and widowers more readily than older ones, those with younger children more often than those with older children, while social status and religion mattered little. The risk that a marriage would end in divorce rose from the 1860s onward, and Van Poppel compares divorced people with a control group, dealing with marriages in The Hague between 1850 and 1882, to discover reasons for divorce and for remarriage among the divorced. In an astute use of the high cunning of the demographer, he is also able to show that divorce rates rose independently of the declining chance that a marriage would end in the death of a partner.

This important book deserves translation in an abridged version where the discussion focuses on the new things Van Poppel has to say about marriage, remarriage, and divorce patterns in the Netherlands, on how Dutch patterns resemble or depart from patterns found elsewhere, and on attitudes and sexual practices.

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MARJATTA HIETALA. *Tietoa, taitoa, asiantuntemusta: Helsinki eurooppalaisessa kehityksessä 1875–1917*. Volume 1, *Innovaatioiden ja kansainvälistymisen vuosikymmenet* [Science, Art, and Expertise: Helsinki in the Perspective of European Development, 1875–1917. Volume 1, The Decades of Innovations and Internationalization]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 99.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1992. Pp. 284.

JUSSI KUUSANMÄKI. *Tietoa, taitoa, asiantuntemusta: Helsinki eurooppalaisessa kehityksessä 1875–1917*. Volume 2, *Sosiaalipoliittikkaa ja kaupunkisuunnittelua* [Science, Art, and Expertise: Helsinki in the Perspective of European Development, 1875–1917. Volume 2, On Social Policy and Town Planning]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 99.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1992. Pp. 214.

KIRSI AHONEN et al. *Tietoa, taitoa, asiantuntemusta: Helsinki eurooppalaisessa kehityksessä 1875–1917*. Volume 3, *Henkistä kasvua, teknistä taitoa* [Science, Art, and Expertise: Helsinki in the Perspective of European Development, 1875–1917. Volume 3, Spiritual Growth, Technological Capability]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 99.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1992. Pp. 357.

In these volumes, six Finnish historians study how Helsinki became part of the European communications and technological network between 1875 and 1917. Finland was then a grand duchy of Russia, but its contact to the European urban centers was centuries old. The authors show that Helsinki became a modern European city during those decades in terms

of services such as health care, urban planning, public social policy, schools, workers' education, and distribution of energy.

The director of the project, Marjatta Hietala, writes that this modernization can be understood as a process of innovation. In the first part of volume 1, she analyzes the theoretical aspects of historical innovation research. She and her coauthors restrict their approach largely to those individuals who traveled to European cities to learn about new technologies and ideas to meet the needs of the rapidly growing population.

The fact that the emphasis lies on the individuals and their efforts to modernize the city of Helsinki makes the approach somewhat narrow. More attention could have been paid to the new innovations and their reception from a collective standpoint, for example, by taking into account the social needs of the population or the supporters and opponents of the new ideas. It was, after all, the urban class structure in Finland, particularly in Helsinki, that opposed the new ideas regarding public housing, while innovations in health were greeted without opposition.

Another aspect that prevents wider conclusions is the fact that the authors restrict the scope of their articles almost entirely to Helsinki. Kirsi Ahonen's treatment of the new models for workers' culture and education is an exception in this respect. She presents interesting information about the influence of innovations elsewhere in Finland.

All the authors know their respective fields well and are able to introduce new information about Helsinki as a "European" city at the turn of the century. It is interesting to note how keen those administrators and other upper-middle-class individuals were to learn about the modern European cities. They wanted to include Helsinki among them.

Hietala summarizes the findings of the research group (for some reason this appears in the latter part of volume 1). Her main argument is that the myth of Finland being peripheral is not true in the light of the information provided in these three volumes. This conclusion is fairly strong, given that the authors study only Helsinki, that they pay attention to only some factors of modernization, and, particularly, that the problem of center/periphery is a profound one. It is connected to the collective mentality (material as well as cultural) of the people, not only to new ideas. Nevertheless, this three-volume work is a pioneering effort and will be useful for future scholars of modern urban history.

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STEPHEN B. BOYD. *Pilgram Marpeck: His Life and Social Theology*. (Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, number 12.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 200. \$34.95.

This is the most comprehensive intellectual and social biography of Marpeck (1495–1556) to date. It explains why Marpeck should be considered among the most important Anabaptist leaders. In the past that importance had been assumed on the basis of the quantity and quality of his writings, but the historic community served by Marpeck remained out of focus.

Stephen B. Boyd brings the community into focus and expands the vital historical context that shaped Marpeck's Anabaptist experience. In chapter 1 Boyd introduces new archival information on Marpeck's patrician background. His family immigrated from Bavaria to Rattenberg on the Inn River and held title to property near Kitzbühl. Marpeck himself served as councilman and mayor of Rattenberg before Ferdinand I appointed him mining magistrate, a position he lost when he refused to cooperate in the suppression of the Anabaptists. The influence on Marpeck by two early Anabaptist martyrs, Leonhart Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, is demonstrated in chapter 2. Boyd then provides a substantive treatment of Marpeck's "formative period" in Strasbourg. His wealth, social standing, and special skills influenced his favorable reception in Strasbourg and later in Augsburg. Purchase of citizenship, membership in the gardeners guild, and his employment by the city council as *Holzmeister* suggest to Boyd that Marpeck gave the civil oath (pp. 56, 58, 62) and therefore held a more positive attitude toward civil government than either the Swiss Brethren or Hutterites, although a careful sifting of the sources leads Boyd to the conclusion that Marpeck identified more closely with the Swiss than with any other group present in Strasbourg at the time. Chapter 4 complements the work by Neal Blough (*Christologie Anabaptiste* [1984]) regarding Marpeck's clash with the Spiritualists. Boyd portrays Marpeck as seeking a middle ground between the radical individualism of the Spiritualists on the one hand and the socially and spiritually restrictive magisterial reformation on the other. Marpeck combined the spiritual quest with one for social justice and a passion for the freedom of conscience.

Boyd's wonderful detective work fills in the blanks of Marpeck's "interim years" after his expulsion from Strasbourg. The author traces his movements from Alsace to Switzerland to Moravia and Augsburg. Boyd believes that an anonymous "Confession," now in the city archive of Regensburg, is Marpeck's work, and he uses it to describe Marpeck's evolution during the "interim years" toward a moderate position on civil government (pp. 100–01). Less controversial is Boyd's assessment that throughout Marpeck's exchanges with magisterial reformers, Münsterites, Swiss Brethren, Hutterites, and Schwenckfeldians, he steered toward a *via media* between a mere temporal or mere spiritual understanding of the realm of Christ. In chapter 6 Boyd concentrates on Marpeck's Augsburg residence from 1544 until his death in 1556. The urban context of Marpeck's ministry is elaborated, while local members as well as long-

distance contacts are identified. The final chapter provides a summary of Marpeck's "mature" positions on the "new being," "social" theology of the cross, civil authority, oath, taxes, and military service. Boyd concludes that Marpeck and members of his circle contemplated "critical participation in civil authority" (p. 167). Jörg Maler even promised to be discreet in the practice of his religion.

Some readers may object to Boyd's apologetic tone. Marpeck is not only presented sympathetically but also as holding wonderfully balanced positions on most issues, especially on the relationship of individual to community. Arguments that Marpeck gave the oath in Strasbourg run counter to explicit statements by the city's reformers that he refused. At best the evidence is ambivalent, and definite deviations from the Swiss seem to emerge only during the later period, suggesting that over a fifteen-year span Marpeck changed to a more moderate position. Unfortunately, Boyd provides no new insights on why this moderate branch of Anabaptism did not survive.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Boyd has written the authoritative biography on Marpeck. It would be very difficult to improve on his balanced judgment. Combined with the publication and translation of *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck* by William Klassen and Walter Klaassen (1978), Boyd's rich contribution offers a stimulus for further exploration and discourse on this branch of Anabaptism.

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HARALD ROSENBACH. *Das Deutsche Reich, Grossbritannien und der Transvaal (1896–1902): Anfänge deutsch-britischer Entfremdung.* (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 52.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 360.

Harald Rosenbach has written an intensive study of the Anglo-German rivalry in southern Africa. He focuses on German policy toward the Transvaal, arguing that this particular aspect of German "Welt-politik" so poisoned relations with Great Britain that any attempt to reach an understanding was virtually impossible. The antagonism between the two nations became so intense that Germany would always be the "shameless hun," to quote from the Rudyard Kipling poem that the author uses as a coda for his study. Of course none of this is new. The furor over the Kruger telegram, the impulsiveness of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the aggressiveness of German foreign policy, and the paranoia of the British regarding German intentions toward the Transvaal make up the staples of pre-1914 diplomatic history. But the detail and thoroughness of this book should elicit interest as it goes beyond the classic accounts in English by Jeffrey Butler and William Roger Louis.

Prior to 1896, colonial relations in Africa between Britain and Germany were not that bad. Both a proposed Anglo-German railway in East Africa and cooperation in South West Africa reflected this good feeling. But by 1894 the years of Anglo-German cooperation were drawing rapidly to a close, to be replaced by a mutual coolness and suspicions about each other's intentions, especially in southern Africa with Germany having a growing economic interest in the Transvaal. But even earlier the British felt betrayed by the Germans, who had made an agreement with the French that cleared the way for French advances into the Nile valley and the Niger basin. After 1894 Britain continued to seek good relations with Germany in Africa, but the effort became increasingly difficult. As Rosenbach points out, relations were strained by persistent German attempts to have a say in the affairs of the Portuguese colonies and the Transvaal, which Britain considered meddling in areas where Germany had no legitimate interests. The slapstick Jameson raid and the Kruger telegram thoroughly chilled Anglo-German relations. In Britain, the latter half of the 1890s were marked by a new emphasis on the imperial factor in foreign affairs, directed by the vigorous Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain. Simultaneously, German foreign policy revolved around the ideas of "*Weltpolitik*" and "*Flottenpolitik*." Rosenbach concludes his study with the *Daily Telegraph* affair, where an overwrought Kaiser Wilhelm felt his friendship was unappreciated by Britain: "You English are mad, mad as March hares." He also stated that he refused to join with Russia and France to "humiliate England to the dust" during the Boer War. The kaiser's failure to appreciate British suspicions stands as a metaphor for the entire string of tragic misunderstandings that plagued Anglo-German relations, with the Transvaal question near the top, particularly during the crucial years between 1896 and 1902. As Rosenbach details the steady Anglo-German estrangement, he is particularly good at stressing German attempts to economically enter southern Africa, ironically frequently in conjunction with British capital. His account of the German government's attempt to join with Julius Scharlach and Georg Hartmann of the British South West Africa Company, Ltd., for a railway from Port Alexander or Tiger Bay to Otavi in South West Africa, eventually continuing on through Bechuana-land to Johannesburg or Pretoria, expands greatly on my study, *German Colonialism and the South West Africa Company, 1884-1914* (1988), particularly regarding the role of Hartmann.

Although one might quibble that the Transvaal might not have been the key factor in Anglo-German estrangement (just what about the naval race anyway?), and although much familiar ground is covered, still this carefully researched and documented study does expand the scholarship regarding the Anglo-German rivalry, and Rosenbach's rich bibliography should become a standard reference on the

subject of Britain, Germany, and the Transvaal prior to 1914. It probably deserves an English translation, as it nicely complements the more global and comprehensive history by Paul Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914* (1980).

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PETER JELAVICH. *Berlin Cabaret*. (Studies in Cultural History.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 322. \$39.95.

On the heels of so many turn-of-the-century artists, Peter Jelavich comes to Berlin well-recommended from Munich, whose "theatrical modernism" was the theme of his first, highly acclaimed book. And like the eloquent conférenciers who comment on the cabaret acts that are his subject here, Jelavich expertly takes readers in hand, introduces them to the exuberant affairs of Berlin, and does so in a witty and insightful fashion. This book is a serious analysis of metropolitan art, but happily one that does not snuff out the moods of performances or the voices of performers. The result is a highly original and richly textured study of popular entertainment in the modern city.

Jelavich effectively weaves together various thematic strands such as fashion, gender, race, and politics into loosely connected scenes that follow each other chronologically from around 1900 to the last performances in Theresienstadt in 1944 and the murder by the Nazis of so many members of the troupes and audiences who sustained cabaret. A sense of tragedy thus accumulates as the story of Berlin cabaret is told. This is not a gushing portrait of the "golden 1920s" on the Kurfürstendamm, but rather an examination of the metropolitan origins and fragile nature of cabaret, which always threatened to slide back into the mindless vaudeville acts from which it originated or shrivel into an exercise in cynicism. Along the way, Jelavich has a great deal to say about how big cities shaped media and perception, the role and limitations of satire in modern life, and cabaret's co-production of the restless fashions of mass culture.

As a distinctively modern form, cabaret, which comes from the French word for wine house or party tray, employed montage techniques and a new paratactic grammar to replicate the transitory, simultaneous, and discontinuous movements of the industrial city. At the same time, cabaret revived gesture and pantomime at the expense of dialogue and plot. Jelavich argues persuasively that cabaret is a modernist genre and thereby indicates that modernism had an extended popular component. But cabaret did not appeal to city people simply because its "melodies of modern life" were "terse and catchy" (p. 24) but also because it trained its commentary on city life, particularly sexual mores and seasonal fads (politics was always of secondary importance). During the Wilhelmine period, when performers such as Claire

Waldoff and producers like Rudolf Nelson first found fame, cabaret at once satirized and intensified the hectic rhythms of the metropolis. Cabaret re-created Berlin as a gigantic department store, a place (primarily for men) to browse and to consume. The stage thereby theatricalized the city, albeit not innocently.

The stylistic innovations and metropolitan repertory of cabaret are the legacy of the Wilhelmine era, the period with which Jelavich has the most fun. The Weimar years, by contrast, are a study in diminishment. Waldoff and Nelson are still around, but, after 1918, Berlin's antiauthoritarian humor lost much of its satiric bite or slipped into unthinking antirepublicanism; at the same time, cabaret performances turned increasingly nostalgic as the city's façades deteriorated and the nation's economy collapsed; and the famous stage revues of the late 1920s, with long kick lines of girls, not only continued to evoke the fragmentation of the city but also, more ominously, indicated the depersonalization and dismemberment of the dancers themselves and their rearrangement into rigid military forms. Explicitly political cabarets met with only limited success. As the master cabaretist, Kurt Tucholsky, pointed out, "cabarets are gripped by the strange ambition of wanting to be aggressive without offending anyone" (p. 135). Besides, in a world turned upside down by wartime massacres, hyperinflation, and political violence, one wonders how a "theater of surprises" (p. 59) could still startle. The rise of Nazism, for example, was something cabaret could not fathom.

As Jelavich's story reaches the fateful year 1933, when almost all cabarets were shut down and performers scattered into exile, and concludes with a moving epilogue of cabaret in Nazi concentration camps, the reader misses a stronger hand from such a thoughtful confrencier. Jelavich drops tantalizing hints that cabaret was symptomatic of a wider, demoralizing culture of cynicism but unfortunately does not develop the point. In the end, however, Jelavich's superlative and well-written work provides readers with a variety of artistic possibilities that reveal cabaret to be as unstable and rich as the metropolitan forms that first nurtured it. To have taken such advantage of this illuminating and critical perspective onto the twentieth century is a great achievement.

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GERALD D. FELDMAN. *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914–1924*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 1011. \$125.00.

Gerald D. Feldman's massive work on the German inflation of 1914–24 lives up to the expectations of those who have followed the development of this project over the years. Feldman insists that the Ger-

man inflation "was a decade-long affair of considerable variation and complexity" (p. 5). Without neglecting the technical side, he sets out to explore and analyze in detail the roles and interaction of political and economic leaders, and social organizations and structures, as well as the international context of the decade-long German inflation. The "Great Disorder" passed through stages of inflation, relative stabilization, hyperinflation, and stabilization, each of which had its origins, functions, and consequences for Germany's economy, society, and polity. If all of this sounds incredibly complex, it is, and the amount of detail Feldman brings to his analysis by virtue of a Promethean research effort in public and private archives sometimes amounts to overkill. Nevertheless, the reader who follows the author through 858 pages of text will feel handsomely rewarded.

Because the inflation was a multistage phenomenon, there is no easy answer to the question of who or what was responsible for it. He rejects the notion that Germany's leadership deliberately destroyed its currency in the catastrophic 1922–23 hyperinflation in order to avoid reparations payments. In Feldman's view, hyperinflation was the culmination, and in some ways the recapitulation, of social, political, and economic developments that had shaped the course of German history since the years prior to World War I. Although Germany financed World War I primarily through inflation, "certainly," argues Feldman, "the Reichsbank had no intention of flooding the country with worthless paper" (p. 37).

The fact that the Germans lost the war and were told that they would have to pay the costs failed to produce any significant change in Germany's approach to public finance. Feldman accepts, up to a point, Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich's view (*Die deutsche Inflation 1914–1923* [1980]) that inflation was perhaps one of the less-unacceptable methods of making the burden of both domestic and international costs (reparations) of the war bearable for the German people. Postwar inflation provided employment, bought social peace, held together the shaky cooperation between industry and labor on which the Weimar compromise was based, and possibly saved the Weimar Republic from disintegration between 1919 and 1922.

Did the postwar inflation have to be permanent? Did it have to develop into "galloping" inflation and finally hyperinflation? Feldman argues that the government and Reichsbank did achieve a "relative stabilization" from the spring of 1920 to the spring of 1921. But then the cooperation between labor and industry began to break down. Feldman seems to fault labor for the breakdown, because "labor advocated social programs for which there was no sound money . . . It was hard not to conclude that the compromise depended on inflation and had been bought at the expense of inflation's victims" (p. 250). But Feldman also makes it clear that industrialists such as Hugo Stinnes, who figures prominently in this

account, sought to dictate stabilization plans and reparations settlements designed to promote their own private interests and overturn the compromise of 1919 embodied in the Stinnes-Legien agreement.

The issues of reparations, stabilization, taxation, social policy, and general economic policy were fatefully linked. Germany took the position that nothing could be done about either inflation or reparations payments without financial assistance from Britain and the United States. Fearing widespread unemployment and political instability, no German government was willing to stop the printing press. Stabilization meant sacrifice; the question was whose sacrifice? Industry and agriculture refused to pay real (valorized) taxes on their real wealth, labor objected to increased consumption taxes and withholding taxes on wages and salaries, and the Reichsbank, led by Rudolf Havenstein, seemed interested only in protecting its stock of gold. Industrialists, led by Stinnes and supported by most of Germany's conservative political and financial leadership, argued that stabilization could be achieved and a reasonable amount of reparations could be paid only if the social costs that allegedly drove the inflation could be eliminated and only if German workers worked harder and became more productive. The eight-hour day had to be sacrificed.

Not surprisingly, German labor was unwilling to pay the entire cost of the war and inflation, and the German government was unwilling to make an acceptable reparations offer to the French and the British. The ultimate result was French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in January 1923, passive resistance supported by the Reichsbank's printing press, and the catastrophic hyperinflation that finally forced Germany's leadership to consider real stabilization. Whereas several previous relative stabilizations had failed, the stabilization of 1923–24 worked. It worked, according to Feldman, for several reasons. In his new capacities as currency commissioner and president of the Reichsbank, Hjalmar Schacht lent credibility to the 1923–24 currency reform by shutting down credit to both the public and private sectors. The Dawes Plan would provide Germany with a stabilization loan. Most significant for Feldman, however, was the "government's willingness to tolerate a far broader level of misery than it had in the past" (p. 805) during the 1923–24 stabilization.

The concept of "misery" is critical to any evaluation of the German inflation. The basic question is, to what extent should the German standard of living have been reduced in order that Germany might pay its debts, both foreign and domestic? It is clear from the evidence Feldman presents that those responsible for Germany's domestic and foreign policy between 1919 and 1923 were determined to protect industry, agriculture, and, if possible, Germany as a whole from any significant reduction in the standard of living, and, for this purpose, inflation was the only weapon available to a supposedly defeated nation.

The fact that inflation proved to be a dangerous and imperfect weapon does not in any way detract from the intent.

It has been argued that both the inflation and the subsequent stabilization each had its peculiar sets of "winners" and "losers." Feldman argues that the inflation produced no genuine winners, although there were genuine losers, especially among the *Mittelstand*. He finds "no significant evidence for an inflationary reconstruction in agriculture" (p. 840), and he discounts the extent to which industry benefited from financing new facilities with depreciated, borrowed funds. To be sure, inflationary reconstruction took place in the industrial sector, perhaps to the point of overcapacity; but, Feldman argues, industry was unable to make full and effective use of this capacity owing to Germany's chronic credit crisis/capital shortage after 1923. In an objective sense, Feldman may be correct, but, while the German *Mittelstand* watched its assets disappear and labor saw the gains of 1919 being eroded by the hyperinflation and then stabilization, there was a sense of outrage that farmers received so much special attention (after all, they did control the food supply) and that eleven large firms in the Ruhr received seven hundred million marks (good marks, that is, post-stabilization marks) in compensation for losses attributable to the Ruhr occupation. Such outrage and the sense of injustice produced uncontrollable demands for revaluation, a revaluation that only contributed further to the popular sense of injustice.

Although one might question Feldman's analysis of the material balance sheet for the inflation and stabilization, there can be little argument with his conclusions concerning the moral and political cost of the catastrophe. Stabilization may have saved the Weimar system temporarily, but the inflation had already "caused the Republic to be identified with the trauma of all those who had lost out and with the shameful practices and violations of law, equity, and good faith that characterized the period" (p. 858). The inflation introduced "elements of barbarism" (p. 858) into Germany's political culture, thereby providing at least an indirect link with the turn to National Socialism in 1933. The inflation was the offspring of weak government; by the end of 1923, it could be brought under control only by a strong government armed with enabling acts and emergency decrees. How much of this tragedy could have been averted had the stabilization taken place in November 1922, when any possible benefits of the inflation had run their course, must be relegated to the realm of "counterfactual ruminations" and speculation (p. 838). The reasons why such a timely stabilization did not take place indicate that there was plenty of blame to spread around; Reich Chancellor Joseph Wirth (joined by many others) still believed stabilization was possible only with foreign loans, Havenstein still refused to part with any of the Reichsbank's gold, Stinnes would support no stabilization plan other than his own, and

Germany was now saddled with "a political, economic, and social environment that militated against rational decision making in the national interest" (p. 489).

Perhaps the lesson to be learned from Feldman's book is that warfare and civilization are incompatible, especially if no one wants to pay the bill. In the aftermath of Vietnam, it has become an accepted axiom in American politics that "we should not become involved in war unless we are prepared to win." A reading of Feldman's book would suggest that we should not become involved in war unless we are prepared to lose. This volume is indispensable reading for anyone interested in the fate of democratic institutions in Weimar Germany and other countries operating in the twentieth-century context of war and economic catastrophe.

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DAVID WELCH. *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. xiii, 203. \$35.00.

In his latest book David Welch, the author of the important work *Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933-1945* (1983), promises to "explain the popular base of National Socialism and its ability to sustain a consensus (of sorts) over a twelve-year period" (p. 2). He offers some good pages on the so-called Jewish question and euthanasia. Welch also makes effective use of the reports on German morale compiled by Sopade, the Social-Democratic organization in exile. Finally, Welch translates important propaganda documents, appended to the text. These should prove useful to teachers and students alike. This book could have been a workmanlike introduction to an important subject.

Unfortunately, Welch and his publisher decided to promote this book as something it is not. For one thing, the book does not suggest new approaches to the subject, for we already know that "propaganda played an important part in mobilizing support for the NSDAP [Nazi Party] in opposition and maintaining the party once in power" (p. 9). The book also fails to explore the cultural context of themes exploited by skilled German propagandists. By mobilizing images familiar to German—from the myth of Hagen and Siegfried to the yearning for *der Heiland*, or savior in modern dress—propagandists confirmed what many people, consciously or unconsciously, "knew."

Welch makes unsubstantiated generalizations about society and propaganda, some of which are just plain wrong. How anyone who has studied Nazi propaganda can argue that "overtly anti-Semitic propaganda did not figure so prominently after 1941" (p. 82) is beyond me. Jew-hating propaganda grew in intensity, as any student of the pamphlets in the

University of Michigan's "Weinberg Collection" or of political posters at Stanford and the Library of Congress can attest. When things began to go badly, Joseph Goebbels's hacks relentlessly attacked the Jews for starting and prolonging the war, for creating the Grand Alliance, and for forging the twin evils of Bolshevism and finance capitalism. By 1944 this message inundated the German media.

For reasons that must be clear to the author alone, Welch appends an irrelevant piece on the *Historikerstreit* to a brief book that has no room for topics more germane to its subjects. Welch also appears unable to decide whether to observe the discipline imposed by a monograph or reach for a more general audience. As a result, this book will be too monographic for the generalists and too superficial for the specialists.

After pointing to the "declining effectiveness" of wartime propaganda, Welch admits on the same page that it helped to ensure "that the civilian population held out until 1945 in an increasingly hopeless struggle" (p. 125). Hatred for the enemy, promises of retaliation, fear of Bolshevism, and faith in the *Führer* all played a role in sustaining the German people in 1943 and 1944, and Goebbels knew how to conduct his orchestra. Adolf Hitler harbored two great obsessions: the effects of November 1918 were to be erased, and the Jews must be hunted down and killed—in fact and in the German psyche—no matter what happened to Germany. Goebbels did more than his share on both fronts. Bombed-out workers continued to obey the regime and produce weapons; there was no collapse like the "shameful" one that had occurred in 1918; and the anti-Jewish symphony played on until May 1, 1945.

By 1945 Goebbels's message was aimed largely at party cadres, the NSDAP's political leaders, and the party elite itself. Welch ignores this aspect of Goebbels's work, yet no other Nazi leader aside from Hitler himself embraced victory unto death in the bunker. Hitler appointed Goebbels *Reichskanzler* as a tribute to his success, not his failure.

Welch notes that Goebbels observed: "In propaganda as in love, anything is permissible which is successful" (p. 17). The same holds true for books about Nazi propaganda, and, sadly for Welch, this one fails that test.

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THOMAS POWERS. *Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993. Pp. xi, 610. \$27.50.

Thomas Powers, acclaimed journalist and writer on cloak-and-dagger topics, here revives the thesis of Robert Jungk's *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* (1957), namely that German physicists—in Powers's version, Werner Heisenberg practically alone—abhorring the thought of nuclear weapons, particularly such weap-

ons in Adolf Hitler's hands, held the German nuclear project tightly within their own hands, thus successfully diverting the authorities from the idea of a bomb of cataclysmic destructiveness to the "peaceful" goal of a nuclear reactor for power generation and propulsion. Powers admits that Jungk himself—largely in consequence of Mark Walker's work (*German National Socialism and the Quest for Nuclear Power, 1939–1949* [1989])—"concluded he had been led down the garden path, and wrote, 'That I have contributed to the spreading of the myth of passive resistance by the most important German physicists is due above all to my esteem for those impressive personalities which I have since realized to be out of place'" (p. 100). Nonetheless, Powers himself is persuaded, and does his utmost to persuade his readers, that self-serving recollections supported by scraps of fourth-hand intelligence from agency files prove that Heisenberg, for reasons of moral scruples, did "what he could to guide the German atomic research effort into a broom closet" (p. 480).

For all of Powers's documentation—documentation that is, however, also completely absent at many points, and everywhere severely restricted by Powers's reliance on translators for all materials in German—this is a tendentious, as well as journalistic, construction. "I have found that the best way to determine the truth is also the simplest and most direct—to ask those who took part" (p. 487). It is a fitting irony that a year after the *éclatant* appearance of his own book, Powers, confronted by the even more elaborately and successfully promoted "memoirs" of Soviet spymaster Pavel Sudoplatov by two other American journalists (*Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness, a Soviet Spymaster* [1994]), was seen in the *New York Review of Books* (June 9, 1994) and on public television urging the irresponsibility of relying on *such evidence in such matters*.

Powers is so intent on manipulating the reader that even the meager overview that a table of contents or chapter titles might have provided is withheld—in an effort to create an immersion experience more appropriate to a novel than a work of scholarship. Every circumstance is turned to Powers's purpose, even when he himself knows the argument to be disingenuous. Thus, Powers infers from the desultory, ineffectual espionage efforts directed against nuclear research and development in the United States that the German authorities saw no threat in such work by their enemy (p. 348). What Powers as specialist in the history of espionage must know full well is that the entire German espionage effort was desultory and ineffectual, and hence no inference is warranted from this circumstance to the German authorities' awareness of the possibility of nuclear weapons.

An opportunity to gauge Powers's selectivity in treating evidence is offered by the publication of the "Farm Hall transcripts," that is, the roughly bi-weekly reports by the British intelligence officer in charge of Heisenberg and nine other German nuclear scientists

interned at Farm Hall, near Cambridge, from May to December, 1945 (*Operation Epsilon: The Farm Hill Transcripts* [1993]). These reports consist of descriptions and analyses of the attitudes and concerns of the internees, summaries of their conversations, and translations of particularly revealing statements and exchanges, all based on what a team of German-speaking intelligence officers picked up from hidden microphones. The existence of these "transcripts" had been known for thirty years (but not their exact nature: hence the misnomer "transcripts"). They were finally released early in 1992—in time for Powers to make use of them—in response to a letter to the British Lord Chancellor signed by the presidents of the Royal Society of London and the British Academy, and by fifteen other distinguished scientists, historians, and peers of the realm.

Examining these "transcripts" with an eye to Powers's thesis, we find Erich Bagge reminding his fellow internees (p. 85) that at a meeting of nuclear scientists called together in the *Heereswaffenamt* in September 1939—a meeting at which the discussion among the scientists was of atomic bombs—"[Walther] Bothe got up and said 'Gentlemen, it *must* be done.' Then [Hans] Geiger got up and said 'If there is the slightest chance that it is possible—it must be done.'" Powers's account of this meeting (pp. 14–16), referencing recollections thirty to fifty years after the event, neither quotes these declarations nor acknowledges that they referred to bombs. Heisenberg's reaction to the news of the explosion of a uranium bomb on Hiroshima—which reports included indicators of the magnitude of the technical-industrial effort behind that bomb—was that "We wouldn't have had the moral courage to recommend to the [German] Government in the spring of 1942" (when they had the opportunity to ask for large funds to build a bomb) "that they should employ 120,000 men just for building the thing up" (p. 76). This declaration, too, goes unmentioned by Powers.

Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, the most sophisticated politically of the internees (as son of a *Staatssekretär* in the *Auswärtiges Amt*), predicted, after a day's reflection on the implications of this astonishing news, that "History will record that the Americans and the English made a bomb, and that at the same time the Germans, under the Hitler regime, produced . . . the peaceful development of the uranium engine" (p. 92). This "spin"—the Jungk/Powers thesis—was readily accepted by the internees, who then proceeded to draft a joint memorandum to this effect, in the discussion of which (p. 93) concern was expressed that the papers of this and that individual, if they survived, would contradict this representation of the case. Again, this aspect of the discussion is suppressed in Powers's account (pp. 434–39).

What motive underlies such tendentious history? Jungk put it well: the cult of personality, the romantic (and "mandarin") exaltation of the creators of "transcendent" cultural goods. This comes through in

Powers's epigraph from Ralph Waldo Emerson, and in the review of this book in the *TLS* (May 28, 1993, p. 3) by Brian Pippard, a distinguished British physicist: "The bomb that never was: Heisenberg's refusal to put science in the service of war' . . . One may now credit Heisenberg and his colleagues with upholding the traditions of the German intellectual class when under severe strain . . . As the record stands, Heisenberg's reputation as a great physicist is unchallenged, and his name has been cleared of . . . imputations." Unlike Powers, however, and some older, distinguished physicists for whom he speaks ideologically, the British and American publics, by and large, are no longer hooked on transcendence. Although this study has been widely reviewed in the popular media, roughly three in every five reviewers are emphatically unpersuaded of Powers's thesis, the fourth finding that "his case is not entirely persuasive," and only the fifth lauding the "towering tome."

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DAVID PIKE. *The Politics of Culture in Soviet-Occupied Germany, 1945–1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 691. \$55.00.

This long book by David Pike is distinguished by its abundant detail on the German Communist (or Socialist Unity) Party's public rhetoric and cultural-political administration in the period of Soviet occupation from 1945 to 1949. Students of these years will find a wealth of information, some of it available only after the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, on the institutional machinery through which East German authorities shaped art, literature, drama, and other cultural activities according to political priorities drawn, in the author's estimation, almost exclusively from Soviet interests. If this emphasis on the aping of Soviet models will seem one-sided to many readers looking for a more balanced appreciation of the way in which German Communists not only kowtowed to but also appropriated Stalinist forms, they will nonetheless find that Pike has woven his material together in a rich narrative based on devastating critical analyses of Communist cultural policy.

Unfortunately, the author makes little attempt to place his work in its historiographical context. A brief preface outlines the gestation of the project, but Pike moves immediately to a detailed narrative beginning, appropriately enough, in the spring of 1945. We receive no sustained account of how the author thinks his work measures up to previous or currently developing work on Communist cultural-political policy in Germany of these years. We receive little in the way of commentary on whether or how the "discovery" of new archival material in the former East Germany will alter historians' or literary scholars' perspectives on key issues such as the continuity debate or on

cultural identity between the two Germanys. Having virtually completed the book when the Berlin Wall fell, Pike states in the preface that the availability of new archival material did little to alter his arguments based on published materials except to add new information on previously undocumented processes such as censorship. Can this experience be generalized to other scholarship?

Evidence of the author's unwillingness to look beyond his own sources can be seen elsewhere. When he discusses subjects relevant to the overall problem of cultural policy—such as land reform's contribution to German moral renewal and popular democracy (p. 75), or party pronouncements on the occasion of the 400-year anniversary of Martin Luther's death in 1946 (pp. 179–80)—we get not a single reference to secondary literature concerning these subjects. When we are told that Communist theories of the "politicization" of culture "sparked unwelcome comparisons between the Nazis and Communists that proved impossible to ignore" (p. 79), we are never given a source to consider where such comparisons were coming from. The author sustains his complex narrative for more than 600 pages, but by the end of it we have not been told what the broader implications for scholarship of all this craftsmanship might be.

Surprising in a book written by a literature scholar, this study unfortunately offers no conceptual formulation of "culture" or "cultural politics" (p. 145). Pike appears to assume these terms refer only to what scholarship once called "high" art and literature. But this is a problematic view, and one would like to have known how the author arrived at his definition and delimitation of the subject. Where, for example, is architecture, an area in which parallels between the Western and Eastern occupation zones were as intriguing as draconian Soviet influences on the East were? What of popular attitudes, for which we receive only scanty information drawn from sources such as surveys, which the author—again, quite surprisingly for a literature scholar—assumes tell us something about "average Germans" (p. 311), whoever they might be? If the problem was unavailability of sources on the subject, then why make statements such as "socialist realism actually matched the 'formal' taste of ordinary Germans far better than modern German art" (p. 311) at all?

Impressive in its narrative cogency, this book is nevertheless narrow, uninformative, and unreflexive in conceptualization and implementation. More disturbingly, from the preface, in which we hear the author's tale of his struggles to get access to archival material from suspicious and often dishonest East German authorities before 1989, to the conclusion, Pike makes constant reference to Communist dogma, manipulation, deceit, and cynicism in a tone that reminds readers more of Western-style Cold War ideology than balanced scholarly appraisal of a painful period of German history for which many people

are still paying. I would advise scholars of the period to mine the book for details but avoid all the rest.

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HERMANN-JOSEF RUPIEPER. *Die Wurzeln der westdeutschen Nachkriegsdemokratie: Der amerikanische Beitrag 1945–1952*. Opladen: Westdeutscher. 1993. Pp. 456. DM 76.

In spite of the by now most impressive body of scholarship on postwar Germany, the question of the precise role of Americans in the democratization of Germany is still far from settled. Hailed in the first postwar decades as successful creators of a new, democratic Germany, American occupiers were in the 1960s and 1970s accused by revisionists of preventing the creation of a genuinely democratic society in an imperialist drive to expand U.S. capitalism. With this book, Hermann-Josef Rupieper has made a decisive contribution to this debate by extending the study of American democratization policy both temporally beyond the usual concentration on the military government (OMGUS) years to the early High Commission (HICOG) period under John J. McCloy from 1949 to 1952 and vertically into the grass roots of German society. In that sense this study is a companion to Rupieper's volume on American foreign policy in the HICOG years, *Der besetzte Verbündete: Die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik 1949–1955* (1991), and an essay collection by German and American scholars, *American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945–1955* (1993). Rupieper convincingly justifies his emphasis on the McCloy years by showing that "positive" American democratization efforts designed to open West German society through grass-roots democratic reorientation—beyond the military government's controls through denazification, demilitarization, decartelization, licensing of political parties, press, and so on—in fact reached their climax in financial commitment and participation by American non-governmental organizations only in the years between the occupation statute of September 1949 and its suspension in May 1952. Rupieper identifies as the main targets of this democratization policy education and youth programs, civil service reform, the place of women and labor in society, civil rights, churches, police, and creation of a free market. Although he includes the familiar stories of the foiled school, university, and civil service reforms, and the unsuccessful struggle against guild and professional organizational barriers to a free market, his main emphasis is on the extraordinary range of German civic and grass-roots organizations that OMGUS and HICOG spawned or encouraged, from the army's "German Youth

Activities" and HICOG's youth programs to women's and civil rights organizations, even short-lived 4-H Clubs.

In this transformation process Rupieper assigns a special importance to HICOG's U.S. resident officers, who acted as extended arms of the American democratization mission locally by organizing forums, monitoring the democratic performance by local officials, and teaching about American-style democratic participation and individual initiative. Since almost all evidence on the resident officers' work comes from their own accounts or German official reports to HICOG, Rupieper finds it difficult to gauge the real success of these young, enthusiastic agents. He is far more confident about the strong impact of direct American-German contacts provided by exchanges and "visiting experts" from all kinds of American organizations from labor unions and women's organizations to ACLU and youth clubs. Not all spawned similar organizations in Germany, especially if, as in the cases of ACLU and 4-H, they were simply too foreign to German cultural traditions. But the rich evidence of letters and reports by participants in the large numbers of visit and exchange programs to the United States financed by HICOG or private American organizations speaks eloquently for a great and lasting gain for German democratization.

Clearly this book significantly expands our understanding of German democratization and the American role in it because of the breadth of its analysis. Only a gargantuan effort of mining an impressive range of government, university, labor, and private archives made such a comprehensive evaluation possible. His close exploration of this large, audacious experiment in the transformation of a political culture left the author highly empathetic and convinced of a generally favorable balance. But Rupieper's evidence also makes clear that success ultimately depended both on the quality of American contributions and German receptiveness. Reform-minded Germans were, in fact, numerous and essential for change. What particular German traditions, such as local and economic councils or *Gesetzsinne*, as Margaret Lavinia Anderson has recently argued for the Bismarck years ("Voter, Junker, Landrat, Priest," *AHR* 98 [Dec. 1993], 1448–74), provided critical foundations for the American-fostered democratization will have to wait for another book.

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WOLFGANG SCHROEDER. *Katholizismus und Einheitsgewerkschaft: Der Streit um den DGB und der Niedergang des Sozialkatholizismus in der Bundesrepublik bis 1960*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe: Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 30.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1992. Pp. 451. DM 75.

One major source of stability for parliamentary democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany has been its unified trade-union movement, the *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB). The merger in 1945 of the three rival trade-union associations of the Weimar Republic, joining the socialist Free unions with the smaller Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions, promoted consensus over basic issues of social and economic policy. This arrangement encountered one serious challenge after the DGB endorsed the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the parliamentary elections of 1953. An effort was made to revive the Christian trade unions, and in 1957 West Germany's Catholic bishops formally urged all blue-collar parishioners to join them. Until now treatments of this episode have sided with either the DGB or the Catholic church, depicting the conflict as the result of an abuse of power by the other side. Now Wolfgang Schroeder has offered a more nuanced account, based on extensive archival research, that focuses on the tensions within the "Christian social" camp. Some who wanted to serve both Catholicism and the labor movement gave primary allegiance to the Catholic church, some to the DGB, and some to the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Schroeder attempts to show how personal and organizational rivalries between these groups shaped this conflict.

Schroeder's sympathy clearly lies with those who became loyal functionaries of the DGB. He offers solid evidence that the episcopate sought to impose unrealistic demands on the DGB and that the Christian trade unions would never have been revived in the 1950s without major subsidies from special interests bent on weakening the labor movement (pp. 135-47, 188-94, 214-28). Most readers will come to share Schroeder's satisfaction that all efforts to foment schism in the DGB failed miserably. His conclusion that the Catholic church blundered badly in this affair, weakening its own moral authority and thereby promoting the secularization of political debate, is persuasive (pp. 16-17, 403-10).

Schroeder's dim view of Christian Democratic politicians is less well supported. Regarding the political legacy of the old Christian trade unions, he relies on the harsh conclusion of Michael Schneider (*Die Christlichen Gewerkschaften 1894-1933* [1982]) that they were fundamentally antirepublican, with a confused populist ideology difficult to distinguish from Nazism. Schroeder condemns veterans of the movement who later expressed pride in their efforts to preserve the Weimar Republic for a neurotic distortion of memory and "inability to mourn" (pp. 39-45, 55-58, 79-80). He ignores my rebuttal of Schneider (*Christian Trade Unions in the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933* [1985]), and virtually all other works published in English. Schroeder also underestimates the effort by the CDU leadership to prevent a collision between the church and the DGB. In this regard his argument is difficult to follow because he presents a substantial chronological narrative of the conflict and then writes

a series of capsule histories of various Christian Social organizations and individual leaders. The first part is far more interesting than the second, but some crucial details are buried in the latter, such as the fact that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer wrote high Jesuit officials in July 1956 to denounce an effort by conservative bishops to muzzle an outspoken defender of the DGB among the Catholic clergy, Herbert Reichel. The Chancellor persuaded the Jesuit order to shield Reichel and to promote a more sympathetic view of the DGB among Catholics (pp. 399-401). This incident suggests that Adenauer may deserve more credit than Schroeder acknowledges for the unity and influence of the DGB today.

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ELISABETH G. GLEASON. *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 335. \$35.00.

Elisabeth G. Gleason here offers us the first full biography of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) in over a century. Contarini, perhaps the most interesting figure of the first half of the sixteenth century on the Italian, if not the European, scene, has been the subject of numerous special studies and articles. This book, however, examines the man and his works in their entirety; it is difficult to imagine, in fact, that any aspect of his life, work, and thought remains hidden in the rich archives and libraries of Europe after Gleason's thorough and masterful research.

Contarini was a Venetian patrician of an old and proud family who happened to be involved in many of the more dramatic incidents of a dramatic half-century. Ambassador for Venice to Emperor Charles V from 1520 to 1525, Contarini was present in Worms in 1521 for the famous appearance of Martin Luther at the Diet; he met Sir Thomas More in Bruges and pronounced him (p. 30) "uno cavalier Englese molto letterato" ("a very literate English gentleman"); he was with the emperor during the revolt of the *comuneros*, the Habsburg-Valois wars of 1522 to 1525, and the capture of Francis I at Pavia. His next embassy was to Pope Clement VII following the debacle of the sack of Rome and the papal imprisonment. Attached to the papal court from early 1528 to early 1530, Contarini represented the complex diplomatic interests of Venice during the international peace negotiations of 1529, which culminated in the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530. Back in Venice once more, Contarini became one of the top political figures in the city and held appropriately high positions until Pope Paul III made him a cardinal of the Holy Roman church in May 1535.

From 1535 until his death in 1542, Contarini devoted his considerable talent to the service of the

Farnese pope and the Holy See. In Rome, as in his embassies for Venice, Contarini found himself at the center of the great affairs of the day. A leading member of the commission that authored the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* (1537), he continued working for curial reform on Paul III's commissions, first at the office of the *dataria* and then at the office of the *poenitentiaria*. By 1540, Contarini and his friends had to concede that reform on their lines of thought was too radical for the curia and for this pope, and the commissions disbanded without significant accomplishment. Paul III next entrusted Contarini with his most difficult and delicate assignment: papal legate to the theological discussions with the Lutherans, a conference known to us as the Colloquy at Regensburg of 1541. After months of arduous effort, these talks ultimately came to naught, and Contarini returned to Italy, accepting a new task from Paul III as legate to Bologna. Still diligently at work, he died after a short illness in August 1542.

In managing the vast amount of material that she has amassed, Gleason exhibits an extraordinary talent for organization and analysis. Her examination of Contarini's thought and career necessarily leads to discussions of the government of Venice, the personalities and convictions of leading Venetians, the curial government in Rome, the personalities and convictions of popes and cardinals, international politics and rivalries, and philosophy, theology, reform programs, as well as a host of related subjects. Indeed, Contarini's career was such that he was involved in virtually all of the great questions of the day. In recounting this, Gleason has a sure touch. The forest is always visible among the trees. She delineates the issues clearly, elucidates the philosophy brilliantly, and keeps the narrative surely in motion. Yet Gleason does not neglect the historiography of the era. She identifies and evaluates theses from the sixteenth century to the 1990s with eminent good sense.

This book is thus a model for would-be biographers. Gleason combines her flair for first-rate composition—there is not a single dull page here—with her monumental skills as a scholar to produce a mature, balanced, profoundly reasonable, and at the same time exciting book. The great Cardinal Contarini has been well served.

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MASSIMO FIRPO. *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento: Un profilo storico*. (Quadrante, number 59.) Rome: Laterza. 1993. Pp. 206. L. 25,000.

This small volume is deceptively modest. It purports to be only a survey of the Protestant Reformation in Italy, and of the varieties of "heresies" that arose in its wake. Presumably it is intended as an introduction for the student or general reader. Yet it is the mature and

sophisticated fruit of meditation and expertise that comes only after decades of study. Massimo Firpo is one of the foremost scholars of sixteenth-century Italian religious history and a prolific writer whose knowledge of primary sources is probably unequaled. He has given us here his synthetic vision of a vast subject that he approached not in the manner of authors of handbooks who might adopt either a chronological or geographical scheme, but through the discussion of topics that reflect the results of his own previous work and of the most recent Italian scholarship.

Throughout the book Firpo rejects the notion that the Reformation in Italy was merely an echo of transalpine movements and ideas. At the outset, he sketches a society in which criticism of the church, anticlericalism, and hopes for a thorough reform are intertwined. In Italy, the works of northern reformers reached not a kind of virgin land but rather a fertile terrain in every sense of the word. Italian, especially Venetian, printers responded quickly to perceived needs of a large public, as did booksellers. This public included learned and simple, clergy and laity, and rich and poor. Firpo is at pains to dismiss the supposedly elitist character of Italian heterodoxy by stressing its pervasiveness throughout the peninsula. He chooses examples of this with care for their wider significance. Thus, he discusses a well-known center of heresy like Modena at some length in order to underline the urban character of religious dissent, the perplexity of local authorities, and the difficulty of generalizing about the beliefs of intellectuals. The predicament of the members of the so-called Modenese Academy who were suspected of philo-Protestantism thus becomes paradigmatic.

Firpo also points to complex issues such as the connections between heresy and the political crisis of Italian republics, or these states' reactions to growing imperial power and ecclesiastical authoritarianism, which manifested itself above all in efforts at social disciplining of the Catholic masses. Other topics Firpo discusses are the ways in which heterodox ideas spread, beginning with sermons, study circles, letters, and the diffusion of printed materials. Firpo rightly stresses the role of the clergy in the early phases of the Italian movement for reform, before its most conspicuous advocates were laymen and a few laywomen.

Among the specific accents of Firpo's book is his affirmation of the significance of the sack of Rome for Italian intellectuals. More important is the cardinal role he attributes to Juan de Valdés in the history of Italian reform. The evaluation of his posthumous influence and of the religious thought of his followers who gathered around Cardinal Reginald Poole after 1541 continues to be debated. Firpo reiterates some persuasive arguments for giving Valdés greater weight than he has so far received, and for reexamining the Spaniard's writings in the light of recent scholarship.

In the last two chapters, devoted respectively to Nicodemism (or outward religious conformity coupled with interior independence), and religious radicalism, mostly Anabaptism, Firpo does not go beyond a summary. But the other eight chapters offer many ideas, observations, and interpretations by a master in the field, and they are well worth careful consideration not only by Reformation specialists but also by anyone interested in early modern Europe. A most helpful fourteen-page bibliography of well-chosen works enhances the utility of this book.

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DOMENICO SCACCHI. *"Abbasso le maschere": Democrazia e garibaldinismo a Roma (1881-1883)*. (Risorgimento, idee e realtà, nuova serie, number 10.) Rome: Ateneo. 1990. Pp. 161.

Due to the extension of the franchise in January 1882 to literate twenty-one-year-olds (with a lowered property qualification or primary certificate of education), the parliamentary elections of that autumn were highly contested, with fears on the Right of a parliamentary infusion of radical workers and on the Left of a rural conservative swing. Domenico Scacchi, however, views the election from a local Roman perspective and examines especially the role of the shady journalist, Francesco Coccapieller, a self-proclaimed "Tribune of Rome" who used a worker's journal, *L'Eco dell'operaio*, and a subsequent journal, *Ezio II*, to wage an antiradical and antirepublican campaign.

Through extensive use of the Ricciotti Garibaldi letters in the Museo del Risorgimento in Rome, Scacchi discloses Coccapieller as the mouthpiece for the political ambitions of Giuseppe Garibaldi's second son Ricciotti, who, after the death of his father in June 1882, aspired to be heir to the Garibaldi legacy although Ricciotti's politics were far less progressive than his father's. Chosen neither for his literary skills nor his Garibaldian past but rather for his previous reputation for scathing and libelous attacks, Coccapieller, whose columns were financed by Ricciotti, attempted through half-truths and preposterous insinuations to implicate certain persons among the democrats, radicals, and masons (where political divisions already existed) in alleged fraudulent dealings and banking scams. His intuition for what appealed to the popular passions, especially to a believing Roman lower class disillusioned and feeling betrayed by the failed promises of Italian unity, and to a Rome enveloped in waves of financial and building speculations, made his unmaskings both loved and hated. The jailing of Coccapieller in August 1882 did not stop the columns or the embodiment of his popularity in ballads and songs. Rather, it only enhanced his reputation and martyrdom. Even the Jesuit journal, *Civiltà cattolica*, profiled him because his attacks on

certain radicals and on Roman speculators could only work to Catholicism's advantage. Scacchi implies the collusion of Agostino Depretis, whose government was the winner of the election of 1882 as the feared ascension to power of the democrats and radicals never transpired. Despite the financial support for his own advancement, the schemes of Ricciotti boomeranged in October when he was defeated in his bid for a parliamentary seat while his now revealed mouthpiece, Coccapieller, was successful. The later assessment by Cesare Lombroso of Coccapieller as a megalomaniac has more than an element of truth.

In this detailed and meticulously researched account such a microscopic approach often loses sight of the broader aspects of 1882, including the election of the first socialist to parliament, Andrea Costa from Ravenna. Scacchi also does not draw any conclusions. Even within the Roman context one must seek a wider context in the works of Fiorella Bartoccini or the older work of Alberto Caracciolo. Yet Scacchi's descriptions of the Left, with the divided Mazzinians and their various presses, and the similarly divided democrats in active contest for the mantle (or the red shirt) of Garibaldi, make a fascinating tale of a Rome in the process of secularization.

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EMILIO GENTILE. *Il culto del littorio: La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*. (Storia e società.) Rome: Laterza. 1993. Pp. xii, 326. L. 32,000.

There has long been a tendency within the scholarly literature on Italian fascism to dismiss the ritualistic and ceremonial aspects of Benito Mussolini's regime as empty demagoguery designed to mask a reactionary and authoritarian system of power relations. In this study, Emilio Gentile, one of Italy's foremost cultural historians of fascism, reevaluates the "symbolic universe of fascism." Influenced by George Mosse's work on the nationalization of the masses, as well as by anthropological approaches to political culture, Gentile looks at Mussolini's movement and regime as manifestations of a new way of experiencing politics through myths, rites, and symbols. In the process, he advances an interpretation of fascism as a secular religion that aspired to transform the Italian people.

Although Gentile locates the roots of the fascist religious cult in the French Revolution, he argues that in the case of Italy the search for a civil religion remained a dominant concern of the country's political forces throughout the century before World War I. His opening chapter follows this search from Giuseppe Mazzini's political mysticism through the largely ineffective educational projects and patriotic rituals of the liberal state to the efforts of nationalist intellectuals to develop a new secular religion before 1914. World War I emerges in Gentile's account as

the decisive development in the rise of a fascist religion. The myths, rites, and symbols born in the trenches reinvigorated a cult of the nation that found its most powerful expression in the Black Shirts.

The heart of Gentile's book depicts fascism as a coherent religious system, and he traces its development through four stages: rituals of the movement prior to the March on Rome, the struggle to establish control of the state symbols between 1923 and 1926, the consolidation of the fascist liturgy between 1926 and 1932, and its institutionalization in the years preceding World War II. Gentile does an excellent job of describing the rites and symbols that permeated virtually all aspects of fascist squadristism in the early years; he is less convincing when he argues that the resultant cult was crucial to the transformation of Mussolini's *fasci* into a mass movement. As the paucity of results in 1919 suggests, fascism's partisan role in the concrete social conflicts between 1920 and 1922, rather than its cult of patriotism, determined the movement's elevation to national prominence. The book is more convincing in its portrait of the missionary dynamism of the Black Shirts after 1922. Between 1923 and 1925, they moved to establish a monopoly of patriotic rites while at the same time institutionalizing fascist rituals and symbols. After 1925 the regime consolidated a totalitarian religion of the state that aspired to control the political, spiritual, and moral development of the Italian people.

Gentile then examines how the rites, symbols, and myths of this fascist religion were designed to mold the population into a "harmonious collective." Among the topics he explores are the creation of a political theology of fascism, the choreography of mass celebrations, the assimilation of fascism in collective life, the symbolic and mythical functions of the art and architecture of the regime, and the cult of "il Duce," or the leader. Gentile challenges the standard portrait of the degeneration of the Fascist Party in the 1930s. In his account the party continued to have a vital "priestly" function, embodying and propagating the new "fascist faith."

The strength of Gentile's study lies in its pathbreaking treatment of the regime's ceremonial life and in its encyclopedic coverage of the cultural aims and aspirations espoused by the fascists. The book rests on an impressive command both of archival sources and the voluminous literature generated by the regime's publicists. Gentile also provides an invaluable synthesis of recent scholarship that has appeared in the last decade on fascist art and architecture.

The book does, however, have some conceptual shortcomings. Although Gentile presents fascist intentions, he has little to say about its achievements and results. His reluctance to distinguish between rhetoric and practice has the effect of exaggerating the impact of the regime's symbols and myths as well as the revolutionary nature of fascism. Moreover, the book provides no real discussion of Catholic popular culture or local cultural traditions that must have

influenced fascist liturgy and conditioned its entrance into Italian society. Nonetheless, his book represents a major first step in decoding the messages of the regime's rites.

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MARIUCCIA SALVATI. *L'inutile salotto: L'abitazione piccolo-borghese nell'Italia fascista*. (Nuova cultura, number 34.) Turin: Bollati Boringhieri. 1993. Pp. 222.

Between the two world wars, lower-middle-class housing in Italy changed. What were the changes? What were the "ideals" behind the changes? What were the forces behind the changes? What did the changes imply about life in Italy? Mariuccia Salvati's goal is to document specifically the situation in Italy during the 1920s and 1930s.

Salvati states (p. 28) that all the changes might be symbolized by the substitution of a "modern" living room (*soggiorno*) for the "traditional" but little-used parlor (*salotto*). The substitution also symbolized a more general shrinking of the private sphere of life. The parlor was the place where the public and private spheres interacted in the home. Without a parlor there was no such separate public-private meeting place. The living room, in contrast, was a place where individuals within the house interacted. This substitution, Salvati argues, had implications for the transformation of the traditional, Catholic, hierarchical family (regarding sex and generation) of Italy toward the more Northern European, Protestant values that emphasized relationships among individuals. She claims the changes were part of a "domestic revolution" that included a new role for women.

Some of the ideals behind these changes were modernization, hygiene, efficiency, and, therefore, leisure time, especially for women. The emphasis was on the nuclear family "finding happiness within four walls" (p. 161). These ideals and the subsequent changes were driven by a combination of public (both market and government) and private attitudes. Individuals came to see a house as a refuge from the external world and also strove to emulate the upper classes. Public opinion as expressed in periodicals and other publications pushed certain points of view. Political entities reacted to or promoted these changes. In this case, the fascists first reacted, then later promoted.

The architectural periodicals and home magazines sought the changes by emphasizing, for example, the uselessness of a parlor, the dustiness and massiveness of the furniture, and the inefficiency of kitchens, and by emphasizing the advantages of the "modern" way. The changes, as Salvati and the periodicals note, had already begun to occur in other places such as Northern Europe and the United States, and so the movement in Italy could be seen as part of a larger trend but with its own national character.

The fascists first reacted to the trend as "revolutionary," but then pushed it as accelerating "modernization." According to Salvati, the party pushed the trend because it saw an opportunity to become intimately involved in the private lives of people (p. 166). The party also strove to become the "indispensable hinge" between "society and its institutions, between the market and the State, between that which was private and that which was public, between freedom and need" (p. 166). The fascists literally institutionalized the trend either by establishing or taking over entities such as Istituto per le case popolari (ICP) and Istituto nazionale per le case degli impiegati dello Stato (INCIS).

Salvati's premise is interesting in two ways. First, an architectural "trend" is a complex, multifaceted event that is consistent with social philosophy, art, government, and individuals' attitudes. Second, the Italian case may be different from some others in that the fascist party, which first opposed this trend, later used the trend to further its own political ends and to reach into the private sphere.

Salvati's work is well documented and useful. Although her stated goal was to study Italy during the 1920s and 1930s, some specific comparisons with other countries in Northern Europe and with the United States might have provided a broader context for her work and, perhaps, helped to emphasize the national idiosyncracies as well as common elements.

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PAOLO NELLO. *Un fedele disubbidiente: Dino Grandi da Palazzo Chigi al 25 luglio*. (Collana di Storia Contemporanea.) Bologna: Mulino. 1993. Pp. 432. L. 42,000.

I once met Dino Grandi in the 1970s while researching a book on his Black Shirt comrade, Italo Balbo. Despite his advanced age and the ravages of an auto accident, I glimpsed something of Grandi in his prime, when he was foreign minister (1929–32) and ambassador to London (1932–39): intelligent, charming, Anglophile. Yet I also had a sense of the man as a little too ingratiating, contradictory, mendacious, and self-promoting. Apparently I was not alone in my evaluations, for the king reportedly called Grandi spineless and two-faced, yet rewarded him with the title of Count of Mordano. I remember clearly leaving the interview, muttering to myself over and over, "Poor Italy, in the clutches of such people."

I began Paolo Nello's book hoping to revise that image, or at least to enrich it. So what if Grandi was slippery or duplicitous. Perhaps he was also an excellent diplomat. Perhaps, as ambassador, he was more than simply a fascist propagandist, as his detractors have claimed. Certainly Nello is the man to provide me with answers and insights. The current volume is the completion of a two-part study. The first volume,

Dino Grandi: La formazione di un leader fascista (1987), dealt with Grandi the Black Shirt, newspaper editor, lawyer, and sometime rival of Benito Mussolini in the early days of fascism. This book covers Grandi's subsequent career as a diplomat, then as minister of Justice and president of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations (1939–43), and finally as one of the major instigators of the crisis that brought down the regime.

Nello is faithful to the disobedient loyalist theme suggested in his book's title. Grandi remained loyal to Mussolini, whom he considered "the greatest political force that the nation possesses" and who was worthy of the epigraph, "He was too great for his times and his country" (p. 113). Grandi also believed in being "faithful even in disobedience" and in disobeying in such a way that, "rather than diminishing Mussolini," the action "would increase his merits."

Nello bases his book on Grandi's personal papers and diaries, as well as Italian, British, and American archives. Patiently, faithfully, and in strict chronological fashion, the author records the twists and turns of Grandi's positions on the various major Anglo-Italian and European diplomatic crises of the 1930s. For the most part, Nello lets facts and documents speak for themselves. The fog of his prose does little to highlight or explain his story. Indeed, the liveliest parts of the book are the often generous extracts from the documents in which Grandi reveals himself in all his duplicity.

At the end, the reader knows what Grandi's positions were during various crises, yet Nello provides little sense of their significance. Did Grandi truly play a decisive role in the Ethiopian war? Was he the one behind Neville Chamberlain's request that Mussolini use his influence to resolve the Czech crisis of 1938? Was Grandi, with his glowing reports about how England was going fascist, in part responsible for Mussolini's ill-fated decision to enter the war? Why did Grandi so callously sign the racial laws? To his credit, he was among those who initiated the July 25, 1943, Grand Council meeting. But why, like so many other fascist *gerarchi*, did he wait until the situation was hopeless? Nello never really faces these questions head on. This study left me still shaking my head, and muttering: "Poor Italy, in the clutches of such people."

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DUNCAN M. PERRY. *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870–1895*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 308. \$39.95.

Bulgaria is a country of contradictions. Having an egalitarian peasant society without class differences and one of Europe's most democratic constitutions, its modern history nevertheless has seen a stream of

dictators, both royal and commoner. Its intelligentsia was generally well educated, Western oriented, and progressive, but the country sided with Germany in the two world wars, and in the Communist period it was Moscow's most entrenched ally in Eastern Europe. Its modern history has also been marked by terror, assassination, and wars of national aggrandizement, but today, despite a nearly equal division between democrats and socialists, it is one of the most stable countries of the former socialist bloc.

There are a number of historical reasons for these contradictions: the conflict between conservative monarchs and radical prime ministers and parliaments, the dependency of political parties on great powers, and so forth. Many of the contradictions also have roots in the policies established by Stefan Stambolov, the country's dictator from 1887 to 1893. Stambolov himself was full of contradictions. A champion of radical liberation before 1878, he was associated with the important members of the Bulgarian liberation movement in exile, such as Khristo Botev and Liuben Karavelov. After liberation, he emerged as the country's first international figure, aside from Prince Alexander of Battenberg. The founder of the Liberal Party, he first opposed the conservative prince, then, after forcing him to accept his destiny uniting northern Bulgaria and eastern Rumelia, became his champion.

When Russia turned on Battenberg and forced his abdication, Stambolov's party became the so-called Russophobe party of Bulgaria. This made him the darling of Great Britain, which turned a blind eye to his dictatorial methods in running the country. Indeed, the hagiographic biography of Stambolov by his friend, A. G. Hulme Beaman, published in 1893, was for years one of the few books about Bulgaria available to the English-reading public.

It was in this period that Stambolov not only took over running the country but also found a replacement for Battenberg in the controversial Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. Ferdinand then challenged Stambolov's position in the country and eventually ousted him from power in 1893. A year later a Macedonian terrorist assassinated him, the first of a half-dozen Bulgarian prime ministers to fall at the hands of assassins or executioners in only fifty years.

Duncan Perry has written a much-needed biography of Stambolov. Because of his anti-Russian policies and the policies that his party carried out against the early socialists, Stambolov has been a neglected figure in recent Bulgarian historiography despite its general flourishing in other areas and its treatment of figures who were equally controversial from the Communist point of view. The new liberalism of the 1980s brought a revival of interest in Bulgaria in the nineteenth-century leader and opened archives to Perry so that he could give a balanced description of Stambolov. Perry, an established scholar of Bulgaria who has spent much time in the country examining ar-

chives and rare contemporary literature, is well suited to the job and has written an excellent book.

Perry is sympathetic to Stambolov and excuses his excesses, which ranged from press censorship to the execution of political opponents, as necessary for the protection of the infant state. He concludes, "Stambolov . . . saved the Bulgarian state and its institutions from foreign encroachments and protected them from foreign takeover. That his methods were often brutal and unlawful is undeniable, that he was no democrat is clear. Nevertheless, his long-neglected memory deserves better than the oblivion into which it was cast" (p. 241). Perry also includes a useful appendix of short biographies of Bulgaria's leading figures of the period. This biography is essential reading for anyone who wishes to understand modern Eastern Europe.

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JILL A. IRVINE. *The Croat Question: Partisan Politics in the Formation of the Yugoslav Socialist State*. Foreword by IVO BANAC. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xviii, 318. \$49.50.

Jill A. Irvine, a student of contemporary Yugoslav affairs, was a Fulbright scholar to Yugoslavia, where, in an investigation of the Croatian question that became the subject of her Ph.D. dissertation, she visited Yugoslav research centers and consulted with many informed persons. The book is endorsed in a foreword by Ivo Banac, a well-known expert on Eastern Europe. After a short introduction, the author discusses the Yugoslav putsch of March 27, 1941, the Axis invasion and destruction of Yugoslavia, and the emergence of two resistance movements—Drazha Mihailovich's Chetniks and Josip Broz Tito's Communist Partisans—their ephemeral cooperation against the Axis, and the bloody conflict between them from which the Partisans emerged victorious. Both resistance movements primarily attracted Serbs to their ranks; the powerful Croatian Peasant Party (CPP), with Vladko Machek at its head, refused to condemn the fascist-sponsored Independent State of Croatia and virtually sat out the war.

By November 1942, Tito felt strong enough to proceed with state-building and convened the first Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia. In this effort, Tito relied heavily on what Irvine calls the Bolshevik strategy, which provided for a "highly centralized state covered by a veneer of federal institutions" (pp. 2–3). Irvine explains how under the pressure of "Croat national sentiment," Andrija Hebrang undertook "to modify the CPY's [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] 'Bolshevik' state building strategy" (p. 3) by adopting a "federalist" strategy that would give maximum political autonomy to the Communist Party of Croatia (CPC) and the

Land Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Croatia. Hebrang, recognizing the popularity of the CPP, sought to bring it into close collaboration with the Partisans but could not achieve his objective. Impressed with Hebrang's success and disturbed by his disregard for authority and democratic centralism, Tito sent Edvard Kardelj to investigate Hebrang and his work.

After completing his investigation, Kardelj charged Hebrang with being anti-Serb, anti-Slovene, anti-Yugoslav, autocratic, and with meddling in domestic and foreign affairs. Hebrang was later accused of having been an Ustasha and a German spy. On Kardelj's recommendation, Tito removed Hebrang as the head of the CPC and assigned him lesser posts. In 1948, Hebrang, suspected of possible involvement in Stalin's anti-Tito maneuvers, was sent to prison, where he died in 1949 under mysterious circumstances (p. 210). Irvine believes that some of the criticism heaped on Hebrang was unjust.

The Tito-Hebrang dispute survived them both and, in the 1950s and 1960s, when Yugoslavia embarked on political and economic reform, the division of power between central and regional authorities resurfaced and remained a perennial source of tension. There was pressure from all sides to democratize the state system, but because of a repressive and highly centralized postwar government, no change in state organization was possible. The institutional decentralization of the early 1970s, however, permitted the release of strong centrifugal forces. Irvine notes that, along with Croatia's cultural society, Matica Hrvatska, liberals of the League of Communists of Croatia were in the forefront of the movement for greater regional autonomy and, because the Croatian and Serbian questions are enmeshed, she discusses the Serbian question as well. Tito's personality and influence helped mitigate one crisis after another, and Irvine believes that under Tito it would have been possible to "introduce more truly federal institutions while maintaining traditional party centralism" (p. 272). With the death of the "enforcer of party discipline and ultimate arbiter of national conflicts," this was no longer possible and the system "began to unravel" (p. 273).

On January 22, 1990, when the Slovene delegation walked out of the Fourteenth Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia after Serbia refused to approve a federal model that would have given the republics and their parties full autonomy, Yugoslavia was doomed. Multiparty elections followed, and the results marked the end of Communist rule, with the Communists being voted out of power in four out of six republics. The acute political crisis quickly led to violence and bloodshed.

This exacting study of an intricate subject would have been enriched by a more detailed discussion of the Croat Muslim policy and the effects on Croatia of Italy's military collapse in September 1942. But this caveat notwithstanding, the book is a solid contribu-

tion to the historiography of contemporary Yugoslav history.

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REIN TAAGEPERA. *Estonia: Return to Independence*. (Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, with the cooperation of the Harriman Institute. 1993. Pp. xv, 268. Cloth \$52.95, paper \$18.95.

This is the first volume on the Baltic states to appear in the Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics. Rein Taagepera is a well-known specialist on the Baltic area and on comparative electoral systems. Written, as Taagepera notes (p. xv), in a style more "personal" than the normal academic account, the book merges a deep knowledge of Estonia's distant and recent past with a sophisticated understanding of Estonian politics, producing a readable account of the country's pre-Soviet history (chaps. 2 and 3), the period of Soviet rule (chaps. 4 and 5), and the events that, starting in 1987, led by September 1991 to the recovery of Estonian independence (chaps. 5 and 6). In addition, chapter 1 considers Estonia as a laboratory of successful nonviolent political change and chapter 7 looks at the role Estonia as a small country might play in an interdependent Europe (and world) that will continue to be dominated for some time by large countries or blocs of them. The book is immensely insightful and fully justifies the author's reputation (earned earlier by his and Romuald Misiunas's *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940-1980* (2d ed., 1993) as one of a small handful of leading specialists on the complex politics of the Baltic region. Taagepera brings to his story the kind of descriptive detail that by necessity is missing from the accounts of authors who cannot read all of the area's languages, especially Estonian.

Taagepera was involved in Estonian politics and economic reform after 1989 and in fact was a candidate for the Estonian presidency in 1992. These experiences make the book the interpretation of a deeply engaged participant-observer. Because of their location ("one cannot escape geography," Taagepera opines [p. 230]), the Estonians have been the objects of expansionist efforts by larger and ambitious neighbors since the thirteenth century. Having survived as a distinct ethnolinguistic entity for many centuries under a succession of non-Estonian elites (Germans, Swedes, Russians), the Estonians fought for and achieved independence and a national state immediately after World War I. They were deprived of both in 1939-40 when the Soviet Union became the most recent overlord, occupying and incorporating the Baltic territories. To Taagepera, the Soviet Union was an "empire" based on pre-Soviet facilities (p. 208), and, with regard to the Baltic, the Moscow government acted in a typically "imperial"

and predatory manner by exploiting the natural resources of the country and settling large numbers of its population (mostly Russians) there. Moscow, in fact, followed developmental and linguistic policies toward the Estonians that in the long run would have proved to be "genocidal" (p. 84), eliminating Estonian from the world's repertoire of languages and extinguishing the Estonians as a distinct people. A determined resistance to such pressures, manifesting itself in the post-Stalinist years as non-cooperation and later as active dissidence, allowed the Estonians to regain independence when the "empire" began to dissolve during Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to revivify it. The disintegration of the "empire" left in Estonia (and elsewhere in the former Soviet republics) fragments of an "imperial" army as well as a Russian-speaking population of "colonists" (pp. 140, 220, 225), both of which have remained serious hindrances to state-rebuilding and normalization. Because the Russian "colonists" have "no experience with any non-dominating role" (p. 220), the requirements of living as a minority in a non-Russian state frequently appear to them oppressive and a violation of their human rights. In the long run these "colonists" will have to learn their new roles, just as the Estonians will have to learn to live in a much more interdependent world than existed in the interwar period.

Taagepera's interpretation does not eschew terms such as "occupation," "colonists," and "genocide," all of which are part of the continuing disputes between Estonia and the Russian federation. A less-engaged observer might have selected a different vocabulary, but the English language offers few alternatives for depicting the Estonians' travails in the Soviet system. Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union by force, the composition of its population was dramatically altered through the construction of giant state enterprises for which (as Moscow well knew) the labor force would have to be recruited from outside the Baltic area, and during the 1945–85 period state policy had the effect of peripheralizing the Estonian language in favor of Russian (allegedly the "international" language). Now the country is seeking integration with Western Europe voluntarily. How successful the Estonians will be in preserving their national identity and language under less-coercive but equally powerful cultural pressures remains to be seen.

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LOREN R. GRAHAM. *Science in Russia and the Soviet Union: A Short History*. (Cambridge History of Science.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 321. \$29.95.

Loren R. Graham, a prominent historian of Soviet science, has written a one-volume history of Russian science. Intended for the "educated person who

knows little about the history of Russian and Soviet science and technology but would like to read one book on the subject" (p. ix), it is well written, frequently insightful, and firmly grounded in the scholarly literature.

Short books about complex subjects force on the author difficult choices. Graham's choices reflect his own areas of expertise and his central theme: "the shaping of science and scientific institutions in Russia and the Soviet Union by social, economic, and political factors" (p. 1). His book consists of three roughly chronological sections, one on tsarist Russia and two on the Soviet Union. Each section contains three topical chapters developing Graham's central theme. The result is a collection of essays with much to recommend them, but not quite a balanced and integrated history.

The book's first and weakest section concerns the tsarist period. Chapter 1 concentrates on the early impediments to the development of Russian science, Peter the Great's herculean efforts to overcome them, and the country's "first great scientist," M. V. Lomonosov. Graham then explores the careers and contributions of the mathematician N. I. Lobachevskii and the chemist D. I. Mendeleev. Following this is a discussion of the social and cultural influences on the reception of Darwin's theory. Missing, however, is a general picture of Russia's scientific community and, most importantly, its flowering in the last decades of tsarism. During this "Golden Age" scientists benefited from an explosion of scientific societies, journals, and institutions; gained extensive international contacts; and won their first Nobel Prizes, thus establishing traditions and aspirations with which the Bolsheviks wrestled after 1917. As a "short history" of tsarist science, then, this section is disappointing.

The treatment of Soviet science is much more successful. In section 2 Graham explores the relationship between science and Soviet Marxism. His chapter on "The Russian Revolution and the Scientific Community" examines Bolshevik discussions of science policy from the 1920s through the Great Break (1928–31) that firmly established Soviet science's centralized structure. Graham next summarizes his argument, presented first in his *Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union* (1972), that dialectical materialism played a fruitful role in the work of the psychologist L. S. Vygotskii, the biochemist A. I. Oparin, and the physicist V. Fock. This argument is certainly plausible, but historians of science know it is perilous to rely on scientists' public statements to understand their actual cognitive path (especially when their society has a mandatory official philosophy). In chapter 6, "Stalinist Ideology and the Lysenko Affair," Graham makes the argument that the Soviet Union's most notorious scientific success story resulted not from Marxist ideology but from "the social and political context of Soviet Russia in the 1930s" (p. 124).

The book's third section, "Science and Soviet Soci-

ety," addresses "attitudes toward science and technology and the organizational framework of research and development" from 1917 to 1991 (p. 4). It begins with a penetrating essay on Soviet approaches to the history of science, but this subject hardly merits a chapter in this short book. There follow two fine essays on the social history of Soviet science. In chapter 8 Graham examines the "series of oscillations in the relationship of the Soviet state and the technical intelligentsia" (p. 159). He makes the intriguing suggestion that the conflict between the state's claim to a monopoly of power and the intelligentsia's technocratic tendencies was muted as technocratic ideology suffused the state apparatus through "the narrow engineering education of the great majority of the Soviet Union's top administrators" (p. 166). The final chapter is a convincing and elegant account of the political forces behind the rise of the Soviet research institute system, and of its positive and negative consequences for Soviet science.

These sections provide a good overview of Soviet science, but here too the book's thematic structure creates problems. For an integrated picture of any single period the reader must skip back and forth across several different essays. Furthermore, since these essays are tightly focused, much falls between the cracks. For example, Graham's concentration on political and policy issues in "The Russian Revolution and the Scientific Community" leaves the reader uninformed of the desperate living conditions for many scientists from 1917 to 1921 and the mass emigration to the West.

Several factual errors should be mentioned. Graham mistakenly states (p. 81) that the permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences, S. F. Ol'denburg, was a "Prince" (has Graham confused him with Prince A. P. Ol'denburgskii, founder of the Imperial Institute of Experimental Medicine?). Ivan Pavlov received a Nobel Prize in 1904 for his work not, as the author says, on conditioned reflexes but on digestive physiology (p. 239). And, contrary to Graham's assertion (pp. 82–83), the Academy of Sciences did pass a resolution in 1917 denying the legitimacy of the Bolshevik regime.

Two chapter-length appendixes on "The Physical and Mathematical Sciences" and "The Biological Sciences, Medicine, and Technology" provide concise intellectual and social histories of particular fields. Those stimulated by this volume to read further will benefit from the thorough bibliographical essay with which it concludes.

Graham's concentration on broad and highly public ideological, political, and policy issues reflects a "social history" long constrained by the lack of archival materials. Historians of the Soviet Union are now mining the riches made accessible in recent years and addressing questions about the fine-grain and non-public dimensions of the Soviet state and its scientific

community. This new social history will surely add much to an already complex and dramatic tale.

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JOAN NEUBERGER. *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 19.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 324. \$42.00.

This important study joins a handful of recent works on prerevolutionary Russia that probe behind the familiar surfaces of political events, social battles, and competing ideologies. Focusing on a seemingly marginal and even eccentric phenomenon—a variety of behaviors that contemporaries named "hooliganism"—Joan Neuberger provides insight into the heart of Russia's deepening crisis.

We see here expressions of lower-class defiance and deviance largely ignored in histories of social conflict and protest, ranging from the performative insolence of street pranksters (such as lewd behavior in front of women or unbolting park benches) to knifings and collective violence. But this study's main contribution is its attention to hooliganism as a cultural construct, a behavioral text that reveals much about lower-class attitudes and values, and especially an object of civic discourse that tells us about the ideals and fears of an emerging middle-class urban public.

Labeling certain behaviors and crimes "hooliganism," as the boulevard press did, was a cultural act, a defense and assertion of ideals of middle-class respectability. From this cultural vantage point, hooliganism represented the symbolic antithesis of "civilization" (*kul'tura*). Indeed, what made certain behaviors definable as hooligan was their affront to propriety and their apparent randomness, senselessness, and cynical amorality. These were not just public nuisances or dangerous crimes but assaults against norms the middle class held to be universal: rationality, emotional self-discipline, proper manners, social ambition, and family values. Public discourse about hooliganism, especially in publications that considered themselves the voices of the respectable middle class, thus was not only judgmental and culturally aggressive but also (and increasingly) filled with anxiety in the face of what seemed to be a steadily rising tide of plebeian barbarism, hostility, and incorrigible cultural otherness.

Looking at hooliganism itself, Neuberger emphasizes what the disdainful middle-class observers could not see: proud defiance, individual and social assertiveness, resistance to middle-class efforts to impose notions of cultured behavior and thought, and protest against social subordination and marginalization. In the author's words, hooliganism was "a demonstration of popular culture, a nasty way for some lower-class men to proclaim that they would never adopt the

respectable conventions of behavior necessary for admittance to society" (pp. 66–67).

Thus, hooliganism is seen as essentially a struggle over power: control of the streets and other public spaces, the individual right to "act as one pleases," the autonomy of popular culture, and the very existence of a single cultural standard. More than Neuberger, I found the evidence pointing to a struggle over moralities, but one certainly intertwined with issues of power and hierarchy.

Neuberger's handling of these matters is methodologically sophisticated. She brings notions of power, public space, class, and culture to bear on her evidence, and she also examines theoretical debates about the uses of such categories. She is sensitive to the multiplicity of social experiences and attitudes, the *tenuousness and fluidity of social boundaries*, and the importance of cultural as well as social markers in defining hierarchies and conflicts.

Neuberger might have gone further in describing the multiplicity of meanings and social fractures bound up with hooliganism. Repeated insistence on hooliganism as a variety of lower-class protest and assertiveness, for example, tends to obscure the extent (alluded to as a possibility) that these actions also reflected the troubled spirits of individuals psychologically injured by poverty and subordination. Cynical disdain for the value of human life, often evident in such actions, suggests motives and attitudes hardly limited to defying middle-class values. Likewise, this study could have gone even further in recognizing the fracturing of Russian society over cultural issues. For example, lower-class culture was itself deeply divided over issues of manners and morality, and the distinctive efforts of both radical and conservative workers to combat "hooligan culture" is a neglected but important part of this story. Still, such additions would only reinforce many of the arguments of this book.

Few other studies suggest as well as this work does the depth and texture of Russia's prewar crisis. Older models of social polarization (themselves challenges to still older paradigms that saw Russian society as steadily overcoming its problems through social and political modernization) pale before this portrait of aspects of what contemporaries spoke of as Russia's "spiritual" crisis: conflicts over fundamental moral values, a deepening sense of disorder, and waning confidence in the future. Ominously, perhaps, the same sense of crisis is increasingly voiced in Russia today.

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DIETRICH BEYRAU. *Intelligenz und Dissens: Die russischen Bildungsschichten in der Sowjetunion 1917–1985*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 344. DM 48.

"Intelligentsia and dissidence," Dietrich Beyrau tells us with his book's title, describes "the Russian-educated strata in the Soviet Union" from 1917 to 1985, that is, a sociocultural process within which a small body of intelligentsia was transformed into an enormous establishment of diplomaed workers, some of whom—very few, in fact—turned to dissidence. Beyrau says that he resisted the temptation to point his history toward the swift collapse of the whole system after 1985, but his richly informed book does shed a great deal of light on that astonishing denouement. Indeed, the dust-jacket blurb declares the main theme to be "this altercation—simply stated: between power and spirit—in which the regime imperceptibly lost its legitimacy." That is a pithy version of the conventional stereotype concerning Soviet cultural history: "the Party" flayed "the intelligentsia," but in the long run "power" was defeated by "spirit," that is, by the spontaneous fellowship of critically thinking individuals, as the intelligentsia likes to perceive itself. Intermittently Beyrau's text inclines toward that mythic vision, most notably in highlighting at the outset a comment made in 1909 by Viacheslav Ivanov, confronting the image of Peter the Great at the Neva's edge, the Bronze Horseman that Pushkin fixed in Russian minds as the symbol of the Russian state. Ivanov noted the serpent writhing beneath the horse's hoof, and saw there the tormented pride of the intelligentsia: "half crushed, still it threatened steed and rider."

For the most part Beyrau's analysis is far more complex than that image, far more revealing of cultural and political developments in dialectical interaction. Making thoughtful use of primary sources, and even more of historical studies ranging from belles-lettres and historiography to biology (economics and jurisprudence, however, are serious omissions), Beyrau comes to a conclusion that contradicts both Ivanov's boast and the dust-jacket blurb: "The very elevated position of intellectual elites and their integration in the institutions created in Stalin's time forbid a simple opposition of spirit and power." The persistent effort of the text in between is to show how both generalizations, the intertwining and the opposition of political and cultural elites, point to different aspects of the same complex history. The party-state was shaped by the swelling stratum of educated people even as the party-state sought to subordinate and use them, with long-term frustrations accumulating for all. "Intelligentsia" did become an occupational category, educated specialists serving the party-state, rather than a fellowship of critical thinkers, but the transformation hindered the service that bosses demanded of specialists and gave new life to the tradition of defiant thinkers speaking truth to power. The dissidents who emerged during the reforms instituted by Nikita Khrushchev called attention to a chronic crisis of the system, expressing in their marginal ways the need for systemic change, a sense shared by bosses as well as specialists, although a prac-

licable program of basic reform proved impossible to conceive or to achieve, with breakdown resulting. Beyrau helps to understand that long-term process.

Ivanov's metaphor of steed and serpent comes to be seen as a defiant refusal to accept the massive interdependency of state and intelligentsia, before the revolution and long after. Beyrau brings out both the persistent defiance and the dark realm (*temnoe tsarstvo*) that it rejects, most famously pictured by Nikolai Dobroliubov in 1859: all sections of Russian society locked in vicious circles of *derzhimordstvo* (hold-the-snoutism) and *podkhalimstvo* (toadyism), *samo-durstvo* (pigheaded self-assertion) above and *obezlichka* (self-effacement) below.

This book strikes me as a very illuminating summation of Soviet cultural history. An English translation would be quite useful, not only for assignment to students but also for conscientious professors at the lectern, struggling to make sense of a most refractory subject.

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GENNADY SHKLIAREVSKY. *Labor in the Russian Revolution: Factory Committees and Trade Unions, 1917–1918*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xxi, 282. \$49.95.

Western historiography of the Bolshevik Revolution initially focused on conspiratorial politics, but during the last fifteen years or so, historians have investigated the workers' revolution. For all the contributions of this revisionist history, however, it has generally left unanswered the question of how a revolution that enjoyed mass support could have turned authoritarian in its labor policies so abruptly, months or even weeks after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Gennady Shkliarevsky's flawed but provocative analysis of Russian revolutionary labor politics attempts to answer this question neither with history from above nor from below but rather with what might be called history from the middle: an examination of the interaction of factory committees and trade unions with workers, political parties, and the state. The geographic focus is the revolutionary capital Petrograd, although developments outside the capital are not ignored completely.

The book is divided into two parts. Much of the first summarizes developments familiar from other studies of 1917, but Shkliarevsky argues that the factory-committee and trade-union functionaries pursued their own institutional interests and agendas, not necessarily those of rank-and-file workers. How else, he asks, are we to explain why the factory committees mobilized opposition to the Provisional Government much earlier than the unions, although both shared a common constituency? The Provisional Government's opposition to giving workers a voice in management, coupled with Bolshevik support for workers' control, led factory committees to support calls for the overthrow of the Provisional Govern-

ment long before trade unions and the mass of workers did so.

The second half of the book attempts to explain the factory committees' and trade unions' support for the Bolshevik suppression of workers after October 1917. Arguing that revisionist accounts are unable to explain this support because they incorrectly view the policies of factory committees and trade unions as a reflection of workers' attitudes, Shkliarevsky turns our attention to the bitter struggle over who would be the intermediary between workers and the Soviet state. The factory committees, disregarding their previous support for a socialist coalition government and worker discontent with the Bolshevik regime, gained the upper hand in the first weeks after the Bolshevik insurrection by backing the Bolsheviks' drive to monopolize political power. Lenin and other radical Bolsheviks, threatened by Menshevik strength in the trade unions, placed the factory committees in charge of supervising industrial production, even after workers' control aggravated the already desperate economic conditions in Russia. That the trade unions prevailed likewise was due not to worker support or a reevaluation of economic policy but to cynical political maneuvering. With the removal of moderate socialists from the unions in January 1918, Lenin no longer needed the discredited factory committees. When the now Bolshevik-led unions demanded that the factory committees be absorbed into the new trade-union structure, the committee functionaries' previously staunch supporters among the Bolshevik leadership abandoned them.

Historians have failed to appreciate the role of labor functionaries, but Shkliarevsky overstates their power. In addition, while a cold calculation by the factory committees and trade unions of their institutional interests may account for their policies, to be persuasive this argument needs a systematic analysis of the factory-committee and union leadership, including how it changed from the March Revolution through the first months of 1918. And to argue that the Provisional Government's failure to support, and the Bolsheviks' ultimate abandonment of, the factory committees had little to do with the feasibility of workers' control needs to be supported by more extensive research. On this and other issues Shkliarevsky fails to introduce much new archival or printed evidence.

Moreover, a lack of judiciousness mars Shkliarevsky's critique of the revisionist literature. In what borders on the libelous, he asserts, without so much as a footnote, that Maurice Brinton and Steven Smith "tamper with facts in order to preserve their basic conception" (p. xiii). But, despite its shortcomings, this study merits the attention of historians concerned with how the Bolsheviks created a centralized one-party state.

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NEAR EAST

JOHN FORAN. *Fragile Resistance: Social Transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xiv, 452. \$44.95.

Sociologists interested in broad sweeps of the historical brush may be impressed by John Foran's book. It covers 500 years of Iranian history, contains more than 950 footnotes (invariably citing two or more published works), and uses every conceivable English-language source on the subject. Foran applies the concepts of economic dependency and world-systems, promising to put Iran on the "theoretical map" and hoping to challenge Iran specialists to "enter into the theoretical debate" (p. 13). He also promises to tackle not only the topics of state and society but also those of class, ethnicity, gender, political culture, and modes of production. As if this were not enough, he promises to solve the central problems of Iranian historiography and present a new "theory of social revolutions" (p. 218) applicable to other parts of the Third World. Impressed, the Middle East Studies Association of North America awarded this work the 1988-89 prize for the best social science dissertation completed in the United States.

But historians more interested in depth than in breadth will be less impressed. They would consider it more survey history than historical sociology in the tradition of Karl Mannheim, Norbert Elias, or Philip Abrams. Instead of focusing on a manageable question, Foran strives to provide a grand picture of the whole society over four full centuries. Instead of exploring any one of the many interesting questions touched on here, he tends to cavalierly sketch them. For example, the discussion of modes of production merely repeats in new words the old nineteenth-century population categories of agriculturalists, pastoralists, and urban dwellers. Instead of presenting a fresh approach, Foran rehashes the frequently used—some would say well-worn—concept of economic dependency. Instead of finding new primary sources, the book relies entirely on familiar secondary works. The equivalent would be an Iranian sociologist writing a 200-year history of the United States using only Persian-language sources.

Instead of reaching new conclusions for the main historical questions, Foran produces tepid and bland summaries. For example, in tackling the question of whether the standard of living improved in the nineteenth century, he concludes that for some it improved but for others it declined. In investigating Muhammed Mosaddeq's overthrow in 1953, he concludes that some historians have stressed external factors, others internal ones, but both played an important role. In presenting a "new model" for the revolution of 1979, he argues in favor of a "multi-causal" explanation (p. 362) that includes economic, political, social, and cultural factors. None of these conclusions would sound new to the conventional historian.

On the rare occasion when Foran dares to present a new argument, he often steps on slippery ground. For example, he claims that foreign capital played an important role in the 1970s, and cites (without footnote) a cabinet minister's claim that, by the outbreak of the revolution, the multinational corporations had as much as \$5.2 billion invested in Iran (p. 329). In fact, data published by the Central Bank show that total foreign investments in 1977 came to no more than \$864 million, hardly a significant sum in the overall picture. That this work was awarded the annual prize provides food for thought about the state of Middle East studies in North America.

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ELIEZER TAUBER. *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*. London: Frank Cass, with the cooperation of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1993. Pp. 406. \$20.00.

ELIEZER TAUBER. *The Arab Movements in World War I*. London: Frank Cass, with the cooperation of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, the Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv University; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1993. Pp. 322. \$20.00.

Historians have long debated the origins of Arab nationalism. Thirty years ago, C. Ernest Dawn set the terms of the debate. He proposed that the idea of Arabism emerged at the turn of the twentieth century among Arabs from the modernist wing of the Muslim religious establishment rather than in the 1870s and 1880s among Arab Christian intellectuals, as originally proposed by George Antonius in the late 1930s. Dawn suggested that the movement of Arab nationalism was the result of intra-Arab elite conflict involving upper-class Syrians, principally from Damascus. Those who held positions in the Ottoman government remained loyal to the Ottoman state until it collapsed during World War I; those who were denied posts, especially after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, adopted Arabism as a mechanism for expressing their competition with their fellow Arab elites and disaffection with the Ottoman system. He suggested that before the collapse of Ottoman rule in 1918 the vast majority of Arab elites in geographic Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine, although increasingly interested in a relaxation of Turkish authority, preferred to remain within the Ottoman empire; only a small minority actually entertained the idea of establishing an independent Arab state.

Three decades later, the fundamental terms of the debate are still the ones set out by Dawn, although some of his premises have been revised and others are still being challenged. The geographic and social

bases of early Arab nationalism appear to have been wider than he suggested: Beirut and Cairo, not just Damascus, made major contributions to the birth of Arabism, and the movement attracted a significant number of middle-class elements from the liberal professions; even reformist members of the Muslim religious establishment in Syria were sympathetic to what was a fundamentally secular movement. More recently, historians have been exploring the development of populist politics and mass political consciousness in geographic Syria to see in what ways Arabism may have influenced their evolution.

Eliezer Tauber's main contention is that Arabism or proto-Arab nationalism was only one of four trends that characterized Arab political life in geographic Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine, and Iraq before 1920. Moreover, of the four it was the least well defined and politically meaningful. The other trends were Lebanonism, a movement associated principally with Lebanese Christians of the autonomous Mt. Lebanon; Syrianism, which attracted Muslims and Christians from Damascus and Beirut; and Iraqism, which appealed to Ottoman military officers of Iraqi provenance. He bases his argument on a wide variety of important and mostly familiar sources, including Arabic political memoirs, British and French foreign office materials, and documentation from the Central Zionist and Israel State archives.

Tauber's first volume, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*, revisits the history of the Arab political and cultural societies of the era. It includes an interesting examination, employing Dawn's Weberian approach, of the ideology, size, composition, and influence of these societies, the ways they were linked, and the character of their leaderships. Tauber makes several observations and arguments; most will be familiar to historians of early Arab nationalism. Participants in nearly all Arab societies came predominantly from the upper classes, with only a minority from the middle classes and virtually none from the lower classes of geographic Syria. A majority had advanced educations and belonged either to the liberal professions or the military. The French were viewed as being more sympathetic to the aspirations of Lebanonism and more hostile to those of Arabism than were the British. Arabism and Iraqism were led almost exclusively by Muslims; Syrianism by Muslims but with a significant number of Christians; and Lebanonism almost exclusively by Christians. Iraqism could hardly be considered a movement before World War I. Where Tauber parts company with some historians is in arguing that Arabism may not have been what most aroused Arabs in the Ottoman empire to question and even resist the authority of Turkish rule. In his estimation, Lebanonism and Syrianism were larger and more influential movements than Arabism.

The second volume discusses the various abortive revolts in greater Syria and Iraq in 1914–15 and the

consequent execution of some of the most important early Arab nationalist leaders. It then offers an exhaustive analysis of the Syrian and Iraqi contributions to the anti-Turkish, Hashemite-led Arab Revolt of 1916 that originated in western Arabia and was sponsored by the British. Tauber convincingly argues that while the total number of Syrians and Iraqis from the Arabist societies, al-Fatat and al-'Ahd, who participated was minuscule, they held a disproportionate share of leadership positions in the revolt. The Arabist trend also reasserted itself during the revolt, although as the revolt wound down conflicts developed between Iraqi and Syrian Arabists that eventually strengthened Syrianism and Iraqism at the expense of Arabism in the post-World War I era. Tauber also points to growing tensions between Syrianism and Lebanonism at this time.

Tauber claims to offer a fresh interpretation of early Arab nationalism. He has recalibrated the importance of Arab nationalism in light of other competing political trends in greater Syria in the early twentieth century. He makes it abundantly clear that Arab nationalism faced competition from smaller, more specifically defined nationalisms or subnationalisms. Some historians will not be persuaded, however, by the rather clear demarcation he establishes between Arabism and Syrianism; in this early phase, the overlap was undoubtedly greater than he suggests. Others will find the absence of any detailed discussion of an emerging Palestinian-Arab nationalism perplexing, given recent scholarship and Tauber's own concern with small nationalisms. On balance, he has left us with a nuanced, richly detailed appreciation of the imprint of emerging Arab political movements on the late Ottoman era, but he has not significantly refined or extended the dominant framework of analysis and interpretation established by Dawn.

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KENNETH J. PERKINS. *Port Sudan: The Evolution of a Colonial City*. (State, Culture, and Society in Arab North Africa.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xvi, 264. \$49.00.

Partly because they are still so new, the cities created in colonial Africa have received little scholarly attention as artifacts of European imperialism. There, as elsewhere during the colonial period and indeed in other eras, town-building both symbolized the power of a new regime and created and channeled wealth. Port Sudan on the Red Sea coast is a striking example, since it was designed and built where nothing had been before; it was an investment in the future.

Kenneth J. Perkins's study traces the history of Port Sudan from inception to the post-independence period. Drawing on government and private archives in the Sudan and Britain, and effectively applying the

fruits of his own earlier research on the Maghrib, Perkins supplies one of the lamentably few monographs on Sudanese cities. By comparing Port Sudan with Kenitra and Port Said, he places it in a colonial-development context; by stressing the Anglo-Egyptian factor he clarifies the uniqueness of Port Sudan. Egypt paid for it: British planners had not only the virtually free hand that colonial rule allowed but also, very unusually, they had the almost blank check that nominal Condominium provided. Thus, Perkins is right to conclude that Port Sudan "reveals with considerable clarity" what its designers considered "the ideal colonial city should look like" (p. 6).

It was a community closely reflecting the economic reasons for its existence and the social chasm between rulers and ruled. Port Sudan was meant as the main gateway for the Sudan government railways and the Gezira cotton it would one day carry to world markets. In chapter 3, Perkins surveys that role during the heyday of the 1920s and the grim years of depression that followed. In chapter 5, "The Crystallization of Disparity," he reveals land allocation and usage policy. Chapter 6, "Working the Port," deals with the labor market. Chapters follow on government services, World War II, and the turbulent postwar period when labor and anticolonial politics combined.

Aside from some terminological errors, the book reads well. A useful note on sources complements the bibliography, and an appendix lists the administrators of the port and its province.

This book thus takes its place alongside the few other studies of the urban Sudan. Perkins has shown the richness of the Sudanese and British archives in this area. New studies of twentieth-century Khartoum and Omdurman are overdue, and the provincial centers have scarcely been examined. When scholars approach those subjects they will find Perkins's study useful as a model.

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AFRICA

HENRY MUNSON, JR. *Religion and Power in Morocco*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 232. \$25.00.

The richness and diversity of Moroccan society, along with a relative ease of access, have attracted many Western anthropologists to the country since its independence. The Moroccan fieldwork of such distinguished pioneers as Ernest Gellner and Clifford Geertz produced important and sometimes controversial works that influenced not only their fellow anthropologists but also historians, political scientists, linguists, and other scholars, many of whom focused on areas far afield from Morocco.

In this book, Henry Munson, Jr., takes issue with

many of the conclusions drawn by Geertz in *Islam Observed* (1968), his comparative study of Islam in Morocco and Indonesia that attained the status of a classic soon after its publication. Munson brings impressive credentials to his critique: his best-known previous works are a study, situated almost precisely at the intersection of history and anthropology, of a contemporary Moroccan family; a book titled *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East*; and several articles on the contemporary Islamic revival, particularly as it has manifested itself in North Africa.

To gauge the political role of Islam in Moroccan history, Munson examines a series of instances of conflict, dating from the seventeenth century to the present, between rulers and dissidents. Through all of them runs the theme, ultimately assuming mythic proportions, of a righteous man of God defying the authority of an unjust sultan. The earliest example revolves around a clash, also discussed at length by Geertz in *Islam Observed*, between the scholar saint al-Hassan al-Yusi (Sidi Lahsen Lyusi) and Sultan Mulay Ismail. In his interpretation of this incident, Munson takes Geertz severely to task. He asserts that Geertz's failure to establish a context for the stories about al-Yusi or to distinguish between the reality of events that occurred in the seventeenth century and the folkloric accounts of the same events circulating in the twentieth century, as well as his linguistic inability to verify his analyses through a consultation of the extant texts, led to serious distortions of such concepts as *baraka*, a notion fundamental to an accurate understanding of Islam in Morocco. Munson also marshals evidence to demonstrate that others of Geertz's convictions about virtuous saints and unjust rulers that flow from his understanding of al-Yusi's life, break down under careful scrutiny. Although acknowledging the importance of Geertz's work on the theoretical plane, and especially its discussion of the ideologization of religion, Munson convincingly argues that many of its specific conclusions about Moroccan Islam are misguided and require "rethinking."

The other case studies serve to bear this out. They include Muhammad bin 'Abd al Kebir al-Kattani, a religious scholar executed for his opposition to Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-Hafidh in 1909; Abu Shu'ayb al-Dukkali and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi al-'Alawi, two Salafi reformers whose approach to government authority followed diametrically different paths; and al-Fqih al-Zamzami and 'Abd al-Slam Yasin, both important figures in "Islamic fundamentalism"—a term Munson does not eschew—in contemporary Morocco.

In conjunction with a chapter dealing with the evolution of the sacred and secular roles of religious figures and political leaders in precolonial Morocco and another outlining the author's assessment of late-twentieth-century Moroccans' understanding of their monarchy, these examples strongly suggest that the retention of political power in Morocco rests

much less on religious legitimacy and much more on the judicious use of force and fear than Geertz and other scholars influenced by him have generally acknowledged. Indeed, in a conclusion certain to prove contentious, Munson argues, again contrary to the "received wisdom" embodied in Geertz, that the very lengths to which today's fundamentalists go to emphasize that religion and politics are conjoined in Islamic society reveals that most of their listeners do not see things that way.

Regardless of the extent to which one accepts the heavy dose of revisionism that forms the core of this study, it is a thought-provoking and clearly important examination of Islam and the political process. Its greatest contribution, however, may well be its establishment of a historical framework that places the kinds of questions confronting Moroccans—and many other Muslims all over the world—in a context that is meaningful and comprehensible to a wide range of readers.

KENNETH J. PERKINS
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JUSTIN WILLIS. *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the Making of the Mijikenda*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 231. \$62.00.

This is an engrossing work of urban and social history that details the changing ties that bound the city of Mombasa and its hinterland in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. With an impressive use of oral sources and a thorough investigation of Kenyan archival material, Justin Willis has managed to capture the complex and changing character of one of East Africa's oldest and most important urban centers using the concept of networks to illustrate "the struggles of many people not to be a class" (p. 4). He tears apart what has been accepted, for several decades, as the traditional history of the urban-dwelling Swahili and their neighbors inhabiting the coastal hinterland, the Mijikenda. With particular regard to the latter, Willis brings together evidence from oral tradition, archaeology, linguistics, and written sources that largely destroys Thomas Spear's reconstruction of Mijikenda history, a history that Willis demonstrates is of relatively recent origin. In its place, Willis provides a picture of Mijikenda (and Swahili) ethnic identity that has changed over the past two centuries in response to a variety of variables growing out of the colonial experience. A "new" Mijikenda identity, Willis argues, began to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s in response to economic changes, changes in the nature of Mijikenda migration to Mombasa, and changes in Swahili identity that emerged during that time.

Despite eschewing class analysis for this reconstruction of urban and rural identity, Willis demonstrates the importance of economic factors in the process, as,

for example, in the early period of colonial rule where he shows that the "shifting meanings of the term Swahili" is best understood "in the context of the conflict over the control of labour between the state, hinterland elders, and Mombasa employers and patrons" (p. 80). Although the close ties between Mombasa and its hinterland were primarily fostered by labor migration, Willis shows that this was no simple process. Such migration was not simply the result of colonial taxation, state coercion, or estimated returns from household production as against wages to be gained in the urban setting. Nor was it solely a product of tensions within rural Mijikenda households. Rather it was the result of all these factors operating within the changing parameters of Mombasa's colonial economy. Likewise, a variety of means were utilized, including changing notions of ethnic identity, marriage, religion, and *beni* dance societies, to facilitate migration and integration into Mombasa's population. These social forces, however, were always shaped by prevailing economic conditions. Thus, Willis shows that a decline in real wages in the 1920s promoted a different pattern of labor migration for the Mijikenda than was the case prior to World War I. Yet such changes, the author maintains, were not realized "through the schemes of cunning and all-powerful capital" but instead "through the workers' own experience of increasing insecurity and poverty in the town" (p. 186). In addition to this significant insight, Willis also clearly and convincingly documents the weakness of the colonial state in its inability to mold Mombasa society in desired directions, an interpretation that is common in recent works on African social history.

This volume makes several important, and indeed exciting, contributions to Kenyan and African history. Nevertheless, some critical comment seems in order with regard to use of sources. First, Willis often appears to be more willing to accept the testimony of his living African informants at face value than the views of deceased colonial officials as these appear in colonial documents, which he often interprets as possessing an agenda hidden within the official discourse. It may well be, however, that colonial officials actually meant exactly what they wrote. Second, although Willis quite rightly stresses the primacy of local factors and actors in this history, it is impossible to accept that metropolitan (or imperial) factors played no part in shaping Mombasa. Perhaps the reason for this impression is the minimal use made of Colonial Office records in this work. Use of such records would greatly enhance the reader's understanding of some of the topics treated, most notably "Planning Mombasa" (chap. 7).

These comments notwithstanding, this book stands as an impressive work of Kenyan social history that will be read with great profit by historians of twentieth-century Africa. It provides both a model and a

challenge to be applied to the history of other urban areas in Kenya and in other parts of the continent.

ROBERT M. MAXON
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ROBERT ROSS. *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Wesleyan University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 270. \$50.00.

Robert Ross is a leading member of a group of scholars who have transformed our understanding of the early history of the Cape Colony. Their conclusions were collected some years ago in a volume edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820* (1979), to which Ross contributed an important essay. The book reviewed here gathers his own articles written over the past decade and provides an accessible and useful interpretation of dominant “white” society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focusing on demography, economy and social class, law and the state, and historiographical debates. The title essay, “Beyond the Pale,” deals directly with the much-debated question of the prevalence of “racism” in early Cape society.

The origins of the South African racial order for Ross are firmly rooted in unique processes of capital accumulation and class struggle in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Cape society. The conventional wisdom is that the wheat and wine-based economy of the early southwestern Cape, dependent on concessions from the Dutch East India Company, was crisis-ridden and inefficient and that the pastoral economy of the interior *trekboers* was essentially based on subsistence. Ross argues convincingly, on the basis of careful analysis of available production figures, that in fact wheat and wine production grew steadily throughout the eighteenth century and took off during the early nineteenth century. Similarly, although less spectacularly, the pastoralists of the interior were always involved with the Cape market and their rapid expansion into the interior was certainly in pursuit of economic opportunity. Most sales were for local markets and depended heavily on infusions of capital, first from the company and later from British military establishments. The British annexation of the Cape in 1795 in no way hampered the wheat and wine farmers’ accumulation of wealth. Indeed, it consolidated the power of the Cape gentry along with the merchant elite.

In the southwestern Cape commercial agriculture was based on slave labor imported from East Africa and South and East Asia. In the interior, pastoral expansion relied on the skills and labor of Khoi retainers, pressed into servitude over time by Boer advances into their territory. In both cases we see the development of a “white” dominant group, and scholars have posited “racial pluralism” at an early stage.

Ross argues, however, that in fact it is anachronistic to conceive of eighteenth-century Cape society as racially divided. “People thought of themselves, and of others,” he writes, “as men or women, as company officials or burghers, as slaves or ‘hottentots,’ as *koopmen* or common soldier, as Buginese or Malagasy, and to a certain extent as Christian and heathen. There is no indication of any group ideology developing along the lines that were later to become the bases of South African society. The eighteenth-century Cape was in no way a plural society” (p. 72). Indeed, racial attitudes are not primordial but arise in particular historical contexts. “Racism,” like all cultural notions, is a social construct whose origins can be historically traced and whose stereotypical manifestations ought not to be hypostatized even when manifested in belief and behavior. Ross himself is occasionally guilty of such reification, especially where he has been influenced by his colleague Dik van Arkel, but he is far too good a historian to use “racism” as an analytical category.

In early Cape society, the distinctions between company officials, slaves, and free burghers were far more important than racial distinctions. Legally, the progeny of freed slaves were absorbed into burgher society within a couple of generations and both slaves and Khoisan retainers were permitted to give evidence in court against their masters. Ironically, it was the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and eventually the emancipation of slaves in 1834 that, along with the subjugation of the Khoisan in the farmers’ search for labor, seems to have constructed a formally free population of “colored” workers at the Cape. Thus, the development of a racial order in South Africa was the outcome of a series of historical conjunctures, most importantly related to an agrarian capitalist labor supply crisis rather than “racist attitudes” on the part of European colonists. Ross’s book on South Africa therefore provides interesting confirmation for a wider theoretical argument.

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PETER GODWIN and IAN HANCOCK. *“Rhodesians Never Die”: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970–1980*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 400. \$69.00.

Despite its seemingly bellicose title, this book is not a panegyric for the rebel white regime that ruled Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) from 1965 until 1980. It is instead a dispassionate and scrupulously detailed narrative of the efforts by that regime and its white citizens to maintain their political and social supremacy in the face of the forces that sought its destruction. The principal theme of the book is that the white population of Rhodesia was never as socially or politically homogeneous as its own spokespeople avowed and most outsider observers assumed, and that the

pressures of war from the mid-1970s on accentuated existing divisions and created new ones, fracturing whatever sense of common identity derived from the invented claims of Rhodesian nationalism. Thus, the book's title, drawn from the lyrics of a patriotic song written during this period, is meant to be ironic. It is also intended as a commentary on the self-delusions of the white populace, whose unreflective faith in their cause and its prospects for success led to such tragic consequences.

Peter Godwin, an Australian historian, and Ian Hancock, a Rhodesian-born journalist, draw mainly on local newspapers and personal interviews with major government officials to reconstruct the white Rhodesian experience in its final decade. They offer few concessions to readers unfamiliar with their story. Scarcely a glance is given to the crucial series of events that set the stage for the situation when the book begins in 1970, that is, the collapse of the Central African Federation, the election of the Rhodesian Front government, the declaration of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and the imposition of international sanctions. Nor do the external events and forces that eroded the white Rhodesian position during the course of the 1970s—the decolonization of Mozambique and Angola, the diplomatic interventions by Britain and the United States, and, above all, the guerrilla campaigns launched by the two main liberation organizations, the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—receive much attention. Instead, the authors concentrate on the actions and attitudes of white Rhodesians. Their principal focus is on politics, and there is no better study of the personalities, policies, and petty rivalries that shaped the rebel regime during this decade. They demonstrate that the Rhodesian Front, while maintaining its monopoly over state power, was far from the monolithic entity that it is often thought to have been. Occasionally, the authors draw back from their political analysis to consider the general attitudes and experiences of the white Rhodesian population. They persuasively document a community coming apart under the pressures of war. Unfortunately, the reader is often barraged with an indiscriminate mass of statistical and anecdotal information. Among other things, we are told about the movies white Rhodesians went to see in March 1970 and the debate they had about Salisbury's garbage collection in 1976. For all their assiduous research, Godwin and Hancock never evoke the white Rhodesian experience quite so vividly as David Caute's brilliant study, *Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia* (1983).

The authors offer a wealth of information about most aspects of white Rhodesians' lives, but they say nothing about their relations with blacks. They justify this peculiar neglect by arguing that "while the thought and behaviour of an identifiable group [white Rhodesians] . . . may depend in part on external relationships, the group's responses to war and

political change can be understood without exploring those relationships" (p. 13). This seems a highly questionable claim, particularly given the fact that the issues of war and political change were completely bound up with the issue of race. It leaves a disturbingly large hole in this otherwise useful book.

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ASIA

PATRICIA BUCKLEY EBREY. *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 332. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.00.

For those familiar with the cryptic obscurity of primary sources for the Sung dynasty (960–1279), Patricia Buckley Ebrey's feat is readily apparent: with estimable industry and agility, she has amassed and analyzed a wide range of sources pertaining to the lives and status of Chinese women to present the first comprehensive study, at least in English, of women in the middle period. Working with materials intended to reinforce the moral authority and thus dominance of elite men, Ebrey has utilized these sources for the unintended purpose of reclaiming a social history for women of varied means and station.

Through the institution of marriage, in its broadest sense, Ebrey explores such uniquely Chinese conventions as matchmaking strategies and dowry exchanges, wedding rites and kinship rituals. These conventions provide the framework for an expansive inquiry into relations between men and women, parents and children, wives and consorts. It is an empirical study grounded in the documents, an effort to paint an objective picture of women's experiences that "stresses women's agency" (p. xiv) with the changing socioeconomic context of Sung China as backdrop. Much like Bettine Birge (*Neo-Confucian Education* [1989]), Ebrey focuses principally on women's creative adaptation to straitened circumstances, shunning the victimization dogma common to many such revisionist efforts. Yet her material is nonetheless organized around a theory of gender economics, in which social values are molded by the marketplace. She argues that an expanding "market in women"—maids, concubines, courtesans, and prostitutes—served to strengthen "patrilineal principles" and male authority at the long-term expense of women of all classes (pp. 19–20). Because of escalating dowries for wives and an expanding trade in concubines, elite men of the prosperous Sung era increasingly viewed women generally in monetary terms. Such objectification in turn induced heightened conservatism in men, while exposing women to the abuse of body and mind that dependency invariably fosters.

The curiosity here, as Ebrey notes, is that the Sung dynasty also introduced many seemingly progressive

policies concerning women. An expanding commerce provided fresh opportunities for material advancement, heightened urbanization created new contexts for cultural enhancement, and the state extended unprecedented protection to the claims of females on the resources of family. As the extended clan of the early empire yielded to a more atomized family structure, and as the chaste widow was catapulted to the peak of Confucianism's pantheon of moral superheroes, the potential for augmenting the status of matriarchs was real. Yet the exact opposite occurred: women met with greater restrictions on their roles as "inner helpers" (pp. 23–27, 115–30) while personal freedoms suffered because of heightened segregation of the sexes, intense indoctrination against the remarriage of widows, and, most importantly, the insidious spread of footbinding. Ebrey attributes these setbacks to the social anxieties attendant to economic change. "To insulate their sisters and daughters from the marketplace in women," she argues, elite men sought to set them apart in outer appearance and moral stature (p. 269). In effect, the defense of class interest, as much as gender dominance, motivated the conservative agenda of neo-Confucian moralists like Ssu-ma Kuang and Chu Hsi.

This argument is not altogether convincing. For Ebrey to demonstrate a new threat to the status of the elite women of Sung, she must first establish a contrast with the preceding T'ang dynasty. Courtesans, concubines, and prostitutes all existed in earlier times, not to mention stupendously large staffs of female attendants that by Sung times had grown altogether unaffordable. Was the trade in women quantitatively any greater under the Sung or had the activities of women simply become more visible as an elite formerly consigned to rural estates assumed residence in cities? If the anxieties of Sung males related to urban conditions, was the conservative backlash any stronger in cities than in the countryside? Unfortunately, Ebrey rarely differentiates urban from rural areas in terms of marriage practices or gender relations. She also needs to further differentiate state policy from Confucian rhetoric, which authors such as Birge have demonstrated stood far apart on women's issues.

I would also expect greater differentiation between Northern and Southern Sung. Ebrey prefers to focus on continuities over discontinuities, but rarely in the history of China was the cultural divide between an agrarian north and an urbanized south as pronounced as under the Southern Sung. The spread of footbinding, for example, which Ebrey portrays chiefly as a Southern Sung elaboration on northern practices, is perhaps better seen as a sign of cultural discontinuity, a reaction against conditions unique to the southeast and threatening traditional hierarchies of status and gender; a greater sensitivity to regional legacies and insecurities, as well as the motives behind the words and actions of Sung writers, would have made for a more penetrating study.

As for data on demographics (chaps. 8–9), Ebrey would have benefited from a comparative look at Peter Gay's *Education of the Senses* (1984). Although writing about nineteenth-century England, his data on the mortality of infants and mothers is strikingly similar, and Gay's work helps to explain certain problematic points in Ebrey. Her suggestion that ten or more pregnancies was commonplace among Sung women (p. 172), which she has adjusted upward to reflect the spread of concubinage and consequent growth in family size, seems inconsistent with existing knowledge on population. The average Sung household contained only three to four children, after all. In England, Gay finds infant mortality—the principal determinant of family size—to have been many times greater among the lower class (p. 236). A parallel phenomenon for imperial China could explain a lot. Ebrey's data, which may be reasonably representative of the upper-class minority, is altogether unrepresentative of the lower-class majority.

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LYNN A. STRUVE, editor and translator. *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tigers' Jaws*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 303. \$40.00.

In the spring of 1644, organized and determined frontiersmen from the northeast ousted from power the family that had ruled China since 1368. Although this change brought no revolution in social, political, economic, or cultural institutions, the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty was bloody and painful, accompanied by agonizing choices for those who experienced it. It is those experiences that Lynn A. Struve brings us in this volume.

These are the voices of eighteen men and women from all over China, people caught in a range of dilemmas and perils: frightened townspeople, a beleaguered general, a loyal minister, a helpless serving woman, and a resourceful eunuch. Struve has also included pieces by an Italian Jesuit and a Dutch colonial official, reminders of China's quickening involvement in the wider world. Some accounts describe events familiar to specialists (such as the rebel occupation of Peking, the Yangzhou massacre, and Koxinga's seizure of Tainan), but most represent fresh material of compelling human interest.

I found the story of forty-two-year-old Huang Xiangjian particularly moving. He tells us of his journey in 1651, mostly by foot, from east central China to the far southwest, a distance of some 2,500 kilometers, in search of his aged father and mother with whom he had lost contact during the preceding decade. The reader can feel Huang's exhaustion and exhilaration when he finally appears before his amazed and joyful parents with "disheveled hair sticking straight out, gray in my beard, burnished face and swollen eyes, short jacket and grass foot-

wear" (p. 175). His album of paintings recollecting this filial "Ten-Thousand Li Search for My Parents," now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is also illustrated here.

The book as a whole gives a sharp sense of the extreme uncertainty of the times with its accompanying fear and panic. Most of the narrators are on the move, wrenched involuntarily from their homes and normal routines. Through their eyes we see death and disruption in many forms and witness many painful choices about who and what to save. Struve's translations and annotations build on a deep familiarity with the period, thorough research, and high scholarly standards, yet she has made the book accessible to the nonspecialist. Each chapter can be read separately, and one could selectively assign clusters to emphasize, for example, the strain placed on family relationships or the different ways of fulfilling one's political and moral obligations.

These strengths bring some necessary shortcomings. The complex forces that converged to produce the crises of the 1640s are not explained in depth, and the cumulative narrative necessarily zigs and zags irregularly across several decades and the face of China. (Fortunately, the maps are clear and helpful.) Some major catastrophes are left out, most noticeably the slaughter in Sichuan. The two dozen illustrations add vividness and vitality, but most are not contemporaneous to the events described, and the Japanese woodblocks included here are of questionable reliability. Should we apply looser standards to visual materials than we do to written ones?

The title speaks of "cataclysm" and "China in tigers' jaws," reinforcing the book's emphasis on the agonies endured during the Ming-Qing transition. In the face of accounts of suffering—in this as in other instances—it seems rather unfeeling to raise legitimate questions about representativeness. There seems little danger that the brutalities and disjunctions of the era will be submerged in more cheerful discussions of the long-term continuities that stretch across the seventeenth century. It is so much more interesting to read about surviving catastrophe.

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DOUGLAS R. REYNOLDS. *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzhen Revolution and Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 160.) Cambridge: Council on Eastern Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 308. \$32.00.

Two prominent themes in Chinese historical writing about modern China are an emphasis on the destructive force of Japanese imperialism in its ravages against China and a stress on the importance of revolutionary forces in destroying the reactionary Qing dynasty and its Confucian legacy. In this impor-

tant study, Douglas R. Reynolds challenges both of these conventional views. The real pain inflicted on China by Japanese imperialism should not, in his view, obscure the crucial and constructive impact of Japan on China during the years from 1898 until 1907, a period Reynolds labels a "Golden Decade" (p. 5) in modern Sino-Japanese relations. On the second theme, Reynolds argues provocatively that the real revolution in China occurred not in 1911 but during the last decade of the Qing, 1901–10, with the Xinzhen (New Systems) reforms. These reforms, he argues, not the collapse of authority in the Republican period, laid the foundation for real revolutionary change. Having presented these controversial themes in the introduction, Reynolds attempts to demonstrate how these two concepts are related, arguing that much of the content and motivation of the Qing's Xinzhen reforms drew on the Japanese presence.

Japan served as both a model for the Xinzhen reforms and a filter for Western influences. Because the Meiji reforms predated the Xinzhen by several decades, an enormous body of literature and experience already existed among the Japanese. The educational and institutional impact of the Japanese experience ranged from education to military modernization to legal reform to changes in the police and prison system. Chinese students and educational delegations sent to Japan and Japanese instructors and advisers in China provided a conduit for reform concepts to enter the mainland. Even the linguistic legacy was significant. Because the Japanese had already devised terms in *kanji* for Western concepts, many of these were readily adapted by the Chinese and remain in common use today. Chinese distrust of Western missionaries, the geographic closeness of Japan, and the cultural similarities of the two nations all contributed to interaction during the "Golden Decade." Only with the revival of Japanese imperialism in the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 did the Japanese model begin to fade. By that point, Reynolds argues, the institutions of Confucian China were no more, undone not by the Revolution of 1911 but by the Qing reform decade.

This important work will provoke debate among historians of modern China. Some will reject Reynolds's views; others will feel that he oversteps his evidence. For good or ill, however, the interaction between China and Japan was a pivotal factor in modern East Asian history, yet is one that is seriously understudied. In the emotional and political climate of China, a contemporary Chinese historian would be unlikely to adopt Reynolds's approach. In the West, the compartmentalization of scholars into either the Chinese or Japanese fields inhibits study of their interaction. Aside from a few classics, such as Marius Jansen's *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (1954), the field remains undeveloped. Reynolds joins a handful of scholars (who often publish in the new journal *Sino-Japanese Studies*) in opening this area to scholarly

research. Such work enriches our understanding of the history of both nations.

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YOU LI SUN. *China and the Origins of the Pacific War, 1931–1941*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 244. \$45.00.

It is said that Chiang Kai-shek was so delighted with the news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that he played a recording of "Ave Maria" all day long after receiving the good tidings in Chungking. For more than a decade, since the incident at Mukden in September 1931, the generalissimo had sought foreign intervention as the best hope to deliver China from imperial Japan's grasp. Youli Sun does not explain why the Chinese leader, a good Methodist, chose a Catholic hymn for this celebratory day, but he does a masterful job of unraveling the complex story of China's decade-long quest for an anti-Japanese alliance.

Dust-jacket blurb notwithstanding, however, Sun does not go far beyond the "realm of traditional diplomatic history" in his study of the decade of crisis. His research centers on notes, treaties, conferences, negotiations, feints, unlikely alliances, and numerous latter-day versions of China's traditional technique of playing one barbarian off against the other. Sun has diligently mined archival resources from both the East and the West and, most impressively, from both Taiwan and the mainland.

The principal lines of argument in this book do not break new ground and are not especially controversial. Scholars have long agreed that, although China's territorial integrity was important enough to the United States to be rhetorically championed, few in Washington thought that it was worth fighting a war over. Throughout most of the 1930s, few in the United States thought China deserved much more than moral support. Even modest levels of material aid to China or trade sanctions against Japan did not mesh with America's prevailing isolationism.

In an especially interesting chapter, Sun documents how it was not the Western democracies but the Soviet Union that single-handedly came to the rescue of China after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The quarter billion dollars in aid, hundreds of aircraft, and thousands of Soviet military personnel dispatched to China by Joseph Stalin during the next few years amounted to a "quasi alliance," Sun writes (p. 130). Chiang Kai-shek would have liked more—full-scale Soviet military intervention against Japan—and Stalin kept the door open on that possibility. Sun argues that without Soviet assistance and the hint of Soviet attack on Japan, Chinese resistance to Japan would not have lasted as long as it did.

The result of Sun's efforts is a rigorously argued and densely documented book, a quarter of it is devoted to notes and bibliography. This work is an exemplary study of interwar diplomatic history.

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NAKAMURA MASANORI. *The Japanese Monarchy: Ambassador Joseph Grew and the Making of the "Symbol Emperor System," 1931–1991*. Translated by HERBERT P. BIX *et al.* (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1992. Pp. xiv, 201.

The first nine chapters of this book were initially published in Japan as "The Road to the Symbol Emperor System: Ambassador Grew and His Contemporaries" (1989). For this English-language edition, Nakamura Masanori has added two chapters dealing with the interplay between the imperial institution and the "enterprise state" and two appendixes offering his own critique of the "symbol emperor system" and his preferred alternative. These additions will serve many American readers by helping explain why the book was written.

Nakamura's purpose is to pinpoint the origins of the provision in Japan's postwar constitution redefining the status of the emperor and to determine what those responsible had in mind. This is no work of political theory. Rather, it is research that addresses an ongoing debate in Japan. American occupation authorities may have believed that by recasting the emperor's constitutional role they were fostering constitutional and democratic government, but, according to Nakamura, they were opening the door to ambiguities. Viewed against the traditions of Japanese history, the new constitution's language permitted historians and legal scholars to embrace the concept of a monarch whose powers remain unchecked, and Nakamura believes that many have committed themselves to the idea.

Nakamura holds that Joseph C. Grew—a longtime and respected foreign service officer, American ambassador to Japan in the 1930s, and a key State Department official during World War II—contributed significantly to the shaping of American views of the emperor. Grew was certainly one of the most prominent figures in the late months of the war, urging that the United States bring the emperor into play in effecting Japan's unconditional surrender. At the war's end, although he believed that Emperor Hirohito's entanglement with the military meant that he must surrender the throne, he advocated the preservation of the imperial institution. Grew was persuaded that the emperor, even with his powers recast, was essential to national unity. He also saw the emperor as a figure around whom Japanese "moderates" might rally to reconstruct the nation in collaboration with Americans. In short, if Japan's govern-

ment was to be reformed, change should place power in the hands an anti-militaristic elite that would govern with limited participation of the masses.

Grew's biographer, Waldo Heinrichs, Jr. (*American Ambassador: Joseph C. Grew and the Development of the United States Diplomatic Tradition* [1966]), offered few details on the ambassador's activities during the years covered by Nakamura, but he noted that neither during the war years nor after did Grew press hard to have others accept his ideas, a conclusion which, surprisingly, Nakamura never really refutes. Grew's ideas were certainly known in Washington and in General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters. How crucial they were to decision making Nakamura never really establishes.

In sum, this book offers some fresh details on the last years of Grew's involvement with American policy. It also offers some fascinating insights into the origins of the "Symbol Emperor" concept. But this highly readable translation's most important contribution is as a recent illustration of a continuing gulf that divides much American and Japanese writing on the occupation. Whereas Americans see the postwar years as altering Japan's directions, Japanese scholars are more apt to regard the American promise of radical reform as having been aborted much too soon.

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DAVID ARNOLD. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 354. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.00.

David Arnold's study represents one of the most meticulously researched and sophisticated contributions to the burgeoning subfield focusing on the scientific dimensions of the process of European overseas colonization. As his title suggests, within that varied area of specialization he concentrates his research and writing on the impact of Western medicine. In fact, the core of this volume is devoted to case studies on British administrative and medical responses in its premier colony, India, to three epidemic diseases—smallpox, cholera, and the plague—and the varying reactions of different colonized groups to these measures. Although reworked and somewhat expanded for the present volume, each of these studies has appeared in major journal articles or collections in the past decade. Together they have established Arnold as one of the leading historians of colonial medicine, a position that is enhanced by the larger context that is provided by the additional sections included in this book.

In the introduction and two chapters preceding the three case studies of colonial responses to epidemic diseases, Arnold employs an impressive array of archival sources from repositories in various parts of the Indian subcontinent, as well as the India Office

Records in London, to trace early British responses to the omnipresent problem of disease in the Indian environment. As earlier studies (particularly John de Figueiredo's superb essay on the interaction between Portuguese, Dutch, and indigenous medical practitioners in Goa) have shown, and Arnold's research confirms, medical influence did not flow solely from the West to Asia. In fact, well into the nineteenth century, indigenous medical techniques and prescriptions were adopted, with varying degrees of reticence, by individual doctors and government administrators struggling to lower the very high mortality rates of Europeans in the subcontinent. Arnold also skillfully chronicles the growth of British disdain for Indian remedies and medical practices and a concomitant determination to impose Western procedures and employ Western cures, first for European and increasingly for Indian patients.

Of particular interest, and well worth comparison to Philip Curtin's treatment of similar themes in subsaharan Africa, is Arnold's nuanced discussion of the predominance of environmentalist explanations regarding the etiology of disease in India. Arnold shows that as British resistance to "traditional" Indian medicine stiffened in the nineteenth century, Indian culture became as implicated as the natural realm of the subcontinent as a source of pathogens. Arnold explores in considerable depth the ways in which this cultural linkage informed the earliest, systematic efforts by the British to contain disease in specific sites, such as prisons and military garrisons. But he has surprisingly little to say about the important ways in which environmentalist assumptions of both the natural and cultural sort shaped town planning and European housing design, as well as arguments for racial segregation, in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century.

The underlying theme that ties the various topics and case studies in the volume together is Arnold's argument that the growing diffusion of Western scientific epistemologies and medical techniques in India was intimately bound up in the larger project of an increasingly interventionist colonial regime to regulate the lives of its colonial subjects. One consequence of this often quite conscious association between Western medicine and the extension of colonial control was that Western approaches to healing and disease prevention, particularly when they were enlisted to contain epidemic diseases, became key sites of contestation between colonizers and colonized. As Arnold demonstrates, government-directed sanitary campaigns and antiepidemic measures were increasingly compelling rallying points for nationalist assaults on the colonial order. This resistance to Western medicine was complemented by spirited defenses of indigenous approaches to disease and healing techniques, and sustained efforts—often directly linked to the nationalist political agenda—to revitalize Indian medicine. Although Arnold mentions these indigenous alternatives only in passing,

they have been the focus of recent research by Indian scholars and merit serious exploration.

Although he ably explores the class and gender ramifications of state manipulation of and Indian resistance to Western medicine, Arnold never fully integrates the relevant theories of either Michel Foucault or Antonio Gramsci into his exploration of the hegemonic uses of medicine by the colonial state. He raises a number of questions suggested by the work of these thinkers and underscores salient controversies relating to each, but his narrative is only tangentially affected by their theories and his analysis leaves their apparent contradictions unresolved. Despite Arnold's clear preference for empirical exposition rather than the sustained application and testing of theory, the richness of his narrative and the cogency of his arguments regarding the social and political ramifications of the diffusion of Western medicine in India suggest that this book is likely to be a key point of reference in the debates to come over the links between science and European colonial hegemony.

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D. E. U. BAKER. *Colonialism in an Indian Hinterland: The Central Provinces, 1820–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 374. \$29.95.

D. E. U. Baker relies on British official records and documents to compile a history of colonial policy and its effects on eight districts of the Central Provinces (now the modern-day Indian state of Madhya Pradesh) from 1820 to 1920. The author's special focus is the effects of colonial policies on the productivity and prosperity of the region.

Baker discusses the region's geography and prehistory and outlines the impact of tribal, Rajput, Mughal, and Maratha communities on the region. He then details the impact of British rule on the region. The establishment of British power in the region (1818 to 1861) led to revenue assessments and efforts to promote the "development" of the region's land and resources; these efforts provoked two unsuccessful revolts against British power (in 1842 and 1857). The second land assessment, 1861–90, found the development of an export trade in wheat leading to improved railroad and road connections and to rising land values; British officials saw these as years of great prosperity for the region, notwithstanding, the author points out, shortages of food in the region, the difficulties local officials and tenants had in paying colonial tax assessments, high levels of indebtedness, and the large amount of land transferred into the hands of "moneylenders." Finally, British policies and a cycle of bad weather conspired to produce the "Famine Decade" of 1890–1901, which left the region

in disarray, its agriculture deteriorated, its population decimated, and its society dislocated.

In the book's two final chapters, Baker details British efforts, largely unsuccessful, to regenerate prosperity in the region and assesses the impact of the political and nationalist movements on the region. The author points out that while the British claimed to want to establish a class of "middle-class" landowners in the Central Provinces, the net effect of their policies was to place much of its land into the hands of local and absentee "moneylenders" (pp. 345–46). It was this group that became involved in the political movements of the twentieth century.

Baker presents the recorded histories of eight different districts with considerable organizational clarity and succeeds in convincing us of the importance and relevance of this region's history for the colonial period. The author's thesis relates to the ways British policies and revenue assessments contributed directly and indirectly to the growth of "capitalism" and "moneylending" absentee landlordism in the region. The activities of the British colonialists and the moneylenders together led to the economic ruin of the region, he argues. "If British officials were responsible for the crisis [of the Famine Decade], so too were those who supported their policies. These were the moneylenders, who helped the administration run the agrarian economy in the north: they included smaller men, usually *malguzars*, who lent money to their villagers; more importantly they included the bania, Marwari and other urban moneylenders who were absentee landlords, often owning land on a large scale . . . Both groups spent their profits acquiring land rather than improving it. These developments, combined with official policies weakened agriculturists and helped create famine by leaving agriculturists without resources at a time when they most needed them" (pp. 207–08).

The author fails, however, to offer a precise definition of this community (or communities) of "moneylenders" or to provide a detailed analysis of their activities. Instead he uses the term monolithically: thus, we are told, in the 1850s, that land transfers benefited the "moneylenders, whether resident *malguzars* or moneylenders from the towns who took over leases as an investment" (p. 81). In the years between 1861 and 1890, "moneylenders took the largest share of the transferred lands" (p. 147); and between 1901 and 1920, "as indebtedness grew, moneylenders large and small continued to convert it into property, the great moneylending landowners adding to their vast estates and the smaller men to home farms in individual villages" (p. 263). A related problem is the author's unstated assumption that these "capitalist" economic relations involving land had displaced some earlier, more benevolent system. This more benevolent alternative, however, is never described, nor is specific evidence provided to demonstrate that any particular group of "moneylenders"

coming into possession of lands behaved worse than their non-moneylender predecessors.

In part, of course, these problems result from the ambitious scope of the author's study. A more narrowly defined study of one or two of the districts he has covered would allow him to delve more deeply into the nature of the economic relations he has described and demonstrate more convincingly the thesis he has outlined here.

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B. R. TOMLINSON. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 3, part 3, *The Economy of Modern India, 1860–1970*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 235. \$44.95.

B. R. Tomlinson has written a model volume in the *New Cambridge History of India* series. He surveys the extensive literature on the Indian economy from 1860 to 1970, builds his synthesis on research done over the last thirty years, and concisely presents a vast subject over a long time span. He begins with a survey of the various theories and schools of thought—imperialist, Marxist, developmental, and dependency—and shows how each has interpreted, or misinterpreted, the Indian economy. He follows with concise histories of agriculture, trade, and manufacturing in British India and concludes with a chapter on the postcolonial Indian economy. Economic history is integrated with social, cultural, and political history, and the result is a book of interest not only to South Asianists but also, as Tomlinson points out, to anyone interested in a case study of the difficulties of achieving economic growth and the terrible penalties of misdirected economic policies.

Tomlinson shows how the British rulers based their economic policies on misconceptions and false theories and how, for example, one old myth—that of the traditional, self-reliant village community—was even carried over into the postcolonial period to undermine well-intended community-development programs. In the debate over growth in British India, his opinion is that there was some growth in commercial agriculture, manufacturing, and capital accumulation before independence, but little gain in productivity, an actual decline in food consumption, and minimal improvement in per-capita income and the standard of living. He uses many specialized studies to support his contention that the reasons for India's lack of development, as well as its painfully slow growth since independence, are embedded in the political and social culture, and no single villain is responsible. He is pessimistic about the prospects for self-sustained development, which he defines as long-term improvements in per-capita income together with an equitable distribution of wealth.

Under the British, the major economic restraints

were the dysfunctional and inequitable patterns of land control, neglect of technology in favor of labor-intensive methods, and an inadequate capital market. These problems still exist, but in addition India's slow growth today can be attributed to neglect of industrial infrastructure, improper use of imported technology, inflexible government policies, and, above all, low investment in human capital (education, public health, and social security). He does not blame planning and "socialism" per se for India's slow growth but focuses instead on government interventions that were ineffective and misdirected. He sees no Indian "miracle" on the horizon.

By dispensing with the old chronological categories and treating the entire recent period as one, Tomlinson provides the reader with a sobering perspective. The result, however, is to emphasize, perhaps over-emphasize, continuity instead of change. He shows, for example, how previous periods of growth, as in the period from 1880 to 1920, did not lead to self-sustaining economic development and that the same might be said of growth since independence. One can look at the bucket as half-empty or half-full, however, and it is also possible to argue that, considering the economic burdens India inherited in 1947, India has made enormous strides and that, indeed, development is accelerating. Yet it can be hoped that a critical study that admonishes Indian leadership and pinpoints poor decisions made by previous governments will have a strong impact on policy makers and may even lead to more enlightened policies, especially with regard to an equitable distribution of wealth and a greater investment in human resources.

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AMIYA P. SEN. *Hindu Revivalism in Bengal 1872–1905: Some Essays in Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 456. \$35.00.

Amiya P. Sen's detailed analysis of Hindu culture-builders in late-nineteenth-century Bengal is surely among the most important contributions to the historiography of the Bengal Renaissance in at least a generation. It also took courage to write the book, because the setting for this socio-intellectual history of an elite was Calcutta, which served both as capital of British India from 1772 to 1911 and as the metropolis that nurtured the renaissance. This renaissance, which Bengali communists and subaltern academic politicians have sought to suppress as a field in history for the last decade, was one of the most creative periods in Indian history, during which a disparate set of beliefs, ideas, institutions, and traditions were shaped into a distinctive religious and cultural structure known as modern Hinduism. Where else but in this "city of palaces," as Calcutta was known in the last century, could one find such a

galaxy of genius, including Ramohun Roy, the multifaceted father of modern India; Vidyasagar, educator and reformer; Keshub Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda, creators of the modern Hindu religion; Rajendralal Mitra, the first important Indian Orientalist scholar; Michael Madhasudan Dutt, a literary innovator; Surendranath Bannerjee, father of Indian nationalism; and Rabindranath Tagore, Asia's first Nobel Prize winner in literature (1913)?

In the past, historians of the Bengal Renaissance depicted the liberal Westernizers as heroes and wrote laudatory monographs on such reformist associations of intelligentsia as the Brahmo Samaj and the Young Bengal movement. In those days, we were not yet prohibited by paranoid totalitarian-minded academics from researching productive relationships between culturally sensitive British in India and their Bengali counterparts among the intelligentsia. One could still report on how historic consciousness came to India by the agency of British Orientalists or how generations of Bengalis were educated by such inspired teachers as David Drummond and David Hare. Nor were missionaries necessarily seen as participants in a conspiratorial, colonialist British monolith. No one felt sinful for crediting William Carey, the Baptist missionary from Serampore, with being father of modern Bengali prose.

Sen has shifted scholarly attention away from the reformers to their neotraditional opponents, dominant in Bengali intellectual life between 1872 and 1905. He painstakingly profiles pivotal but unresearched personages such as Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay (1827–94), Akshay Chandra Sarkar (1846–1917), Nabin Chandra Sen (1847–1909), Chandranath Basu (1844–1910), and Krishna Prosonno Sen (1849–1902). Ideologically akin to but better known than most of these obscure figure was the novelist Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838–94). Mukhopadhyay's education at Hindu College and his career in the educational service did not prevent him from becoming a staunch defender of the traditional social order. There were, however, few die-hard conservatives. N. C. Sen, a disaffected Brahmo liberal who changed radically after years of romantic soul searching, was more representative of the kind of person the movement attracted. Basu, a journalist, and K. P. Sen, a Hindu missionary, were as dogmatic as any of these people ever became.

This book is valuable for accentuating the issues that divided "liberals" from "revivalists" from the time of the debate over the Brahmo Marriage Act in 1872 to the controversy over age of consent in 1890–92. Unfortunately, because Sen shows too little restraint in marshaling facts, which he often analyzes with needless subtlety, the book appears more encyclopedic than it is, loses its central focus, and lacks a consistent conceptual framework. Nevertheless, he does prove that the revivalists were not all that different from the liberals except for a deeper identification with the indigenous culture, a tendency to

minimize the Western elements in their syncretistic schemes for Hindu revitalization, and tendency to confront deepening Western imperialist attitudes with a misguided chauvinism that idealized or rationalized abusive practices within the Hindu socio-religious order.

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VINITA DAMODARAN. *Broken Promises: Popular Protest, Indian Nationalism and the Congress Party in Bihar, 1935–1946*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 398. \$35.00.

This book examines the relationship between elite nationalism and subaltern insurgency in colonial India. It is appropriate that the focus of study is Bihar, a province where popular movements achieved great breadth and depth and where elite nationalism acquired widespread authority. Vinita Damodaran recounts the story of the elite appropriation of popular protests during the crucial decade of 1935–46, when the Congress Party marched successfully to power and mass actions acquired unprecedented verve and volatility.

In recent years the relationship between elite politics and mass movements has preoccupied historians of South Asia. Acknowledging that, more than any one else, scholars of the Subaltern Studies group have highlighted this issue, Damodaran suggests that their approach has several shortcomings: they assume that the subaltern's world was autonomous; they neglect elite-subaltern interaction; and they overlook the changing socioeconomic context of politics. This study, Damodaran claims, attempts "to recreate a more 'rounded history' by reconstructing the world of elite politics and by examining the impact of the state, institutions and economic and social change on the peasantry and other subordinate rural classes" (p. 7).

The attempt to offer a "rounded history" produces detailed accounts of Congress politics in and out of provincial government; the nature of socioeconomic change and the peasant agitations it generated; and the relationship between agrarian change and "communal" riots. We are given vivid accounts of the dilemmas, moves, and counter-moves of different ideological wings in the Congress Party as it promised radical change, contested elections, formed a government, then quit to launch a powerful agitation, only to once again turn away from agrarian reform. Damodaran's sobering history of Indian nationalism analyzes elite politics against the background of the radical visions and movements that the Congress Party inspired, sought legitimacy from, but also suppressed. Such movements, the study suggests, were generated by the increasing differentiation of the peasantry and, most importantly, by the impact of

ecological changes on a subsistence economy, eroding common rights and aggravating social distress. Later, during 1942–46, the ravages of a war economy, combined with nationalist agitation, ignited deep distress and disaffection into militant popular uprising, including the legendary Azad Dastas, the nationalist social bandits. Damodaran treats the history of institutional politics, agrarian change, and rural agitation sure-handedly and insightfully. Scholars will particularly appreciate Damodaran's emphasis on ecological history, an emerging trend in historiography. It also breaks fresh ground in offering a fascinating description of the Azad Dastas. The range of evidence is impressive and is crafted into a narrative with authority.

But this book falls short on its promise to deliver a more comprehensive treatment of elite-subaltern interactions. What it offers is a description of how the structure of agrarian change and the functioning of institutional politics generated and reacted to peasant movements. This conventional move shifts the interpretive weight from the autonomy of the peasant movements to the determining role of socioeconomic change and the Congress Party. But the reduction of the texts of popular movements to the contexts of agrarian change and institutional politics restricts the examination of elite-subaltern interactions because the context functions as a limiting and constraining, not productive, force in Damodaran's analysis. This limitation aside, this book is one of the more solidly researched and cogently argued monographs on Indian nationalism to appear in recent years.

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STANLEY WOLPERT. *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 378. \$35.00.

Few figures have played more important roles in the history of Pakistan than Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who assumed control of the Pakistani government in the aftermath of Pakistan's disastrous war with India in 1971 and who led the country until the military coup of General Zia ul-Haq in 1977 and his execution in 1979. Having written a biography of Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Stanley Wolpert now has written a full, scholarly biography of Bhutto.

Like his earlier work on Jinnah, Wolpert's biography of Bhutto is written with flair. The book is based largely on interviews and Bhutto's private papers at the family home in Karachi. Wolpert quotes extensively from Bhutto's writings to illustrate his vision of Bhutto, and the picture he presents is a powerful one.

Wolpert sees Bhutto as a product of contradictions, a man shaped by two disparate worlds. On the one hand, Bhutto never forgot the lessons of the "feudal" world of rural Sind where he grew up, a world in which honor, revenge, and successful opportunism were central values. On the other hand, he was

educated in the United States and England, where he learned to see his potential role in the world in grand terms. These contradictions left their psychological mark on Bhutto. Although intelligent, politically astute, and capable of mobilizing strong loyalties, Bhutto was also prey to delusions of greatness, to paranoia, bombast, and irrational behavior. These conflicts drive Wolpert's biography, and the tone of Wolpert's writing at times mirrors the overheated intensity of Bhutto's conflicted career. Bhutto's "unique charisma and the deep-rooted failings that brought him to an early and violent death," Wolpert writes, "emanated from his schizoid personality, the strengths of one part of which were matched by the weaknesses of the other, the depths of its dreadful darkness mirroring the brilliant heights of its most powerful peaks" (p. 3).

Wolpert sees the psychological contradictions that shaped Bhutto as central to his historical significance, for his conflicted career was, in Wolpert's words, "a microcosmic mirror of Pakistani society and its troubled history in his times" (p. vii). The contradictions in Bhutto's own personality were mirrored by contradictions within the political culture of Pakistan itself. In taking this focus, Wolpert tends to play down the institutional foundations of Bhutto's political career in the Pakistan Peoples' Party and emphasizes more strongly the emotional appeal of Bhutto's rhetoric. That his rhetoric, like Pakistani society, reflected a contradictory mix of "feudal" and "modern" values is suggested persuasively. In spite of his class-based mobilization of Pakistan's disadvantaged, the key to Bhutto's charisma was not primarily class interest or rational argument, but rather his successful evocation of and identification with Pakistani honor. This was clear in Bhutto's role following Pakistan's war with India in 1965, which first brought him a charismatic following. "The more outrageous his rhetoric became, especially when his stage was wired to the world, the more heroic Zulfikar Ali Bhutto appeared to Pakistani audiences" (p. 95). Bhutto was able, Wolpert writes, as no Pakistani politician before or since, to tap into "the suspicions, prejudices and fears deep in countless Pakistani hearts and minds" (p. 92).

Unfortunately, Wolpert fails to offer the clear structural analysis of Pakistani politics necessary to fully develop these arguments. The tension between feudal values and modern political forms in Pakistani culture is clearly suggested; Wolpert at times even suggests the almost "mystic" bond tying Bhutto to the people, a bond indicating, perhaps, the influence of Pakistan's powerful Sufi tradition. But there is insufficient analysis of Pakistan's politics to develop this point. The problem is perhaps epitomized by Wolpert's repeated use of the term "siasat" as a sort of buzzword to suggest the continuing power of Sindi feudal values in Bhutto's career, even as he ignores the larger meaning of "siasat" in Pakistan as a word referring to "politics" generally. A more sustained

analysis of Pakistani "siasat" would have helped to put the whole story that Wolpert tells into clearer context.

Nevertheless, the result is a compelling and highly suggestive book, if one which is at times too willing to sacrifice analysis to the drama of the story. In a strange way, this is hinted at even by the title of the book, in which Wolpert unaccountably uses the nickname, "Zulfi," almost as if to shift the focus off Bhutto as a serious historical figure. Still, Bhutto emerges from the book as a figure as complex as the country he led.

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PAULA J. BYRNE. *Criminal Law and Colonial Subject: New South Wales, 1810–1830*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 301. \$65.00.

Histories of colonial New South Wales, Australia's first and largest area of white invasion, have been overawed by the penal origins of the British seizure of Aboriginal lands. The centrality of the state and the rule of penal law tend to be historiographical axioms from which analyses depart. In this book, Paula J. Byrne offers an innovative, critical, and often paradoxical reading of the uses of law in constituting human subjectivity in this particular colonial setting. An assumption of any straightforward rule of law in the penal and colonial setting is, for Byrne, a "potent fiction." Instead of adding to the international ink spilled on questions of how much crime occurred in nineteenth-century cultural formations or what of that crime was policed on the basis of what criteria of selection, Byrne's creative demonstration of how criminal court evidence may be used to illuminate matters of gender, rank, urban/rural differentials, customs, community identities, and popular ethics is a major contribution to cultural history.

With careful attention to the narratives, words, gestures, reported body language, assumptions, and material artifacts entailed in 5,910 court records, the parameters of Byrne's study are not dictated by either crimes themselves or criminal justice system processes so pivotal in shaping existing texts of crime history. Instead, the titles of chapters and book sections convey the inflections of the book very well: "Labour," "The House," "Body," "Suspicious Characters: Police and People." Her perceptive juxtaposition of evidence and reading betrays a certain impatience with the elaboration of the categories of "oppressor" and "victim"—and related binarisms.

Analysis of gender is integrated throughout this cultural history. For Byrne, the task is not to use her evidence to convince her reader that white convict, ex-convict, and other colonial women were oppressed by, and in the interests of, white colonial men. She takes the more important task to be charting a much more exact, nuanced, and historically situated understanding of the forms misogyny might take in, for

instance, the exoneration of rural husbands (compared with urban) charged with spousal violence or men accused of raping women traveling long distances on the highways. In taking this focus, Byrne achieves a remarkable sense of the local gendering of space, geography, housing, and other colonial Australian sites, as well as an often colorful evocation of the theater and conflicts of male/female interactions in streets, inns, households, workplaces, and courtrooms. Reflecting the intense theoretical debate around the ubiquitous sex/gender distinction, Byrne does not flinch from naming the problem for women: their sex, the scrutiny to which it was subject in the colonial context, preventing any other category such as laborer to eclipse it. She offers an interesting category for the analysis of colonial sex differences and their contextual consequences: isolation. This emerges as particularly salient in her discussion of infanticide and women's violence. Women defendants' terrible aloneness in these crises disclosed a more general precariousness of their relationships with particular communities and households, especially as servants, single women, and abandoned mothers. Alienated and vindictive forms of peer litigation had particular gender implications in rural areas during the colonial period.

The strengths of Byrne's book include the strong grounding of empirical research underlying the readings, analyses, and arguments advanced. Weaknesses lie principally in the realms of writing strategy, some thematic repetitiousness, at times idiosyncratic organization of material, a certain narrowness of scholarly mission (matched by a partial thinness of conclusions), and unposed yet conspicuous questions as to the possible salience of conclusions beyond the New South Wales case study for other early nineteenth century Anglophone colonies. Yet such problems do not distract from the achievement of the author: an important, innovative, and, above all, gendered contribution to a cultural history of colonial Australian criminal law.

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UNITED STATES

BRUCE A. KIMBALL. *The "True Professional Ideal" in America: A History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. xiii, 429. \$54.95.

Bruce A. Kimball has written an erudite, clearly reasoned study of the "professional ideal" in U.S. culture. Disputing that the idea of American professions arose with the proliferation of urban "professional" positions in the late nineteenth century, Kimball argues that the professional ideal is appropriately traced back to the beginning of the colonial period. Changes in the meaning of "profession" may be traced through six "moments" in the rhetoric of

"professions," and through three "eras." Whereas the "moments" have to do with the usage of "profession" and its cognates, each "era" is defined by what Kimball calls its "architectonic," a term he uses in preference to "ideology." The word "architectonic," derived from the Greek, refers to that science or discipline that organizes all others because it is valued over them. He identifies these as "'religion' through the mid-eighteenth century, 'polity' through the mid-nineteenth century, and 'science' through the 1910s" (p. 10).

Underlying Kimball's framework is the common-sense idea that the "professional ideal" in each era was shaped by the evolution of the reigning profession of that era: the ministry in the colonial period, law through most of the nineteenth century, and—more controversially—education in the period around the turn of the century. (He links education to the architectonic of "science" by arguing that "education became the institutional locus for the cultural ideal of science" [p. 212].) The colonial era saw the concept of "profession" evolve from a declaration or confession of faith to a denotation of a group of individuals—clergymen—who made that confession or declaration. From this usage the "professional ideal" also picked up a connotation of selfless or disinterested service. In the nineteenth century, despite lingering cultural hostility toward lawyers, law achieved ascendancy, in part because of the "erosion" of clerical authority and financial status at the end of the colonial period (p. 113). Also, attorneys figured prominently in the political revolution(s) and intellectual culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Kimball is sensitive to subtleties and ironies; thus, he suggests that law derived part of its new-found authority from aspects of existing religious tradition (for example, facets of congregationalism). Likewise, he argues that despite some perceptions of the degraded status of educators in the late nineteenth century, we need to read signs such as the mobility of educators from schools to universities, and from faculties to administration, to understand the increased cohesion of educators as a self-recognized "profession," and a decreased tendency for lay people to exercise control and authority within educational systems.

The value of Kimball's study lies both in its reconceptualization of the history of American professionals and the "professional ideal" and in new insights he offers into each period he covers. As with any ambitious history, Kimball's work will be questioned on details of interpretation by scholars of each smaller period he touches on. Kimball also tends to take the unpleasant approach of building his argument on the ruins of other historians' work. But overall, this is a useful, densely researched, multilayered work in U.S. cultural and intellectual history.

MINA CARSON
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BERNARD SCHWARTZ. *Main Currents in American Legal Thought*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic. 1993. Pp. xv, 660. \$49.95.

In this large volume, Bernard Schwartz aspires to provide a history of American legal thought patterned on Vernon Parrington's classic *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927–30). Like Parrington, Schwartz organizes his book around sketches of the activities and ideas of one individual after another. The result is a monumental history of great ideas emanating from great men: not a single woman qualifies for a sketch, although a few get blasted in a section criticizing present-day feminist jurisprudence. The format also makes the work somewhat disorganized and repetitious.

Schwartz's study seems to be written primarily for lawyers interested in a basic history of American jurisprudence, and secondarily for a more general intellectual audience. It does not seem to be intended for professional historians, and certainly not for specialists in legal history or jurisprudence. Nonetheless, historians may find this work a useful introduction to the course of American legal thought and to leading judges, lawyers, and legal thinkers. Its utility, however, is marred by the omission of a bibliography and Schwartz's inattention to historiography in both text and footnotes.

Schwartz argues that from colonial times Americans, unlike Britons, perceived law as an instrument for achieving social and economic goals. In the later nineteenth century this instrumental conception of law gave way to a formalism that threatened to divorce law from social reality. The new formalism, Schwartz says, was linked to the rise of legal positivism—law as the command of the sovereign—and the decline of natural-law jurisprudence, as well as to the hegemony of laissez-faire thought in late-nineteenth-century America. According to Schwartz, legal thought returned to its instrumentalist heritage in the twentieth century, fostering the growth of the welfare state, individual liberty, and equality.

Schwartz approves of the twentieth-century's liberal instrumentalism. He links it to the instrumentalism of the great lawyers of the golden age of American law—Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Joseph Story, and James Kent—and he rebuts challenges to it, whether emanating from nineteenth-century formalism or from late-twentieth-century critics from the Right and Left.

Schwartz is at his best in describing twentieth-century jurisprudential thought. He provides good if simplified introductions to sociological jurisprudence, legal realism, the conflict over judicial activism in the mid-twentieth century, law and economics, critical legal studies, and feminist jurisprudence. Writing more as a jurist than a historian, he engages and criticizes the ideas he describes. But he is not a profound thinker, and his critiques are not as useful as his descriptions.

The book is less successful in its analysis of earlier legal thought, although there are some good insights and interesting information scattered throughout, especially Schwartz's suggestions of how changes in legal education contributed to the rise of legal formalism and his accounts of the careers of important but not widely known lawyers and judges. For general historical context Schwartz relies primarily on works published before 1970. He is familiar enough with recent legal historiography, especially biography, to cull information and quotations from more recently published works, but he is strangely unaffected by their interpretations. And while he is quick to acknowledge his intellectual debt to the great legal scholars of the early twentieth century, such as Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter, he does not acknowledge his even larger debt to Willard Hurst and others who first discerned the instrumentalism of early nineteenth-century American law.

Schwartz's study ignores other insights from the vibrant legal history literature of the past twenty-five years. A number of studies describe the Anglicization of American law in the eighteenth century, contravening his emphasis on differences between American and British jurisprudence. In his discussion of the American Revolution, to which he finds law central, Schwartz all but ignores the work of Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, and especially John Phillip Reid, the last of whom stressed the essential Britishness of the American constitutional argument. Echoing Robert Cover's insights about how judges reconciled themselves to enforcing the law of slavery, he seems innocent of the insights into proslavery and antislavery legal thought in the work of Paul Finkelman, William E. Nelson, Harold Hyman, William Wiecek, and Don Fehrenbacher. His brief essay into Reconstruction is limited to a useful sketch of John A. Bingham, the prime author of the Fourteenth Amendment; he seems to have been unaffected by the work of Nelson, Hyman, Earl Maltz, Michael Curtis, Phillip Shaw Paludan, and others who have carefully assessed legal attitudes in this crucial era. He seems similarly untouched by recent studies that have rediscovered the moral underpinnings of *laissez-faire* constitutionalism.

In sum, this is a useful introduction to an important subject, but it neither engages the insights of other scholars who have worked in the same area nor guides the reader to further reading. Because Schwartz's conclusions sometimes diverge from widely accepted interpretations without alluding to the difference, readers must be cautious about relying on them without further investigation.

MICHAEL LES BENEDICT
Ohio State University,
Columbus

WILLIAM D. PIERSEN. *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 264. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.95.

New prisms through which the past can be viewed are crucial, nowhere as much as the relationship between whites and blacks in American culture. This provocative, essential work by William D. Piersen analyzes the social and intellectual role of African-American presence framed by the question, "What would happen if we shifted our normal perspective so as to make our nation's black legacy a primary point of reference?" and suggests that "Just as in the visual image, the patterns of American history could instantly seem to reverse themselves. Such a process would not change the history, but it would offer a flash of Afrocentrist insight—how changed the world could be if only we thought differently about things, at least for a moment" (p. ix).

Yet Piersen's quest is not of the moment. It is his rich and imaginative presentation of diverse materials, at times unconcerned with chronology, that reveals the extent of African-American impact. By processing the "reconstruction of the precious remains" (p. xiv)—an extensive body of folktales, oral histories, religious rituals, music, and linguistic sensibilities—the author astutely reconstitutes the influence of blacks in the development of American culture over the centuries, moving in the direction of much recent scholarship but going far beyond in boldness of his thesis.

Unbeknownst to most whites were the ways in which the "other" transformed the social landscape. Black thought and practices affected the white practice of enslavement, medical attitudes and procedures, New Orleans Mardi Gras, social decorum, religion, satire, and, ironically, the Ku Klux Klan costume. Piersen observes that the extent to which large numbers of slaves derived from an African aristocracy and elite heritage has been overlooked: "a reality almost antithetical to the stereotyping of slaves as simple 'black folk'" (p. 74). Black-to-white acculturation was thus especially strong in the South, in speech patterns, religious practices, cooking, and the musical arts. A strong African and African-American heritage, in short, contributed enormously to defining the character and quality of American life and manners.

Piersen occasionally overstates his case, although he wisely tenders caveats, as when he writes that "a majority of black American may have been the blue blood of African royalty and aristocracy mixed in their veins" (p. 74); "it could be, of course, that the similarities in masking traditions between the early Klan and its African counterparts were simply intriguing coincidences" (p. 138); "the African interest in herbs and barks used to reduce fevers may have also been involved in the discovery of quinine treatment for malaria" (p. 103). In the last case, Piersen's statements regarding malaria and the quinquina bark are somewhat puzzling inasmuch as certain Native American tribes had early honed a curative tea from the dogfennel plant, known to whites as "feverweed," to offset its effects.

Still, such matters do not detract from the essential worth of the text, which is tightly woven and intelligently written with style and grace. Pierson more than amply demonstrates the need for a "more holographic image of American culture to replace the shadowbox outline of majority history set against a darker background of minority concerns" (p. 188). And he rightly condemns the redivision of history into ethnic specialties that tend to further subdivide and fragment, one that leans toward separatist studies. Pierson's observations, in sum, point to other vital areas of interactive relationship between blacks and whites that could further transform racial and cultural perspectives.

JOSEPH BOSKIN
Boston University

ERIC J. SUNDQUIST. *To Wake the Nation: Race in the Making of American Literature*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 705. \$29.95.

Eric J. Sundquist has written a challenging, comprehensive study of the contribution made by expressive literature to the analysis of African-American experience, legal rights, culture, and philosophy during the century after Nat Turner's rebellion. The book begins with an epigraph from W. E. B. Du Bois: "Our song, our toil, our cheer, and warning have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are not these gifts worth the giving? Is not this work and striving? Would America have been America without her Negro people?" Du Bois is in many ways the hero of this book, the philosopher, activist, folklorist, and novelist who brings together the various strands that Sundquist weaves into the fabric of his own analysis. In his writings, Du Bois speaks eloquently from a position that is located within what he calls "the veil" of African-American experience and at the same time offers a hope for common ground between and among the races. It is this vision of "a multiracial perspective on American life" (p. 24) that animates Sundquist's subtle, adventurous, and thought-provoking study.

Unlike many literary studies of African-American expression, Sundquist's book begins and ends with a transnational perspective. The first section, "Slavery, Revolution, Renaissance," provocatively places antebellum antislavery discourse (including Nat Turner's revolt of 1831 and the hybrid text it produced, a white-authored "Confessions") in the context of the San Domingo slave revolution of 1791 and the challenge slavery posed to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Sundquist reads Frederick Douglass's successive revisions of his autobiography as an evolving dialogue with the ideology of the American Revolution and a claim to the "signs of power" that would identify him with the national fathers. The heritage of San Domingo also frames

two other texts Sundquist puts into illuminating conjunction: Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1854-55) and Martin Delany's neglected novel *Blake; or the Huts of America* (1859-62).

The third and final section of Sundquist's book, "W. E. B. Du Bois: African America and the Kingdom of Culture," returns to this international perspective with an analysis of Du Bois's increasingly global vision of the African diaspora. Delineating Du Bois's relationship both with political forms of Ethiopianism in the United States and Africa and with nationalist literary movements such as the Irish and Zionist causes, Sundquist sees Du Bois as a prophet of "modern racial consciousness and diasporic nationalism" who fused "the memory of antebellum black struggle" with "Pan-African modernity" (pp. 623-24).

The central part of Sundquist's book, including a long middle section, "The Color Line," mostly devoted to Charles Chesnutt, as well as the first part of his analysis of Du Bois, places literary treatments of postbellum African-American experience firmly within a context of law, politics, and popular culture. A fascinating chapter on Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) and its relationship to American legal definitions of race that would be codified in the Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) expands an article Sundquist published earlier in the journal *Representations*. A discussion of Chesnutt's novel *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) brings an illuminating discussion of blackface minstrelsy and its subversive as well as oppressive possibilities. And one of the most original and exciting sections of the book, his analysis of Du Bois's use of musical notation in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), establishes the relationship between the "sorrow songs" in the text and Du Bois's emerging definition of African-American culture.

Perhaps it was inevitable that such an inclusive effort should result in a massive book (625 pages), but the reader is sometimes in danger of being overwhelmed by Sundquist's comprehensiveness. Lengthy, discursive endnotes help the reader who is interested in further study, but the decision to amplify the text with footnotes on the page as well seems excessive. Furthermore, the long central section on Chesnutt is nearly a book in its own right (184 pages). Perhaps this study should have been presented in two volumes, one on the "problem of the color line" and the other on the place of African-American expression in global perspective.

Despite these problems, the book represents a major achievement. Although he clearly takes his boundaries and main thrust from the field of literary studies, Sundquist skillfully weaves together a variety of scholarly discourses. His endnotes are a compendium of recent scholarship in history, literature, folklore, ethnomusicology, and African-American studies, and show a remarkable mastery of primary and secondary material. Although this book participates to some extent in the continuing discussion about "canon" in literary studies, it is more than

simply a revisionist project. Drawing on texts canonical and neglected, and works by white and African-American scholars, Sundquist enacts in his own book the hope for a new conception of racial issues in the American academy. Making admirable use of American studies methodology to expand and illuminate cultural history, this is a pathbreaking book.

JOY S. KASSON
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

PATRICIA A. TURNER. *I Heard It through the Grapevine: Rumor in African-American Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 260. \$25.00.

An examination of the nature of rumor within a culture (or subculture) can provide a useful window on historical experience. In this innovative study, Patricia A. Turner provides a cogent and disturbing perspective on the manner in which the African-American community perceives and interprets current events. On the most immediate level, this work forcefully illustrates the destructive impact of racism and segregation on American society, and it provides a vivid commentary on the sense of alienation that informs the lives of its victims. At the same time, on a more theoretical level, it serves as a valuable study of the role of cultural memory in shaping a response to the present.

Central to Turner's argument is the notion that African Americans have consistently connected the "fate of blacks en masse to the fate of individual black bodies" (p. 32). In this way, the actions and intentions of their oppressors could be understood in the most concrete, immediate, and personal terms, and the imminent threat embodied in these dangers could be fashioned into a rallying point for resistance. While this method of explanation had an obvious practical value, it also generated a substantial corpus of speculation and rumor—some of it accurate and well founded, much of it ephemeral and misinformed—about specific strategies of aggression against the black population. Turner outlines the historical dimension of these "rumor cycles," from the time of the Atlantic slave trade, when African captives often concluded that they were being carried away to be eaten by "cannibalistic" Europeans, through the antebellum period, when southern whites attempted to use rumor in the quarters as an instrument of control, to the era of reconstruction and redemption, when the Ku Klux Klan emerged as a central focus of black anxieties, a legendary agent endowed with powers far beyond its actual capacity. The author then goes on to consider a host of contemporary rumor "texts," ranging from corporate conspiracies against the welfare of blacks (among them, the notion that a particular fried chicken outlet and a specific beverage company have doctored their products with an ingredient that ster-

ilizes black males); conspiracy theories concerning political assassinations and the alleged activities of government agencies such as the CIA and the FBI; and the conviction that social crises such as the AIDS epidemic and the proliferation of crack cocaine constitute premeditated attacks against the black community.

Although Turner has grounded her work in psychoanalytic theory and reader-response criticism, she has produced a readable study that is mercifully free of jargon. A certain redundancy in content and analysis is a minor irritant, especially since there are a number of related subjects that might have been addressed (such as black anti-Semitism, the theology of the Black Muslim movement, the relationship of this phenomenon to the "folk" tradition in African-American historiography, and so on). Still, these problems are minor, and a sequel that considers such issues would, like this volume, be a valuable addition to the literature.

DENNIS HICKEY
Edinboro University of Pennsylvania

MARK A. REID. *Redefining Black Film*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. x, 170. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$15.00.

This is a short book but by no means an unambitious one. Mark A. Reid analyzes "two interrelated histories" (p. 1): that of films produced, written, and directed by blacks, as opposed to those produced by whites, even if they use black writers or directors. This is also a book for true believers in the cult of cultural studies. Reid declares in his introduction that "my critical approach will engage a feminist-Marxist-black cultural reading of African-American film production and reception" (p. 3). A key question is the extent to which this approach clarifies or confuses our understanding of the relationship of filmmaking to the African-American experience.

Reid's first chapter, on black films and filmmaking before 1960, adds nothing new to the established secondary works on which he draws. His second chapter deals with African-American comedies. Here he develops a set of categories (minstrelsy, hybrid minstrelsy, satiric hybrid minstrelsy) derived from the blackface minstrel tradition. Reid ends this chapter with the obligatory "critical theory of African-American film" (p. 42), evoking the trinity of Sigmund Freud, Jurij Lotman, and Michel Foucault. Unfortunately Reid's categories and theory get in the way of his discussion of both films and filmmakers.

A case in point is his evaluation of *A Raisin in the Sun* (1961), for it is with Reid's discussion of this film that he finally, almost halfway through the book, gets down to sustained analysis. He lays out the history of Lorraine Hansberry's landmark work both as a play and a film all too briefly (pp. 57–68). Here Reid makes effective use of producer David Susskind's

manuscript collection to illustrate the limits a white-controlled studio (Columbia) placed on a black film. Just when it looks as if the discussion is going to reach some depth, Reid concludes by dropping in a couple paragraphs of theory affixing labels ("generative discourses," "spectatorial positioning" [p. 66]) that only add new verbiage to what he has already made clear in ordinary language. Reid's comments on Bill Cosby's television show (p. 33) even more glaringly substitutes labels for analysis.

Reid is at his best dealing with current black films and filmmakers. His chapter on black women filmmakers is comprehensive and the best I have seen on the subject (although I would have liked a fuller discussion of Julie Dash's work). Reid is appreciative of the films of Melvin Van Peebles and, more recently, Spike Lee, but he finds Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971) and Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986) too sexist to be in the canon. It is ironic that Reid is at his best when he allows himself to deal with a filmmaker as an *auteur*, a judgment I am sure he would find to be anathema given his commitment to a cultural theory that elevates audience reception over the significance of individual artists.

EUGENE LEVY
Carnegie Mellon University

JAMES G. MOSELEY. *John Winthrop's World: History as a Story; The Story as History*. (History of American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 192. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.95.

James G. Moseley's book is the first in-depth study of Puritan leader John Winthrop since Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (1958). Moseley claims, in fact, to "move beyond" Morgan to a more nuanced view of the "founder" of Massachusetts Bay (p. 9). In fact, this book is a retreat. Moseley intends to help his reader "enter Winthrop's lively world" by "removing the blinders of the present" (p. 4). Unfortunately, the result is an often naive, almost hagiographical depiction of Winthrop as founding politician and narrating historian.

Moseley hopes to avoid what he calls the modern "stereotypes" or "caricatures" of Winthrop as an authoritarian, on the one hand, or as a "freedom man" on the other. This is well and good, but the alternative metaphors used by Moseley to depict Winthrop—founder and historian—are not strong enough to challenge the truths behind the popular clichés, much less the subtlety of Morgan's understanding of Winthrop's "dilemma." Consequently, in ways apparently unknown to Moseley, the cliché of Winthrop as noble founder consequently creeps into the narrative to distort the past into what borders on hagiography, and at the expense of Winthrop's world.

For example, regarding Moseley's treatment of

Winthrop's role in the "Antinomian Controversy" of 1637, he concludes that "Winthrop came through these years prepared to lead the colony in looking steadily forward" (p. 93). What this banality obscures is that Anne Hutchinson had been left behind by Winthrop and the other founders, her life and home wrecked by the building of Massachusetts Bay. Indeed, Moseley simply accepts the stereotype of Hutchinson as a teacher of "lawlessness and disrespect for authority" (p. 164). In short, the complexity of Winthrop's world vanishes as the stereotype of Winthrop as noble founder is restored.

The problem is not that Moseley wants to remove the blinders of the present (and hence cared not to construct a "politically correct" interpretation). Rather, it is that this interpretation is historically distorted by naively privileging Winthrop's own world view. The way Moseley treats the relationship between Winthrop and Indians is another example. Moseley simply reports that for Winthrop, "English disease seemed almost providentially to open the land" for Puritan settlement. This does accurately report Winthrop's interpretation of events. What it fails to do is acquaint the reader (even implicitly) with the rich body of work that historians of Puritanism have produced on providential thinking. Moseley does not "move beyond" Morgan; he ignores him.

JON PAHL
Valparaiso University

BARBARA L. BELLOW. *Benevolence among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 217. \$29.95.

In recent years, historians have closely examined antebellum poverty and welfare in several northern cities, but Barbara L. Bellows has published the first study of the progression of indigence and benevolence in a southern city. Hers is a well-documented, intriguing history of both the similarities between the theory and practice of charity in Charleston and in northern cities and of the distinctiveness of southern benevolence.

Charity was always a necessity because "Charleston never knew a time without poverty" (p. 2). Bellows argues that throughout the antebellum era, there was as much poverty in Charleston as in any northern city. The city's slaveholding elite responded to need among laboring whites in order to create a sense of "mutual obligation and reciprocity" (p. 8) and to prevent their collusion with the city's large slave population. Although concern about preserving cross-class racial unity may have been peculiar to a southern city like Charleston, its methods of dealing with poverty were not. Between 1815 and 1830, as in other cities, Charleston's elite enthusiastically formed Bible and tract societies and Sunday schools to improve the personal morality of the poor. The finan-

cial cost of preserving white unity mounted, however, as large numbers of poor immigrants entered the city in the 1840s and 1850s. Charleston's elite responded by expanding public welfare, yet poverty did not disappear. Consequently, many benevolent slaveholders lost sympathy with the white poor and even blamed them for the epidemics that periodically ravaged the city.

Throughout her study, Bellows is attentive to class, race, and gender issues. She demonstrates that among Charleston's elite both women and men identified with poor whites and extended charity to them while remaining "tyrannical or negligent toward their own slaves" (p. 46). She also explains, in a chapter on Charleston's unique public orphan asylum, how the elite white men who ran it treated male and female orphans differently, and how, ironically, rather than uniting poor white boys, they created classes among them by singling out the brightest for education outside the asylum.

As for the poor themselves, Bellows describes the causes and consequences of poverty among white women and children particularly well. She does not explain poverty among poor white men in the same detail, and she only briefly discusses poverty among free blacks. Of course, by reason of race, they were largely excluded from public and private welfare rolls in this southern city. Yet by failing to discuss their poverty, the author prevents us from seeing just how wide a gap there was between the white and black poor and just how successful the white elite were in protecting the white lower classes from abject indigence.

Bellows is most successful in describing the evolution of thought and attitudes among benevolent white slaveholders in Charleston. When it comes to describing just how benevolent they actually were, how generous they were toward the poor, she is less convincing. She accepts fairly uncritically Charleston architect Robert Mills's contentions about the monetary generosity of private charities, and when she compares relief expenditures in Charleston to relief expenditures elsewhere in the U.S., she uses figures about the city's almshouse expenditures only. Yet these are small caveats. Overall, this important study adds much to our understanding about social welfare, benevolence, the South, urban history, and class and race relations in antebellum America.

PRISCILLA FERGUSON CLEMENT
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RONALD SCHULTZ. *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720-1830*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 298. \$45.00.

Philadelphia workers established the nation's first city-wide central labor union, workingmen's newspaper, and workingmen's political party in 1827 and

1828. Ronald Schultz accounts for the "birth of America's first working class" with a chronological narrative that weaves together a variety of moral traditions and historical experiences.

Quaker artisans emigrating from England to Pennsylvania carried with them a small producer tradition whose origins date back to English dissenters and guildsmen. This moral tradition, made up of an ethic of community, equality, competency, and the value of labor, was mobilized by eighteenth-century Philadelphia political leaders seeking popular support in the years leading up to and during the American Revolution. But the popular coalition that led the Quaker City into the war was unstable; radicals from the middle class held property rights absolute, while laboring men placed the well-being of the community first. The workers' movement for price controls in 1779 showed how important this difference could be, and in the 1780s, the tariff issue exacerbated the split; left on their own, workingmen began organizing labor unions and other institutions for collective self-improvement.

During the 1790s, middle-class political leaders attempting to build an anti-Federalist coalition appealed to the small producer values of local artisans, which were reinforced by an influx of immigrants from Ireland, including many who were active with the United Irishmen. The French Revolution helped cement the popular coalition, as did the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, during which the comfortable classes left the city while working people ran the city government, buried their dead, and cared for their dying.

By the turn of the century, workingmen constituted a distinct wing of a powerful new Democratic-Republican Party, but early industrialization strained the multiclass coalition, breaking it apart by 1810. As socialism and universalism infused workers' ranks in the 1820s, William Heighon rallied workingmen to a conscious working-class movement.

Schultz's analysis makes two important contributions. First, by connecting the traditions and experiences of American and European artisans, Schultz gives what has generally been thought of as the early American labor movement a history of its own. Second, by chronicling more than fifty years of political action by Philadelphia artisans, Schultz makes it clear that the electoral efforts launched in 1828 were not the youthful indiscretions of a romantic, new labor movement, but rather the product of considerable collective experience with the workings of political parties and government institutions.

Schultz's determination to chronicle the "politics of class" causes problems, however. In a time when craft relationships were changing rapidly, the meaning of terms such as "artisan," "craftsman," and "laboring classes" were laden with ambiguity. Yet Schultz uses the terms unsystematically. And "class," at the very center of Schultz's analysis, is not defined. Confusion results but nevertheless this is an interesting and

important contribution to our understanding of the role of working people in early American political life.

DAVID BENSMAN
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JAMES OLIVER ROBERTSON and JANET C. ROBERTSON.
All Our Yesterdays: A Century of Family Life in an American Small Town. New York: HarperCollins. 1993. Pp. 512. \$30.00.

This book is a fascinating, creatively researched, wonderfully written, and evocative history of a house, a family, a small town, and, from the authors' perspective, a lost American world. In 1967 James Oliver Robertson and Janet C. Robertson purchased a house in the small town of Hampton in northeastern Connecticut. The house, built in the last decade of the eighteenth century and uninhabited for years, was sold to the Robertsons by descendants of two brothers, Roger Taintor and Solomon Taintor, who purchased the seven-acre homestead in 1804. To the Robertsons' surprise, it was not only the old white house—with its more than thirty windows, a huge dining room table with twenty Hitchcock chairs, a summer kitchen whose sole water supply was a cast-iron hand pump, and fireplaces "everywhere"—that evoked in them a feeling of stepping into "a time warp" (p. 2). In addition to these physical relics of pre-industrial, small-town America, the Robertsons eventually received from the sellers a collection of their family papers that filled twenty-five large file boxes.

For over 150 years the Taintor family and their descendants had "saved nearly every piece of paper that came in their door," including hundreds of letters, "stacks of deeds, packets of their receipts and accounts, inventories, pamphlets, books, pictures, and business documents" (p. 5). Sheer chance—what the Robertsons call "a wonderful serendipity"—had placed before two enterprising writers a documentary treasury of the American past. Their book is the engaging product of a painfully difficult five-year process of sorting, organizing, and conceptualizing the documents.

This volume makes two important contributions to American historiography. First, the Robertsons effectively link the history of the Taintor family with the changes that occurred in American society between the 1790s and the 1920s. Their story begins during the seedtime of the new, and overwhelmingly agrarian and small town, American Republic; it ends during the 1920s, the decade in which consumerism, cosmopolitanism, urbanization, inordinate industrial productivity, and technological wizardry eclipsed—permanently it would appear—the intimacy, compactness, and values of small-town life. The Robertsons deftly trace the American journey from the postrevolutionary period to the Civil War to the

Gilded Age and into the 1920s through the lives, hopes, business failures and successes, deaths, births, and marriages of an "ordinary" American family; in the process they chart the relationships between changes in the wider society and their impact on both the Taintor family and their small town. The Robertsons are particularly effective in portraying how the traditional economic functions of the family were profoundly altered after the Civil War by the emergence of large-scale industry and finance.

The second, and perhaps more significant, reason historians should find this book important is that it rekindles—albeit ambiguously and somewhat contradictorily—the debate about "modernity" and how separate, distant, and almost foreign the values of the American agrarian world of 1800 are from those of our own. The Robertsons assert that their house was built in an age and a social context that is "dead"; family cohesion, a vibrant (if at times stifling) community life, neighbors who genuinely cared about one another—all were premised on a radically decentralized economy (and world view) that disappeared behind the smokestacks of the American industrial city. What bemuses the Robertsons is that these preindustrial (and hence irrelevant) values continue to attract the allegiance of Americans, precious few of whom can count on experiencing family cohesion, occupational independence, or intense communal feelings.

Yet the Robertsons themselves admit that their move to Hampton—and subsequently into the town's history—changed their lives. The town and its inhabitants (Hampton's population is about as small as it was in 1800) absorbed and incorporated the Robertsons into the ways and means of a supposedly dead past: they joined the local Grange, became intimately involved in both the town meetings (the seat of American democratic traditions) and in the lives and values of their neighbors, while continuing to lead the lives of cosmopolitan professionals who travel frequently to Boston and New York. The real issue, then, is not simply that the "myth" (as the Robertsons call it) of the world of the small town—of independent workers who own their time, of neighbors who care about one another, of communities that assume political control over the issues that affect them most intimately, and of a cohesive family life—continues its nostalgic pull on the American imagination, although on the surface it appears irrelevant to their lives. Rather, we should be asking why it continues to do so and what that tells us about "us," "them," and the American experience. The appearance of this book is an appropriate occasion to ask those important questions again.

DOMINICK CAVALLO
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JANE C. NYLANDER. *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760–1860.* (A Borzoi Book.)

New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993. Pp. xiv, 317. \$30.00.

In this book, Jane C. Nylander sets out to explore "the intersection between reality and reminiscence in the broad scope and minute details of everyday life in New England during the years 1760–1860" (p. ix). Her sources are for the most part contemporary accounts, such as those provided by letters and diaries, and *reminiscences and nostalgic portraits written at the end of the nineteenth century*. When Nylander compares the contemporary accounts to the later depictions, she finds, as might be expected, that the haze of memory usually took on a rosy cast. Nylander's book is at its best when it describes just those aspects of New England life that later writers tended to forget: winters so cold that wash hung out in the kitchen froze before it could dry; roaring fires that spat dangerous embers out into the room; swarms of summertime insects that destroyed the furniture and invaded the food supply. Although Nylander describes the emergence of New England local history and antiquarian movements at the end of the nineteenth century, she does not examine how the perspective of that period shaped the understanding of earlier times. Instead, she says that "although it may be easy, and even politically correct, to dismiss their work as romanticized and inaccurate, it is important to recognize that these nineteenth-century historians knew what they were doing . . . Their work was informed by experience and etched in memory. Statistical models did not interest them" (p. 18).

Statistical models, as well as other methods borrowed from the social sciences, have, however, been of great interest to practitioners of the "new social history." They and all those who appreciate the way they transformed our understanding of New England's history will be dismayed by Nylander's book. This is not by any means a bad book. It is well written, handsomely illustrated, and basically accurate. But those who are familiar with the best products of the new social history, from John Demos's *A Little Commonwealth* (1970) through Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *Good Wives* (1982) and *A Midwife's Tale* (1990), will find little that they did not know already. Nylander's book is essentially "pots and pans" social history: descriptions of what New Englanders wore, ate, and slept on, how they made candles and how they made soap. Reading her book is much like taking a guided tour of an old home with an ingratiating docent. It is for the armchair tourist, not the professional historian.

Although Nylander tries not to romanticize the objects and processes of New England home life, it seems she cannot help depicting family life itself in rosy hues. Such comments as "the unity of the New England family was of paramount importance to its members" (p. 53) and "those who lived in what today would be called an extended family—the blessed patriarch, the fragile grandma'm, the maiden aunts

and clever uncles, the boarders, and the faithful lifelong servants—all developed emotional ties to the members of the household in which they lived" (p. 32) are at best platitudes. Juxtaposed as they are against detailed descriptions of the inanimate objects within the house, they imply that it was those objects, not the people who made and used them, that constituted and gave particular meaning to New England family life.

JAN LEWIS
Rutgers University,
Newark

MICHAEL N. MCCONNELL. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 357. \$40.00.

In this detailed and carefully constructed study of the Ohio frontier, Michael N. McConnell demonstrates that Indians were crucial and deliberate players in the eighteenth-century contest for the upper Ohio Valley, an area that American historians usually have portrayed as an imperial battleground between the British and French. Delawares, Shawnees, and Ohio Seneca (Mingoes) shaped the area's cultural frontier between 1724 and 1774 and also developed diplomatic, economic, and military strategies with the goal of remaining autonomous of Americans, Europeans, and the Iroquois Confederacy. This is a history of constancy and focus of purpose, a history at odds with standard depictions of American Indians in disjointed or failed struggles to rebuff advancing settlers.

McConnell has written about the Ohio Indians from their perspectives, examining their motives for settling in the area, strategies for dealing with outsiders, and their gradual identification of the region as their homeland. He describes the native peoples who migrated to the Ohio country as "pioneers"—a term not often used in conjunction with Indians—which conveys the elements of choice, of adaptation, and of strategic planning that characterized their efforts. The Delawares' move, for example, was a response to the effects of increasing European encroachment on their land base in the Delaware Valley, a problem that escalated with the founding of Pennsylvania in 1681. Material culture changed rapidly, territory shifted as villages traded land for European products, autonomous villages consolidated, and a new leadership emerged that specialized in mediating between natives and colonists, particularly in the transfer of land. Shortly after the arrival of William Penn's crowds, the Schuylkill Delaware began limited forays into the Ohio Valley. By the 1720s, migration was in full swing as other groups of Delaware opted to secure a future for their children away from the increasingly chaotic and foreign culture developing in their former territories.

In settling the Ohio Valley, Native American immigrants re-created cultural and political worlds similar to the ones they had abandoned. They brought with them not only cultural traditions but also enduring ties to friends and foe alike. In the process of reestablishing themselves, scattered bands drew together, eventually forming the Delaware, Shawnee, and Seneca nations. Even more important, they developed a regional identity. McConnell convincingly demonstrates that this collective identity enabled the Ohio Indians to cooperate in their own interests through alliances, hostilities, and "play-offs" of larger powers, in contrast to conventional historiography that posited them as pawns in territorial struggles between the Iroquois Confederacy, British, and French.

Through alliances formed with the guidance of spokesmen such as Tanaghrisson, this regional identity enabled native goals to remain steady, even though their efforts were not always successful, as in the drive in 1752–54 to shake the French loose of the Ohio country. Following the collapse of New France in 1760, Native Americans faced British imperial designs. As interaction with the British increased, the Ohio Indians' goal remained the same: to retain their autonomy. The decades of conflict that followed, McConnell claims, produced not disintegration but selective adaptation, not decay but social consolidation. Ultimately, the British threat fostered cultural renewals guided by political and spiritual leaders that persisted through their eventual migrations out of the Ohio Valley. McConnell has drawn on a wealth of archival materials to support his complex and sympathetic analysis. A generous number of maps aid in following the often complicated explanations of relocations and strategic maneuvers. Indeed, there is at times a surfeit of detail, particularly regarding military encounters. Although this would be a difficult book to use in the classroom, it is a contribution that colonialists and ethnohistorians will want to note.

CAROL GREEN DEVENS
Central Michigan University

STANLEY ELKINS and ERIC MCKITRICK. *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 925. \$39.95.

The purpose of this long-awaited and hefty tome is to describe the making of the United States with particular reference to the rise and decline of Federalism. What follows in some 900 pages of text and notes is an extended account of national politics from 1789 to 1800. Never before have we had a narrative of these years that combines erudition, insight, and analysis in the manner that Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick accomplish here. Even those readers inclined to dismiss narrative as a mode of historical explanation will be bound to admit that in this account of high politics Elkins and McKittrick often give us a far more subtle

and nuanced rendering of the interaction between ideas, personalities, and contexts than we normally receive in more thesis-driven monographs about these formative years in the nation's history.

Because of its length, the particular virtues of this study cannot possibly be listed in a short review, but, their abundance notwithstanding, many readers will want to dissent from some of its conclusions. One problem is that the authors, for all the care and detail they lavish on explaining events, scarcely bother to conceal their own preferences. In the first half of the volume, the Federalists generally, and Alexander Hamilton in particular, are fulsomely praised for the boldness of their vision and for their ability to deal with the world as it "really" was. Their opponents, by contrast, notably Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, are depicted unsympathetically as rigid ideologues who vainly tried to deal with the world as they wished it to be.

At least two major difficulties arise from placing this spin on the narrative. One is that the authors' "idealist/realist" judgments about the politics of the 1790s are outdated, partly for epistemological reasons and partly because of their tendency to shape arguments in ways that are impossible to settle conclusively. Other historians can construct plausible counterarguments to demonstrate that there was more "realism" to Republican policies than Elkins and McKittrick acknowledge. The other problem is that the authors cannot sustain the logic of their preferences throughout the narrative. In dealing with the Federalists after 1796, Elkins and McKittrick find little to approve and they ultimately concede that by 1800 it was the Republicans who were more in touch with the realities of their world. Here adjectives such as "witless" and "bedlamite" emerge in the analysis, while the extended sketch of John Adams as a perverse and erratic president whose personal foibles made his difficult situation worse than it actually was is the most severe indictment in the volume.

These shifting judgments inevitably raise the question of what "went wrong" with Federalism and the Federalists as the 1790s progressed. Elkins and McKittrick tend to address this issue indirectly rather than directly. Their insights here are always astute, as, for example, when they explain how the achievements of the Washington administrations were attributed to the president personally and thus left an unworkable legacy for those who were to follow him. But the authors also insinuate at various points that the roots of Federalist decline and failure are really to be found in the reactionary and exclusivist fears that gave rise to the movement itself in the 1780s. In short, Federalism from its very outset was a flawed and problematic political phenomenon, and some awareness of this fact might have informed the analysis at an earlier point than it does.

The final verdict, therefore, is mixed. As an account of the first decade of national politics, the book that Elkins and McKittrick have given us is a master-

piece of extended analytical narrative. Scholars will benefit from their many perceptive observations for years to come. As an explanation of the fate and meaning of Federalism, however, the story is less satisfying. Here the argument might have been drawn together more tightly, and in this context there was perhaps a case for adding a conclusion to the volume that the authors otherwise decided to omit.

J. C. A. STAGG
University of Virginia

GLENN A. PHELPS. *George Washington and American Constitutionalism*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. x, 245. \$27.50.

During the quarter century that George Washington devoted to the service of his country, he was surrounded by an extraordinary number of men of exceptional intellectual ability. As philosophers, politicians, even, some argue, as military leaders, others were his superiors. Washington was the most highly respected American of his time, but his character rather than his brain earned him that distinction. Indeed, when set alongside the other Founders, Washington tends to come off as a bit dim. That, argues Glenn A. Phelps, is unfair. Washington did have thoughts.

Washington believed devoutly in the principles of old-fashioned, classical republicanism, drawn from the conservative political ideology current in Virginia during his youth, solidified by his experience as commander in chief during the American War for Independence, and further influenced by his private investments in western lands. Although many of his ideas had become "politics of nostalgia" (p. 187) during the Constitution's formative years, much of what he valued was on the agenda for other more flexible republican thinkers as well. By putting his influence behind the nationalists at the Philadelphia convention and the Federalists during his presidency, Washington got much of what he wanted from the new Constitution and from the governmental precedents set during the crucial first years of its operation. That he scarcely spoke in the Constitutional Convention and that he allowed Alexander Hamilton to take the lead in making policy during his presidency was Washington's way of getting his own vision realized and was not the result of "diffidence or dotty befuddlement" (p. 146). If someone other than Washington had been the first American head of state, "there is a good chance that it [the constitutional tradition] would have been different" (p. 196).

Phelps is cautious not to claim too much for Washington as a maker of constitutional law, but he points to several specific contributions to constitutional tradition that he considers vital. Washington's scrupulous deference to congressional authority during the war established the principle of military subordina-

tion to civilian government. "This alone," says Phelps, "would be sufficient to assure his inclusion on any list of essential Founders." Phelps also claims that Washington's decision to attend the Philadelphia convention and to allow his name to be used during the ratification campaign was "probably indispensable" (p. 191).

As president, Washington did not get everything he wanted. Despite his abhorrence of parties, parties flourished. Nor did he get support for his vision of a westward-looking continental republic or for a national university. Some of the precedents he set, such as personally taking command of the army in his role as commander in chief, did not persist. Nor did he succeed in his efforts to make cooperation rather than confrontation the pattern for relations between president and Congress. But Washington's scrupulous regard for the supremacy of law and for the presidential obligation to defend the Constitution even when its workings appear to take the nation in the wrong direction left a permanent block in the path of later activist presidents.

LINDA GRANT DE PAUW
George Washington University

LORRAINE SMITH PANGLE and THOMAS L. PANGLE. *The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. ix, 350. \$35.00.

Lorraine Smith Pangle and Thomas L. Pangle have revisited the educational thought of the revolutionary generation of American political leaders. Their four-part book begins with a delineation of the legacy of political and moral ideas available in Western thought. Here the Pangles emphasize its aristocratically based limitations and contradictions, and the recurring tension between an emphasis on constitutional guarantees—like the separation of powers and checks and balances—that would curb democratic excesses and factionalism, and an appeal to education, meaning the formation of a virtuous character and a learned commitment to the civic and social responsibility of both leaders and followers. Next they analyze the founders' key ideas and plans for republican education. Following this is a section on the founders' ideas about non-school educational influences, and, finally, the part titled "Education through Emulation" examines George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin as educators.

The book covers much familiar ground, as evidenced by the rich secondary literature that the authors exploit and often criticize. For example, Max Weber and D. H. Lawrence miss or mistake elements of Franklin's complex thinking on the relations of self-interest and civic virtue; Lawrence Cremin (author of a magisterial three-volume history of American education) often misreads John Locke; Frederick

Rudolph and others underestimate Benjamin Rush's originality; and Bernard Bailyn crucially neglects political theory and action, especially unforgivable in considering Franklin's educational theories.

Like Cremin, however, the Pangles view education broadly. Thus, libraries and the free press, parental influences, religious institutions, political writings and speeches, almanacs and dictionaries, even jury duty and the instruction furnished by judges and judicial decisions, all provide civic education, by intent and effect. Yet schools and colleges bulk largest in the Pangles' analysis of the founders' educational thought, and in the authors' limited descriptions of actual provisions for instructing youth in the postrevolutionary period.

For those who have read widely on the subject the most notable contributions of this thoroughly researched, well-written, and carefully produced book are the attention given to relatively neglected figures in the intellectual history of American civic education, like Xenophon and the Frenchman Charles Rollin; the authors' recognition of those political thinkers who, a generation and more before Horace Mann, advertised the role of common schools in moderating the divisive effects of religious, political, and social class differences in an increasingly pluralistic nation; and their appreciation of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin as themselves educators of the young of their personal acquaintance, as well as exemplary public figures.

The conventional wisdom is that the American Revolution made precious little difference in who got schooling or why, a male-centered interpretation that these authors leave largely intact. They give passing attention to females in the educational thought of Locke, Jefferson, Rush, and Noah Webster, briefly discuss the ideology of the "republican mother" (girls should be schooled because they are the future mothers of "young republicans") and how Emma Willard exploited this view, and they note that expansions in female schooling qualified women to become, quite quickly, the majority of American school teachers. But there are no "Foremothers" here; despite calling their actors the "Founders" or "Framers" rather than the "Founding Fathers," this is not revisionist history as far as gender is concerned.

This study is animated by concern about contemporary American schooling and the philosophical poverty of the present school-reform movement. One may well conclude that our educational system has indeed lost its compass, and that the high ground of moral and civic education especially has been surrendered to fundamentalists and fanatics of varied stripe.

GERALDINE JONCHIC CLIFFORD
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Berkeley

RICHARD RANKIN. *Ambivalent Churchmen and Evangelical Churchwomen: The Religion of the Episcopal Elite in*

North Carolina 1800–1860. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 203. \$39.95.

In the 1790s, local Episcopal worship in North Carolina was almost extinct. By 1860, almost every central and eastern North Carolina town had an Episcopal church. Richard Rankin's essay in intellectual history attempts to explain why. His thesis is that evangelical Christianity's success among Episcopal women at the turn of the nineteenth century "scared traditional men enough to restore the Episcopal church for their wives" (p. 177).

Rankin argues that the Episcopal church represented a religious tradition antedating southern evangelicalism. Anglicanism stressed rationality and favored elitist notions that society was best ruled by an upper-class patriarchy. Values outside this religious tradition also shaped its genteel adherents. Building on the work of Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Rankin describes Episcopalians as anxious for public approval. Men avowed an ethic of honor (personal valor, hospitality, and risk-taking) while women professed an ethic of fashion. Weakened by defections to deism, the Episcopal church was, by the late eighteenth century, headed for oblivion, until the Methodists began establishing urban churches in the early 1800s.

Rankin agrees with Donald Mathews that southern evangelicalism was a lower-class movement emphasizing emotionalism, conversion, spiritual intimacy, and the renunciation of worldly pleasures like drinking and gambling. Episcopal gentlemen rejected evangelicalism because it violated tenets of the male code of honor. But numerous Episcopal women, once exposed to Methodism in the towns, became evangelical converts. Rankin hypothesizes that Episcopal women, accustomed to deferring to husbands and fathers, abandoned the code of fashion to submit to the overpowering emotion of evangelical conversions, while the code of honor denied men the spiritual meekness requisite to conversion. Losing control of their womenfolk, Episcopal gentlemen fought back by reestablishing local Episcopal congregations. Rankin dubs Episcopal men "ambivalent" because most were halfhearted members; baptized as infants, they rarely became communicants. Accordingly, women dominated Episcopal membership rolls throughout the antebellum period.

Initially, this reborn Episcopalianism was of the "low church" variety, sympathetic to evangelicalism. After the 1820s, however, "high church" reforms prevailed. Rankin argues that northern reforms like abolitionism raised the specter of social disruption, pushing evangelical Episcopal women back toward the authoritarianism typical of high-church sensibilities. By the 1840s, he concludes, "high churchmanship" had created a new religious synthesis that stressed propriety, moderation, and domesticity. Amenable to the male ethic of honor, these values paved the way for emerging Victorian society.

Rankin uses a wide range of sources, particularly

church membership rolls and private papers. Occasionally his readings are uncritical (for example, he contends that evangelical women's poetry expressed a depth of personal transformation that "no one" could deny, when another reader might interpret the sentimentality as typical of the genre). Often his sources prevent him from arguing a case as strongly as he would wish. Although Rankin conscientiously notes when his sources limit him to conjecture, on several key points—such as the motivations prompting men's reestablishment of Episcopal congregations in the 1810s, or Episcopal women's abdication of evangelicalism in the 1830s—Rankin's conclusions operate at the level of inference. Finally, readers who assume from the title that half of the book will focus on women as actors will be disappointed; women primarily provide a backdrop for men's decisions to establish various forms of Anglicanism. Nevertheless, in its attempt to adjudicate the role of theology, class, and gender in determining the Episcopal church's role in antebellum North Carolina, Rankin's book provides provocative analysis.

VALARIE H. ZIEGLER
Rhodes College

RICHARD J. CARWARDINE. *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 487. \$45.00.

In December 1860, the editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal* cast blame for the impending secession crisis: "This unholy and fratricidal war *began* with your hard-shell Reformed Presbyterians, and your soft-shell new-school Presbyterians, and with your Baptists, Methodists, and such like. *You*, Protestant religionists were the very first to begin this game of disunion" (pp. 319–20). In his carefully nuanced, extensively researched account, Richard J. Carwardine echoes the *Journal* assessment. He contends that evangelicals played a central role in mid-nineteenth-century politics and that they created an adversarial moral and political climate in which armed conflict was a logical outcome.

Carwardine skillfully blends narrative, historiography, and a vast array of primary sources in his sweeping articulation of the evangelical thesis. The book's structure is quite traditional as the narrative moves from the election of 1840, the collapse of the second party system, and the rise of the Republican Party to the breakup of the Union in 1860. Carwardine incorporates the findings of David Potter, William Gienapp, and a host of ethnocultural historians; yet he emphasizes the importance of evangelical Protestantism far more than other scholars. In Carwardine's view, "evangelical Protestants shaped discourse, voting blocs, and outcomes" (p. 51) and therefore merit primary attention.

Borrowing from the new cultural history, Carwardine places discourse at the center of his analysis.

This is a wise strategy. By analyzing the use of language, Carwardine can argue that evangelicals were far more influential than their numbers alone would indicate. Being "the principal subculture in antebellum America" (p. xv), evangelical Protestantism provided the linguistic currency in which political transactions were conducted. The contours of evangelical thought were omnipresent within the second and third party systems. Evangelicals downplayed religious concerns and pushed moral issues such as temperance, education, Indian removal, and slavery onto the national agenda. The linkage between public and private morality was so strong that between 1840 and 1860 all presidential candidates were portrayed by their parties as righteous and pious men. Political compromise became difficult as "evangelical Manicheanism and unforgiving, uncomplicated moralism worked against the thoughtful discussion of complex political issues" (p. 49). Parties were shaped, in large part, by sectarian controversies and differing responses to Catholic immigration. Ultimately, "evangelicalism, more than any other element, provided the core of [the] divergent moral perceptions of [North and South regarding] the appropriate social and economic direction of the Union" (p. 323), thus precipitating the Civil War.

In building his case, Carwardine corrects misconceptions and illuminates underinvestigated topics. Noting that thousands of evangelicals were Democrats, he strenuously resists the temptation to identify Whigs and Republicans as "the evangelical parties." Discontinuities between the second and third party systems are carefully illustrated. For example, Carwardine demonstrates how northern Methodists and Baptists forsook the Democratic Party in the late 1840s and early 1850s and eventually joined their former theological adversaries under the Republican banner. Carwardine expands C. C. Goen's contention that schisms within major denominations presaged and contributed to the onset of the Civil War (*Broken Churches, Broken Nation* [1985]). Methodists, for instance, divided in the 1840s but they did not fully separate geographically because northern and southern branches jockeyed for control of Methodism in the border states. By the late 1850s, some southern evangelicals used terror, arson, and murder to eliminate northern religious competition. Thus, intense interregional animosity between evangelical factions exacerbated similar tensions developing in the political arena.

Despite its many strengths, this book is not without flaws. The absence of northern African-American evangelicals is troubling. Nowhere do we read of the efforts of Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Daniel Alexander Payne, and Sojourner Truth to shift the discussion of slavery onto moral rather than economic or political ground. Nor do we read how black evangelicals intensified the slavery debate by portraying slaveholders in Manichean terms. Without including the contributions of black evangel-

ical leaders, this book is more a discussion of white evangelicalism than a portrait of the entire evangelical community.

Interpretive questions also emerge. To what degree did evangelicals precipitate political change and to what degree did they mirror "secular" politics? Carwardine recognizes that the relationship between evangelicalism and politics was interactive, yet his thesis depends on evangelicals being the shapers rather than the reflectors of larger cultural influences. A similar question can be raised regarding the piety of political leaders. Did the widespread concern with politicians' religiosity demonstrate the ability of evangelicals to shape political discourse, or did it merely show the skills of cagy campaign managers in manipulating the evangelical vote?

Despite these concerns, Carwardine's book is a major contribution to our understanding of pre-Civil War politics. Although not all historians will agree that evangelicalism was critical to antebellum politics and sectional conflict, few, after reading this sophisticated account, will deny the important role evangelicals played in shaping mid-nineteenth-century American political culture.

CURTIS D. JOHNSON
Mount Saint Mary's College

A. GREGORY SCHNEIDER. *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: The Domestication of American Methodism*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 257. \$29.95.

With this important book, A. Gregory Schneider joins Russell Richey, Richard Carwardine, Leonard Sweet, Nathan Hatch, and only a few others who have studied seriously the miracle of Methodism in the early United States. Almost as inexplicable as the rise of Methodism itself—from almost no adherents at the start of the American Revolution to nearly 40 percent of American churchgoers by 1860—has been the reticence of historians to give the Methodist phenomenon its due. Schneider's contribution is to clarify the way that early Methodist spirituality attracted adherents, how those adherents perpetuated the religious experiences that won them to evangelical religion, and why those very efforts at perpetuation transformed the nature of Methodism itself.

Schneider's central thesis is nicely captured by his title, taken from a popular evangelical hymn. Led by self-sacrificing itinerant preachers, the early Methodists preached a reconciliation with God that encouraged both heartfelt personal religion and energetic proselytization. Through a powerful set of institutions—including the itinerancy, but also the small group "class meeting" where converts and inquirers probed their spiritual condition, the "love feast" where larger numbers gathered for testimony to God's transforming grace, and "family prayer" where parents led the domestic circle in spiritual reflection—

Methodists showed how the message of Christ's cross could both overcome personal guilt and create harmonious community. In Schneider's account, the self-sacrificing patriarchy exercised by benevolent itinerants, as well as the firm sense of personal worth nurtured in Methodist connections, constituted a direct challenge to the values of patriarchal honor that prevailed widely in the southern and old northwestern regions where Methodism took hold most strongly. Irony attends the story, however, for Schneider argues that the transforming gospel power that gave Methodists a spiritual home also domesticated Methodist religion. That domestication involved the exaltation of female spirituality within the confines of the family circle (eventually at the expense of the class meeting) and also the encouragement of social engagement (which eventually led to a preference for activist voluntarism over experiential religion). The book ends at the mid-nineteenth century, when some of the women raised with the Methodist balance between self-denial and self-exertion were pushing beyond that balance, and when some Methodists who longed for the spirituality of earlier days were creating a Holiness movement that later led to schism. Throughout, Schneider's argument is well grounded in Methodist biographies, memoirs, periodicals, and personal papers, a literature as abundant as it has been neglected.

Questions remain about some of Schneider's larger interpretations. The book features a growing Methodist propensity to support the republican goals of the United States but misses the way that republican definitions of "virtue" maintained some classical emphases (like a concern for disinterested public service) even as they drifted toward the domestic ideals promoted by the Methodists. In addition, by constructing a tight schema to depict the evolution of Methodist spirituality from class meetings through fixation on the home to the creation of voluntary agencies, Schneider misses the fluid contingencies and local particularities of cultural development that characterized the antebellum period. Finally, golden opportunities are lost for comparative study, since Schneider's conclusions could have been sharpened by setting them against parallel studies for Great Britain (for example, David Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750–1850* [1984]) and Canada (for example, William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* [1989] and Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* [1992]). Such works show that the "domestication" of Methodism did not require the same conflict with a culture of honor that Schneider describes, nor is it necessary to rely so heavily on the power of the domestic ideal to track the movement of Methodist spirituality from liminality to bureaucracy.

Interpretive queries, however, only underscore Schneider's success at uncovering the inner workings as well as external effects of the movement that

functioned so powerfully for more than a generation in the early United States as both "the salvation machine" and "the family of God."

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Wheaton, Illinois

DEBRA GOLD HANSEN. *Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 231.

In these days, when we aspire to celebrate our differences, it deserves to be noted that diversity more often causes disruption and argument, even dissolution or civil war. This book is a study of Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s and the schism among its members that precipitated the dissolution of the society in 1840. Debra Gold Hansen's thesis is that the differences in socioeconomic background among the women involved ultimately resulted in the breakup of the society. Hansen divides the women by class, religion, and their different conceptual models of a woman's sphere or role. When the basic differences in activist style among the women became exacerbated in the late 1830s, the society divided along these "fault lines," and a small group of women drawn from Boston's social elite formed their own society. This group supported the more radical Garrisonian faction in the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and pursued an extended agenda of abolition, women's rights, and anticlerical polemics. The larger group of women that emerged from the dissolved Female Anti-Slavery Society created another society focused on a limited agenda of abolition, decrying the radical agenda that repudiated voting, challenged local clergy, and advocated women's rights.

Hansen constructs her excellent argument along the lines of socioeconomic class tensions. Additionally, she suggests that these women's essential differences were conceptual as well as socioeconomic. The major conceptual difference among the women resulted from their different models of women's sphere. The more radical, and smaller, faction, which Hansen describes as members of the social and economic elite group of Boston (especially the Weston and Chapman women), rejected the idea of a separate sphere for women and a diminished role for women. Their abolition activities were an extension of the idea of equality and individual rights in the tradition of Mary Wollstonecraft. Although acknowledging biological differences, these radicals were more interested in intellectual, spiritual, and political equality with men. The larger group of women in the society split apart to pursue only the cause of abolition, rejecting the idea of women's rights and other parts of the radical agenda. These women preferred to base their abolition activities on the conceptual model of women as different from men and operating in a

separate sphere; antislavery work was a logical extension of the notion of women's moral superiority and consequent civic obligations. Hansen's well-wrought argument reflects the lines of thought circulating in contemporary feminist circles and would be a useful adjunct to any women's history course covering the nineteenth century.

JANICE BRANDON-FALCONE
Northwest Missouri State University

W. FITZHUGH BRUNDAGE. *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. 375. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

The study of lynching reaches a new level of analysis in this impressive work of comparative history by W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Whereas previous inquiries have focused on individual lynchings or mob violence in single communities, Brundage tracks the course of mob violence in two southern states over a fifty-year period. The result is a convincing portrayal of "the complex and contradictory character of lynching" (p. 18).

Organized topically, the book examines the forms lynching took, its victims, its causes, its impact, and its opponents. Brundage's findings, based on an analysis of 460 mob killings in Georgia and eighty-six in Virginia, are carefully explained in the text and conveniently summarized in thirty graphs and tables. Some of the conclusions reinforce those previously offered by other scholars, but the scope of this study gives these findings new authority. For example, lynchings were planned attacks against specific targets. Although minor offenses, even verbal ones, and alleged sexual crimes could lead to lynch law, murder was the most common cause of mob violence. The victims were overwhelmingly black, and the differences between the lynchings of blacks and those of whites "illustrate that, even in the act of lynching, whites drew a line separating the races" (p. 92). Despite the centrality of race, Brundage contends, "No single model of lynching can describe adequately the great differences in size, organization, and motivation that distinguished mobs" (p. 18).

This complexity makes the search for causes especially nettlesome. Although sociologists, social psychologists, and historians have tried to explain lynching by pointing to everything from falling cotton prices to psychological tensions to the percentage of blacks in the population, Brundage cautions that any explanation must take into consideration regional variations and changes in mob violence over time. Downplaying social strains created by industrialization and urbanization, which sparked relatively few outbursts of mob violence, he demonstrates that lynching "flourished within the boundaries of the plantation South, where sharecropping, monoculture agriculture, and a stark line separating white land-

owners and black tenants existed" (p. 159). There, Brundage concludes, "deeply rooted traditions of violent labor control, unhindered by any meaningful resistance from either institutions or individuals opposed unconditionally to racial violence, sustained a tradition of mob violence that persisted for decades" (p. 159). In addition, he provides evidence that economic and social motives linked to labor control and racism were reinforced by traditional white values of chivalry and honor.

Brundage devotes one-third of his book to an examination of opposition to lynching and the reasons for its eventual disappearance. Once again, he emphasizes significant differences between developments in Georgia and Virginia. Black and white opponents of lynching did not achieve their goal in Georgia until economic and social changes in the 1930s undermined the plantation system of tenancy, thereby reshaping labor and race relations.

The book's weaknesses are minor ones, such as the failure to include in the index the names of lynch victims mentioned in the text. Its strengths, especially its scope, insight, and plausibility, make this the best single study of lynching.

ROBERT P. INGALLS
University of South Florida

MARJORIE SPRUILL WHEELER. *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 280. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Marjorie Spruill Wheeler began her analysis of the woman suffrage movement in the South twenty years ago in an honors thesis at the University of North Carolina. In this book she skillfully integrates her wide research in private papers with the burgeoning scholarship in the history of women, the South, welfare, and the maternalist state. Centering her study on eleven women as representative of the leadership of the mainstream white suffrage movement, Wheeler charts their struggles against a daunting and familiar phalanx of southern foes, their networking at home and with the national leadership, and their contributions to Progressive reforms to craft an important regional study.

Her eleven leaders form an elite cadre indeed. Her first generation of suffragists, active in the battles of the 1890s and after, include Laura Clay (Kentucky), Kate Gordon and Jean Gordon (Louisiana), Belle Kearney and Nellie Nugent Somerville (Mississippi), and Rebecca Latimer Felton (Georgia). The second generation, engaged in the post-1910 efforts, includes Madeleine McDowell Breckinridge (Kentucky), Mary Johnston and Lila Meade Valentine (Virginia), Pattie Ruffner Jacobs (Alabama), and Sue Shelton White (Tennessee). Wheeler sorts out their commonalities: all were formidable, strong-willed women, descendants of the South's leading families

and armed with an abiding sense of noblesse oblige. All were elitists; as young Pattie Ruffner exclaimed in her diary, "I do detest with my whole soul mediocre people and things" (p. 59). All had contacts with suffragist leaders beyond the region. Like their northern counterparts, the first generation generally worked for change through women's clubs, church, and temperance societies; the second generation championed Progressive reforms. All were appalled by the fraud and corruption of New South politicians and experienced the hollowness of their vaunted "indirect influence." With one exception, the members of the first generation were all from the deep South and the second generation from the upper South. Thus, generation sometimes proves a less satisfying distinction than region or strategy.

Wheeler argues that these southern Ladies/New Women engaged in a "full fledged women's rights movement" (p. 99). Taking on the entrenched patriarchy, they insisted on full legal equality for white women and pressed for the vote "because other women and their children . . . needed the protection of women voters" (p. 95).

Analyzing their strategies to achieve full citizenship, Wheeler sees the effort to return to white supremacy in the 1890s as a "major causative factor" (p. 101) in the emergence of the southern suffrage movement. Her first-generation leaders, abetted by the national leadership, saw votes for literate women as a solution to "the negro problem." Wheeler notes that "few perceived any incongruity in pursuing their own emancipation while encouraging or accepting the disfranchisement of the majority of blacks" (p. 132). Using their own expediency argument, the second generation asserted to their Progressive allies that extending the vote would aid reform but not endanger the racial solution.

After 1910, alarmed and alienated by the renewed concentration by the National Woman Suffrage Association on the federal amendment, veterans Kate Gordon and Laura Clay organized the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference to mount a states' rights campaign to forestall further federal incursion. (Gordon saw the amendment as a wartime ploy of the Germans or Jesuits to enfranchise masses of ignorant voters.) Most of Wheeler's eleven leaders reluctantly accepted the "winning plan" of Carrie Chapman Catt that designated the southern states as hopeless, even as the Congressional Union urged continued southern efforts for the amendment. In this complex study of rights, race, and reform, Wheeler amply demonstrates why, divided or unified, her elite leaders were never able to rally a majority to their cause. Her impressive work joins the recent regional studies of William A. Link and Cynthia Neverdon-Morton in showing why the South proved unready for ratification in 1920 and would remain so for the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1980s.

DOROTHY M. BROWN
Georgetown University

JAMES W. COVINGTON. *The Seminoles of Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. x, 379. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

James W. Covington began writing Seminole history in the 1950s. After more than seventy articles and books, this volume represents the culmination of this prolific scholar's work on the Seminoles.

Covington's study is a comprehensive history that begins in the early eighteenth century when Lower Creek hunters became both permanent residents and a new tribal group. It ends with a discussion of the factionalism that led to the creation in 1962 of the Miccosukee tribe as a political entity separate and distinct from the main body of Seminoles. Six chapters deal with the military conflicts of the first half of the nineteenth century that comprised the three Seminole Wars. The next seven chapters chronicle the efforts of the Seminoles remaining in Florida to adapt to the rapidly growing non-Indian population that engulfed them.

Covington's discussion of the war years follows the lead of other historians, including himself, and contains few surprises. The period after 1858, the close of the Third Seminole War, is less well understood by scholars. The few hundred Seminoles scattered into the swamps to follow a traditional subsistence strategy of farming, hunting, and gathering, supplemented with trading. Well known to nearby Floridians, the Seminoles had no significant relations with the United States. Near the end of the nineteenth century, however, they came to the attention of reform and religious groups. Anxious to "save" them, the reformers successfully persuaded the state and federal governments to purchase land for permanent Seminole settlements. From this point on, the acquisition and economic development of land for Seminole reservations becomes the focus of Covington's study. Missionaries and local civic groups, along with a growing number of federal officials, are the significant actors. The issues of concern to them include building a viable economic base; supplying housing, schooling, and medical care; and figuring out ways to encourage the still widely scattered Seminole family groups to gather and settle in reservation communities.

Students of Seminole history will be grateful to Covington for the factual information gleaned from meticulous research, especially his accounting of the twentieth century. He has fully mined the federal and state records and provides a wealth of detail. But they will be disappointed by his unwillingness to analyze his material or offer explanations of the events he describes. A traditional narrative historian, Covington is no practitioner of the "new Indian history." Ethnohistorical methodologies do not influence his work. Thus, many significant questions remain unanswered. A new generation of ethnohistorically sophis-

ticated and interpretive students of Seminole history will find plenty to do.

MICHAEL D. GREEN
University of Kentucky

GERALD M. SIDER. *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States*. (Culture and Class in Anthropology and History, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxvi, 309. \$49.95.

Throughout their centuries of dealing with European invaders and their Anglo-American descendants, Native Americans have experienced many disasters. This study by Gerald M. Sider examines some of the experiences of the nearly 30,000 people now usually known as the Lumbee Indians in Robeson County, North Carolina. Part of an effort organized by scholars at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen, Germany, to develop new methods and concepts in historical anthropology, it is based on several years of field work among these Indians from the 1960s to the 1980s. Although it benefits from the author's personal knowledge of individuals, groups, and issues of significance among the Indians, his personal involvement in some of the events leads to frequent moralizing that most scholars will find annoying at best.

Historically the Indian people of southeastern North Carolina faced the same pressures as other tribal groups during American national development. Unlike many other eastern peoples, however, they avoided removal west beyond the Mississippi River and nearly lost their early aboriginal identity. As a result, at the beginning of the twentieth century many of these people were not even recognized as Indians. Some became known as the Crotans, a people of mixed white and Indian ancestry. By World War I authorities began calling them the Cherokee Indians of Robeson County. During the 1930s their local name changed to that of the Siouan Indians of the Lumber River. Later they called themselves the Lumbee, and during the 1970s some of them decided that they really needed to be recognized as Tuscaroras. This confusion of identity among both the Indians and their white neighbors led Sider to consider how minority people develop and use their own group history and identity.

His major theme is that one must examine existing forms of social relations among dominated people to understand their views and uses of their own histories. To do this he posits the view that the whites of Robeson County were responsible for the social construction of Indian separateness. He ties significant land losses and growing poverty to the Jim Crow era and shows how Indians used their increasing separation from both whites and blacks as a means of retaining distinctive cultural ties as well as to avoid growing discrimination. He uses issues related to the tri-racial local school system and separate Indian

schools to analyze shifting ethnic issues. He concludes that growing U.S. governmental power and capitalism combined to push these tribal people to the fringes of the society and the economy, and that many of the struggles that continue to divide these Indians result from differing strategies used in facing continuing white domination in all phases of their lives.

The author uses good data, but his organization offers the reader repeated backtracking and repetition. One is taken from the civil rights actions of the 1960s to the late nineteenth century. Then the narrative moves from the 1970s back into the colonial era and forward to near the present. As a result, the discussion is cluttered with interesting but non-essential information. The continual shifting prevents the author from giving a sense of historical development that would link the ideas, incidents, and people central to the author's themes. For those hoping to learn about Lumbee-Tuscarora issues and about the situation of other non-recognized peoples in the Southeast, this book is of some help. For most historians interested in eastern Indian history or contemporary affairs, however, this study fails to live up to its promising title.

ROGER L. NICHOLS
University of Arizona

SHELTON STROMQUIST. *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 353. \$16.95.

The literature of nineteenth-century American railroading is full of the romance of the road, of brave men driving locomotives moving the nation's commerce. Shelton Stromquist's book, originally published in 1987, eschews the romance, however, to analyze the patterns of labor-management conflicts.

Stromquist provides excellent discussions of railroad jobs and the organization, growth, and general financial health of the industry. He describes trends in strike activities, particularly that of strikes to occur most commonly in the recently settled frontier. As Stromquist explains, railroads expanding in flush times lured employees to new locations with high wages, which companies could afford because of the high rates they charged in areas whose commerce they monopolized. But as other lines expanded into the pioneering roads' territory, managers squeezed savings out of payrolls. In addition to this downward pressure on wages, workers in newly settled towns found advancement limited. Frontier railroaders were younger than their counterparts farther east, meaning that promotions to fill retiring workers' places were rarer. Stromquist shows that the relative militancy of enginemen in Burlington and Creston,

Iowa, in the strike of 1888 on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy conforms to this thesis.

The distinctive histories of places is at the core of the author's explanation of the differences in community support for striking fellow residents. Market towns had populations of 10,000 or more, predated the railroad, and had more than one rail line. Wholesalers and manufacturers dominated their society and politics. These communities gave little support to railroad strikers. In contrast, railroad towns were smaller and often dated from the arrival of the railroad. They generally were dependent on a single line for transportation and complained that their growth was stifled by discriminatory freight rates. Retail merchants, many of whom relied on the trade of a sizable railroader population, were the primary community leaders. They vigorously supported strikers.

Stromquist's theses are credible, although they are suggestive rather than conclusive. Creston's engineers were younger than those in Burlington, and thus its enginemen may have felt their hopes for promotion constrained. But had Stromquist examined more closely the demographics of the railroaders of Burlington and Creston, might he have found that Burlington's older enginemen, who were most ready to quit the strike, were more rooted to their community through homeownership and social ties than their brethren in Creston? And if the engineers in Creston were younger, might they have also been more commonly bachelors, or at least childless, and felt they risked less by striking? An analysis that looks beyond the work environment would have been more satisfying.

Stromquist may also have constructed his models on too little evidence. For example, the analysis of the difference between the reaction of market and railroad towns to strikes relies almost exclusively on an analysis of the reaction of Burlington and Creston to the strike of 1888. As well as he does that analysis, Stromquist's argument would have been far stronger had he examined more communities and strikes.

Despite these questions, or perhaps because of them, because provocative works are the most stimulating, this study is a useful addition to the library of labor histories.

JAMES H. DUCKER
Alaska History

ARCHIE GREEN. *Wobblies, Pile Butts, and Other Heroes: Laborlore Explorations.* (Folklore and Society.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 523. \$39.95.

Archie Green, veteran shipwright, folklorist, and academic, has written a unique and provocative book that is meant to serve as a capstone to his own career and as a stimulant to further research about workers' occupational lore. Mining a rich vein of workers' legends, ballads, poems, yarns, and other sources, Green brings to life lodes of work-centered rituals

that have remained hidden to historians. Sure to appeal to folklorists, material culture specialists, labor historians, and many workers, the book explores the origins of workers' folklore, details the painstaking research required to track down the original sources of stories, tales, and ballads, and outlines the various uses and occasional distortions of labor lore.

The heart of the book is composed of ten case studies, five of which encompass the mining and mill towns of Butte, Montana; Homestead, Pennsylvania; and Gastonia, North Carolina and the legendary figures John Henry and Joe Hill. Two other case studies explore the origins of the terms "Wobbly" and "fink." Another explores a form of labor lore known as "home-front harassment," in which workers are cuckolded by their bosses. One study offers up a potpourri of accounts that Green terms a "ritual grabbag." A final essay honors the work tradition, history, exploits, and occupational culture of pile drivers. Some of the topics might sound conventional but little else about this book conforms to established norms. At times, Green weaves accounts of actual events into his narrative; at other times, he recounts personal interviews that enabled him to track down the minutiae that fascinates him; often, he digresses to tell a story that interests him. At all times, Green endeavors to explain how myths, music, and legends humanized the work experience, strengthened and even empowered workers, and allowed employees to retain a sense of humanity and humor in the face of the machine and the employer.

The use that Green makes of familiar labor settings illustrates the originality and the scope of his treatment. For example, the chapter on Butte contains an account of the biting folk tale entitled "Marcus Daly Enters Heaven" that ridiculed the copper baron's penchant for taking midnight prowls to spy on his workers. Green also tells the story of Butte labor bard Marty Kiely, who honored Daly's memory but did not hesitate to condemn the sins of his successors. To Green, both Paddy Burke (the supposed author of "Marcus Daly Enters Heaven" and himself a composite creation) and Marty Kiely created an oral and written culture whose richness was enhanced precisely because they did not agree on a common interpretation of events.

The chapter on Gastonia tells the complex story of how a song entitled "A Factory Rhyme," composed by an obscure North Carolina songwriter named G. D. Stutts, ended up being printed with significant changes in wording in the Communist Party magazine, the *New Masses*. Eventually, versions of the song received wide circulation through poems, plays, and literature produced by popular front intellectuals who according to Green were not always sensitive to the song's origins.

This is a mere sample of the treasure trove of information to be found in this work. On numerous occasions, there are annoying digressions, since Green appears unable to resist telling a story that

appeals to him. Fortunately, he often goes back and summarizes his main point. At other times, Green writes as if his audience is familiar with some rather obscure Left in-fighting. Written with a Wobbly sensibility and yet sympathetic to the Works Progress Administration's cultural endeavors, Green is too quick to dismiss almost anything connected to the Communist Party. Determinedly work-centered, Green writes almost as if the sphere of consumption did not exist. Familiar with the work experiences of male skilled workers, he makes little effort to explore the folklore of female occupational groups such as department store clerks or waitresses. Convinced that workers have forged an oppositional culture, Green makes little mention of racist or misogynist tales. An inveterate optimist, despite his mention of mill closings, he writes almost as if the 1980s did not occur. Nevertheless, this is a book to ponder and to savor, one in which the small details add up to a large and important story.

DAVID J. GOLDBERG
Cleveland State University

W. BRUCE LESLIE. *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 284. \$45.00.

Since Colin Burke's *American Collegiate Populations* (1982), the "old time" college has been under revision. The revisionist argument says that Whiggish university reformers denigrated the "sectarian" college as socially marginal, intellectually barren, resisting change, unpopular, and impoverished. Vilifying the antebellum college served to puff up university claims for modernity, novelty, and relevance. The advent of secular research-oriented and professional career-training universities for the new middle classes refreshed American higher education by means of academic professionalization, expert inquiry, fields of specialization, elective curricula, and students disciplined by examinations and grades. In contrast, looking closely at nineteenth-century American cases, pro-college revisionists tell a compelling story about a changing, energetic, and current institution that succeeded in meeting popular expectations: Louise Stevenson on Yale (*Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends* [1986]), David Potts on Wesleyan (*Wesleyan University, 1831-1910* [1992]), Lynn Gordon (*Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* [1990]), Barbara Solomon (*In the Company of Educated Women* [1985]), Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (*Alma Mater* [1984]) on the women's colleges. George Marsden has analyzed the complexity that was lost when the evangelical religious soul in American collegiate education was shut out by the university's secular humanism and liberalism (*The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience* [1970]). In a comparative institutional history building on the revisionist critique, W. Bruce

Leslie examines four cases of regional collegiate institutions from 1865 to 1917: Princeton (Presbyterian), Franklin and Marshall (German Reformed), Bucknell (Baptist), Swarthmore (Hicksite Quaker).

Over the period 1865–90, Leslie argues, colleges served as multipurpose and preprofessional affairs sponsored by a denominational mission for a local, primarily ethnic, constituency. In loco parentis supervision was largely illusory. Collegiate students were relatively small in number compared to the preparatory (academy) and professional (divinity, normal school) students. Physical accommodations were modest, with student activities only beginning to develop. Toppling the conventional wisdom, Leslie concludes that the college was a “surprisingly popular” community institution driven by denominational ambitions at the same time that the university was in fact “dimly perceived” (in part an invention of the rhetoric of charismatic presidents). Moreover, from 1890 to 1917, the college rapidly responded to urban change while building on its earlier foundations. Leslie holds that the so-called “age of the university” was equally the age of the American college, an institution that was unparalleled in the Western world. The success of the institution standing on its own apart from earlier multipurpose functions was assured when college entrance standards were formalized at the turn of the century and the bachelors degree required for advanced training. Now backed more by prosperity than piety, upper-middle-class WASP Americans designed an age-specific institution—small, private, elite—as a generational rite of passage for a meritocracy of youth including lifetime alumni commitments.

Appreciating important developments, Leslie is also critical. After 1890 the diversity of ethnicity, denominationalism, and localism was superseded by the homogeneity of an upper-middle-class exclusiveness with the power of money. Representing generational change, alumni, trustees, presidents, administrators, and socially active students increasingly took control. A professionalizing faculty was increasingly aloof and isolated. The acculturated “college man” was more mannered and less tolerant than his denominational predecessor, more sexist and racist, less politically informed. He conformed to a family and fraternal strategy laid out for an insider’s success in a prestigious career. The revised liberal arts curriculum accommodated pre-med and pre-law majors as well as engineering and eventually business programs. Few chose to attend a college for its academic curriculum. Dramatized in the muscular Christianity (and professional scandals) of college sports, the amateur ideals of gentleman and scholar in the American college masked aggressive ambitions to win.

This is a well-written scholarly history. Not all will agree, however, that the similarities between these four institutions are more instructive than the significant differences and tensions between them, including policy on gender. Moreover, reasons for the claim

that this unique form of the college prospered in the United States are not adequately addressed. Missing, for instance, is any comparison between the elite private colleges and changes occurring in contemporary public colleges, especially those within universities. Revisionist claims to the contrary, aspects of professionalization appear often in Leslie’s narrative. Perhaps the American college prospered because it indeed served the needs of a specific clientele in its privileged life cycle: career-oriented youth within the culture of professionalism.

BURTON J. BLESTEIN
University of Illinois,
Chicago

HAMILTON CRAVENS. *Before Head Start: The Iowa Station and America’s Children*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 327. \$39.95.

Hamilton Cravens’s important book uses detailed analysis of the Child Welfare Research Station founded in 1917 at Iowa State University to reveal the origins of American child psychology and child development. Transcending the rich new historiography on American children, women, and reform, Cravens focuses on the history of science (psychology and child development) to explain how new ideas were (or were not) linked to social thought and public policy. His meticulous research and graceful style produces vivid portraits of the social workers and scientists who created these new disciplines. The mostly male scientists clashed often with the female social workers, child-savers, and political activists in the early days of the research station. State legislators, university presidents, and foundation directors often misunderstood or resisted the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. Yet their combined efforts created the first research institute in the world “whose sole purpose was to conduct original scientific research on the development of normal children” (p. x).

Despite the station’s eminence in the growing field of child development, it was at the same time the leading dissenter in the nature versus nurture controversy. Until the 1950s, most scientists discounted the importance of environmental factors and overestimated hereditary factors in human intelligence. A child’s intellectual growth or potential could be influenced by the environment but was largely predetermined by genetics, the experts agreed. But the Iowa researchers produced evidence that group membership—gender, class, race, or religion—was less important than an individual’s experiences in the first years of childhood. The interwar period was both productive and frustrating as this small group of Iowa researchers challenged the prevailing hereditarian tradition.

Among the most interesting events Cravens chronicles are early fund-raising efforts and a gradual movement from the study of “defective” children to

"normal" children. By 1921, Woman's Christian Temperance Union funds, for example, supported a campus preschool serving the children of Iowa City business and professional families as well as the children of university faculty (including the future historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.). In an era when people were fascinated by eugenics it is not surprising that mental, medical, and physical measurements received as much attention as systematic recording of classroom and playroom behavior. Nonetheless, the Iowa pioneers' penchant was for original scientific research and publication.

By 1920, child study (later child development and child psychology) had evolved from child-saving, child welfare, and social work. Although this book assumes familiarity with more scientific terms than most readers may have, it offers a clear and concise analysis of how "inventing a science" occurred through innovative research at the Iowa station and rival research centers at Yale, Berkeley, and Minnesota.

Lewis M. Terman, the inventor of the Stanford Binet IQ test, was the Iowa Center's chief critic who opposed all evidence that the positivism, determinism, and hereditarianism in the scientific community could be questioned. Terman and his followers, who included most developmental scientists, Cravens argues, believed "that differences of class and caste in American society and culture were created naturally, not as artificial instruments of social and racial oppression" (p. 199). Because the Iowa findings challenged the orthodox, Terman used his influence to excoriate the mavericks.

The promise of the New Deal for the nation's children was largely symbolic, and child welfare dominated the field and defined the issues. The war drained staff and students from the Iowa station, and its leadership changed. The productive era had passed and the institute closed in 1974, ironically as federal funds and policies brought early childhood intervention to millions of American children.

Project Head Start, sometimes described as the only clear-cut victory in the War on Poverty, has enjoyed bipartisan support since it was created in 1965. But until now its ideological origins have not been clear. Cravens has provided a genuine service in locating Head Start's intellectual basis in the work of the Iowa Research Station from 1920 to 1950. This solid, superior study of an important and misunderstood discipline is a major contribution to the history of science.

PETER C. HOLLORAN
Pine Manor College

JOHN DIZIKES. *Opera in America: A Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 611. \$35.00.

For the seasoned opera lover or cultural historian, John Dizikes has written a perplexing book, a mixture

of pleasure and tedium. A handsome, beautifully illustrated volume, this study is neither a measured history, a reference tool, nor a consistently engaging read. The author affirms his belief that comprehensive histories aimed at a broad literate public are possible, then proceeds to heap fact on fact, anecdote on anecdote, in a collage that exhausts more than it informs. Dizikes includes grand opera, operetta, the Broadway musical, and folk opera in his narrative; he discusses performances, theaters, critics, and audiences; he attempts to depict the American cultural environment into which European opera came and within which Americans composed musical dramas of their own.

The result is a potpourri, written with elegance, wit, and occasional insight. Dizikes begins with the appearance of the Garcia troupe in 1825 at the Park Theatre in New York, pointing out that Manhattan at the time was farms and scattered houses beyond Fourteenth Street. Then he shifts to New Orleans during the 1790s and relates how opera grew into a rallying point as the city's French population sought to maintain a cultural distinctiveness. He moves to Philadelphia, gold rush California, Boston, Chicago, and eventually Santa Fe, Dallas, Houston, and Seattle. Readers are introduced to divas Maria Malibran, Jenny Lind, Marietta Alboni, Henriette Sontag; later to Adelina Patti, Lillian Nordica, Mary Garden, Geraldine Farrar; and finally to Maria Callas. Through it all the author mingles a survey of facts with vignettes and fleeting interpretation with the agility of a dilettante.

Yet to discount him would be a mistake. Dizikes describes effectively Yankee moral anxieties over the theater, young America's embarrassment toward public displays of emotion, the role of women in the new nation's cultural life, the problems of an undemocratic art in a pragmatic, egalitarian society, the political and ethnic factors behind the building of early opera houses, the role of radio and recordings in developing new audiences for opera, the emergence of American artists during World War II, the acceptance of black singers in romantic roles after the war, and the impact of civic boosterism on the construction of recent cultural centers.

Where the author goes wrong is in trying to include too much; blackface minstrel shows, the stylized conventions of Chinese opera, outdoor performances in gardens and parks, Walt Whitman's attitude toward opera, gossip about Enrico Caruso's private life, the musical background of New York's mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, the death of baritone Leonard Warren on stage during a performance at the Metropolitan Opera House, and countless other examples fracture his synthesis and diffuse its momentum. Dizikes writes with vigor, interspersing drama with poetic passages. But he can also become factually dense and curiously random in ways that erode his overall sweep. Although the author raises important questions, he seldom answers them sufficiently. The informed

reader will find his text superficial, while the novice will likely grow frustrated with tangential detail juxtaposed with themes merely sketched.

Toward the end the narrative becomes too thin for anyone's satisfaction, and Dizikes's evaluations become suspect. Did the great days of New York opera end around 1960, as the author suggests? Or has American culture lost its delight in the past quarter century with the diminished appeal of urban living? In a work of such scope mistakes are inevitable, and this book contains its share. Maria Callas did not sing a complete *Anna Bolena* in Dallas, as the author suggests, nor did the soprano leave the city in a rage. Despite a heroic effort, Dizikes demonstrates on an elaborate scale that less might well have meant more.

RONALD L. DAVIS

Southern Methodist University

WILLIAM HOWARD KENNEY. *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 233. \$24.00.

Historians are hard put to describe relationships between music and culture, no matter how obvious such connections appear. At the root of this problem lies the impossibility of rendering music into words or, as William Howard Kenney explains, understanding that jazz, as music, is not the same as the Jazz Age, the roaring 1920s. With this bifurcation of an era and its music, Kenney departs significantly from the standard history of a music and its culture. But in doing so he presents a finely honed, well-explicated history of Chicago jazz in the 1920s.

Kenney was somewhat compelled to be innovative when writing about this jazz: although it is a music of African-American origin, it was played throughout Chicago, despite the city's rigidly racially segregated neighborhoods. Although the spirituals and blues sprang forth as did jazz in the South and were transported along with jazz to the urban North during the post–World War I migration, they remained sequestered at first in the city's southside African-American community. But something about jazz broke through the walls between mutually isolated racial cultures. Was the sound itself of jazz the agent of its intercultural diffusion? To his advantage, Kenney avoids this question by hushing the music; there are no music examples or analyses in the text.

For the most part, the mutedness of the jazz in this study helps Kenney to locate the jazz culture. One hardly misses the pounding rhythms when Kenney explains how black jazz clubs became arenas of urban assimilation. From rigid dress codes, to notated music, to ever-faster tempos, jazz forced migrants from the South to discard all but the rudiments of their former musicianship to earn their livings. Neither does one need to hear the “symphonic syncopation” (p. 78) to grasp the idea that the jazz scene itself engendered a sense of “personal liberation” mani-

fest in “clothes, insiders' slang, [and] . . . interracial mingling” (p. 30).

But the more deeply Kenney delves into the culture of jazz, the more clamorous the muffled jazz becomes. When young white aspiring jazz players thought the ultimate praise for any of their groups was “*they played like niggers*” (p. 99), the actual performance practices of African-American jazzists—not their music culture—begs for discussion. When the Juvenile Protective Association sought to rid dance halls of questionable dances by advising managers to “‘Speed up your music,’” a cause and effect relationship between music and social interaction bellows forth. Kenney's cultural history at this point silences aural reality by failing to discuss, for example, music meter in relation to the actual steps of the “toddle,” “shimmy,” and other “bad” dances (p. 71).

Ultimately Kenney has to give utterance to the music. Almost each time he does, however, he exposes the underlying paradox of the single Chicago jazz culture he posits. There were two disparate jazzes, one black and the other white. They thrived in two racially discrete settings joined by the common rubric for their disjunct sounds. Whites crossed the southside “racial frontier” (p. 104) to hear King Oliver and Louis Armstrong at the Royal Gardens Cafe. Blacks were heard in the Loop, but through surrogate white players and the thriving Chicago record industry—any way but in person.

To be sure, the culture that Kenney would build between the Chicago Jazz Age and its music is richly documented, historically convincing, and profoundly enlightening. By itself, the paradigmatic import of his study—music as cultural history—ought to command the attention of historians, certainly those who seek a thoughtful analysis of one episode in the brief but resounding history of jazz.

MICHAEL W. HARRIS
University of Iowa

ERNST A. BREISACH. *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 257. Cloth \$35.95, paper \$13.95.

Writing for students of intellectual history and philosophy of history, Ernst A. Breisach places American historiographical culture within an international context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He compares American interpretive shifts with those taking place in Germany and France under pioneers such as Karl Lamprecht, Henri Berr, and, later, the *Annales*. Adoption of “cultural, social, encompassing, total, integrated, or synthetic” (p. 41) models compatible with the scientific world view was part of the “wider transformation of historiography in Western civilization” (p. 38), a change that was as significant as earlier shifts from ancient to Christian models and from Christian to secular philosophies.

In discussing the American national tradition of history, Breisach employs the notion of *mentalité* in the way Jacques Le Goff has, that is, to mean the dominant attitude in a society toward its past and history. Breisach posits an "American sense of history," a "historical *mentalité*." Everyday life and reflections on the future produced "an effective, perennial structure for American life and thought" (p. 8). American history was viewed as a gradual fulfillment of "individual rights of divine or natural law origins" within a republican order that had emerged from revolution, conquered vast lands and survived civil war. James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, and Carl Becker's "New History" attempted to "modernize" the common outlook by replacing idealist, Hegelian notions of "individual rights" as the fulfillment of history with the more amorphous concept of "progress," which appeared to fit better with scientific culture and reformers' efforts. In contrast to these three scholars, many of the newly professional, German-influenced American historians were disconnected from the *mentalité* because they practiced a desiccated version of Rankean historicism, seeing each event as unique and refusing to offer satisfying larger meanings. Unable to furnish any light on a world of popular unrest and uncertainty generated by the processes of modernization, American "scientific" historians were losing their audience. Progressive historians stepped into the chasm with an "encompassing history" whose methodology took from scientific historians the notion that fact and interpretation could be separated and also featured progress as a comforting, energizing, synthetic principle. By arguing that facts supported the notion of a progressive direction to history and that progress gave meaning to facts, they "established a seamless unity between the facts and interpretation"; "the actual past and the image of it coincided." Hence, debates over epistemology or a rebellion against positivism became "superfluous, even self-destructive" (p. 53). Revising Morton White and Cushing Strout, Breisach suggests that the progressive "New History" was a *coup d'état* rather than a revolution in the history of ideas.

For a few decades, the progressive historians' modernization of history, minus traditional notions of universal individual rights, dominated the discipline in the United States. After 1929, this progressive synthesis disintegrated in the face of corrosive doubt, resulting from both economic depression and epistemological crisis. Beard and Becker adopted a debilitating relativism, an experiment-within-the-experiment. With progress no longer "scientific" fact but only "useful myth" or "act of faith," Progressives lost epistemological certainty. Having earlier jettisoned eternal, transcendent ideals, they lacked moral strength in ideological struggles of the later 1930s. In the 1940s, Beard and Becker found themselves bringing progressive history to an "inconclusive" (p. 214) end as they adopted transcendent principles, "civilization" in Beard's case and "American habits, values

and institutions" in Becker's. The forty-year-long experiment in modernization ended as Beard and Becker replaced an emphasis on progress with idealist aspects of the *mentalité* they had rejected.

Breisach's international focus on many New Histories expands understanding of the American progressive variety. The account of his historians' place in the American profession lacks, however, the sociological depth offered by Peter Novick in *That Noble Dream* (1988). Missing in Breisach's construction of progressive history is an awareness of ideas as intimately connected with issues of power and exclusion in the communities that produce them.

Furthermore, Breisach's version of American progressive history rides on a dialectical relationship between the assumed *mentalité*, the historical culture, and his group of historians. His historians try and fail to restructure the *mentalité* and then are absorbed by it. Leaving aside obvious questions about how Breisach discovered his device in the minds of people in many social situations of late-nineteenth-century America, I would suggest that the *mentalité*, unconvincingly contextualized with references to Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, resurrects notions of "American character" from the 1950s. Yet readers seeking common ground for the chaotic enterprise that is American history may find Breisach's "American sense" a useful "given."

ELLEN NORE
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Edwardsville

PHILIPPA STRUM. *Brandeis: Beyond Progressivism.* (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. x, 228. \$25.00.

To the growing list of important scholarship on Louis Brandeis that began with Alpheus T. Mason's *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (1946) we can now add this compact and insightful essay by Philippa Strum, who also wrote *Louis D. Brandeis: Justice for the People* (1984). In mapping the contours of Brandeis's thought as an attorney, political activist, and jurist, Strum makes a contribution as significant as Melvin Urofsky's pathbreaking *A Mind of One Piece: Brandeis and American Reform* (1971).

Like many American political thinkers, notably James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, Brandeis was not a cloistered intellectual but a person whose ideas about government and society grew naturally from his intense engagement in public affairs from the Gilded Age through the New Deal. This book is a successful attempt to show how Brandeis's central ideas evolved from the conventional liberalism of E. L. Godkin's *The Nation* to a position in advance of the dominant beliefs of other leading reformers in the era from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt.

Generally speaking, most American Progressives

came to accept the transformation of America between 1870 and 1940 from a republic of producers to a corporate commonwealth of big business, big government, and passive consumers. Social justice for labor meant collective bargaining via strong trade unions preoccupied with wages and fringe benefits. Civil liberties and civil rights seldom ranked high on the agenda of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, or their followers.

Brandeis challenged these assumptions with a commitment to the idea of liberty that stressed the importance of equality, security, and participation in addition to the absence of coercion by government. True liberty would flourish, Brandeis believed, when limits were placed on both public and private power by nurturing small-scale institutions that encouraged active, direct citizen participation in all economic and political affairs. Without true industrial democracy where workers shared management decisions with employers there could be no authentic political democracy or personal liberty.

As Brandeis read his country's history, Americans had won their national independence in the eighteenth century, abolished slavery in the nineteenth century, and were in the twentieth century engaged in a similar struggle to free themselves from the industrial tyranny of giant corporations that stifled both economic opportunity and democratic participation. In Brandeis's view, reliance on regulation by the federal government would only compound the problems of political disengagement and public apathy.

Without robust judicial protection of speech and press, finally, the possibilities of change would be sharply limited. As Strum's discussion reaffirms, Brandeis, not Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, was the true creator of modern civil liberties with his decisions in cases such as *Gilbert v. Minnesota* (1920), *Whitney v. California* (1927), and *Olmstead v. United States* (1928).

There was much in Brandeis's thought that echoed the concerns of classical republicans and eighteenth-century antifederalists, who likewise feared the decline of citizen participation and the erosion of civic responsibility in a nation preoccupied with getting larger and richer. To those who argued that his ideas were impractical and divorced from the reality of the "civilized world," Brandeis responded that it was once the opinion of the "civilized world" to endorse absolute monarchy and chattel slavery, too. People would only become free in twentieth-century America if given the opportunity to participate in the management of their own political and economic lives.

Like others who have explored the intellectual world of Brandeis, Strum's focus remains almost exclusively on domestic affairs, with the exception of her discussion of his relationship to Palestine and Zionism. No one has yet examined in any depth Brandeis's understanding of America's role in the

world, especially his thoughts on the nation's own imperialism after 1898.

MICHAEL E. PARRISH
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San Diego*

HOWARD GILLMAN. *The Constitution Besieged: The Rise and Demise of Lochner Era Police Powers Jurisprudence*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 317. \$34.95.

To write a book urging that the best explanation for a series of decisions from the 1880s to 1937, exemplified by *Lochner v. New York* (1905), is that judges were being faithful to traditional legal doctrine seems at best unfashionable and at worst naive or perverse. But that is precisely what Howard Gillman has done.

Rejecting the view that such decisions were the result of majority justices reading their economic and social preferences into the Constitution, Gillman seeks to fit such cases into a legal tradition as old as the Constitution itself. He begins by revisiting the framers, who obviously had been concerned about states controlling prices, relieving debtors of their obligations, and issuing paper money. Such policies were dangerous because they elevated the interest of certain classes over that of the public and were censurable as improper and unrepugnant intrusions into the marketplace. This conclusion was based on the assumption that the market would operate to insure the rights of relatively equal individuals and best protect their liberty and independence. As police power jurisprudence developed in the nineteenth century, it was understood that state regulation had to be justified in terms of the health, safety, and morality of the public. Legislation simply advancing the interests of one class was condemned as improper and unconstitutional. When the Supreme Court was given supervisory power over state action by the Fourteenth Amendment, the justices accepted such limitations on state power.

Gillman acknowledges that the rapid industrialization of the United States increased social dependency and called into question the fundamental assumption on which such governmental neutrality between classes had been based. Reformers argued that the individual freedom that such neutrality had earlier secured could now only be safeguarded by governmental interference, but the victory for those who fought to free the states from traditional limitations on their police powers did not come definitively until 1937. Before that date, the justices generally evaluated such legislation in terms of their conception of the public interest. Since this is so, Gillman concludes that it is this commitment to traditional legal doctrine that best explains the Court's hostility to certain labor enactments, which, by favoring employees over employers, seemed to be blatant examples of class legislation.

Respecting the author's plea to take legal rules seriously, however, does not lead to his conclusions. This is because the doctrine that legislation should serve the public interest is flexible enough to accommodate substantial social and economic change. And this is precisely what the Court did seven years before *Lochner* in *Holden v. Hardy* (1898), when in upholding a maximum hours law for miners, it decided that the health of the workers alone was a matter of public interest that could justify governmental interference. Why *Lochner* became such a notorious decision was due in part to the Court's retreat from its own precedent. As for the subject of a minimum wage, which Gillman believes cannot be justified in terms of the public interest, five members of the Supreme Court were ready to uphold such legislation twenty years before the definitive decision in 1937. To conclude that the justices who held a narrow view of what was in the public interest were more committed and more faithful to legal doctrine than those who held a broader and more permissive view makes little sense.

Legal doctrine provides the arena within which choices must be made; it does not dictate those choices. And it is this inherent malleability in all legal rules that has led scholars to be suspicious of explanations that attribute decisive influence to the rules themselves. Judges, not rules, decide cases. The best of these legal actors, steeped in the common law tradition, are willing to reinspect rules, redefine their component parts, recategorize fact situations, and redraw dividing lines as they respond to the needs of the contemporary world they inhabit.

JOHN E. SEMONCHE
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RICHARD LOWITT. *Bronson M. Cutting: Progressive Politician*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 418. \$50.00.

Richard Lowitt has given us a good biography of Senator Bronson M. Cutting (Rep., N.Mex., 1927–35), although he barely avoids the pitfall of making his subject more important in retrospect than he had been during his lifetime. And indeed this pitfall would have been easy to fall into with Cutting. After all, he was attractive, interesting, enigmatic, and anomalous. Born into a wealthy, well-connected, and talented New York family—a sister married the son of William James, and Iris Origo, the historian and writer, was his niece—he came to New Mexico to recover from tuberculosis, purchased its politically most important newspaper, and became one of the state's most important political players with a career culminating in his appointment and then election and reelection to the U.S. Senate.

For all of his attraction, interest, enigma, and anomaly, however, he was not an important national figure. He died young in a plane crash having au-

thored no important legislation. Moreover, his impact on New Mexico politics was also transitory. He built a formidable political machine, but it was a personal machine and with his death it disintegrated.

But the attraction, the enigma, and the anomaly were real during his lifetime, and here Lowitt shines. Indeed, in places the biography is better on Cutting's social life and his impact on New Mexico's cultural history than it is on Cutting's political career. Cutting, brought up in an educated and literary household, educated at Groton under the Reverend Endicott Peabody and at Harvard where he studied with George Santayana, brought a wide range of intellectual interests to New Mexico. These interests, plus his ownership of *The New Mexican*, the state capitol's principal newspaper, found him, as he regained his health, in the inner ring of the state's social and intellectual life. The coverage of this aspect of Cutting's life is the book's greatest strength as Lowitt examines and documents Cutting's multifaceted personality with verve and authority.

This same verve and authority can be seen in Lowitt's description of Cutting on the national political scene and in the Senate. Reading Lowitt one can see why such diverse figures as Edmund Wilson, George Norris, Mary McCarthy, Robert LaFollette, Jr., and Hiram Johnson, to name but a few, were drawn to Cutting. Not only was he charming, wealthy, and articulate but also this New Mexico Republican senator opposed the New Deal from the Left.

Despite these clear and obvious strengths, the book has a few flaws. The author's analysis of Cutting's impact on post-World War I politics would have benefited from using my own analysis of Cutting in Richard Ellis, ed., *New Mexico, Past and Present* (1971). A search of the FBI's files on the contested election of 1934 could have sharpened his already very good discussion of the bipartisan voting corruption that occurred in that election as would a closer reading of the articles by me and others in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (1971, 1972). I found his description of Cutting's appointment somewhat simplistic; others may not. I also found his discussion of Cutting's behavior with several of his friends to be more suggestive of Cutting's rumored homosexuality than does the author.

But none of these are fatal flaws. Simply stated, this is now, and will probably remain, the definitive biography of this fascinating adopted New Mexican.

G. L. SELIGMANN
University of North Texas

ROBERT COHEN. *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929–1941*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 432. \$55.00.

This volume by Robert Cohen fills a gap in the literature of the American Left. It is the first and only

comprehensive study of the radical movement among college students in the 1930s. The young people of that day lived in a world engulfed by two major crises: the Great Depression and the mounting international tensions that eventually led to world war. They responded with bold idealism and actions demanding that poverty be destroyed and war avoided. Led by radicals—especially Communists—the college students of the prewar era rallied and spoke out forcefully against these twin nemeses of civilization and in doing so developed more of society and their government than either was prepared to give. In the end their efforts failed, not because their cause was unjust but because of internecine bickering and a fatally close association with the goals of the Soviet Union.

In this exceedingly detailed account Cohen explains the motivations and activities of numerous individuals and organizations, including the American League against War and Fascism, the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, the Young Communist League, the Young Peoples' Socialist League, the Youth Committee against War, and the Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge. His research in many sources generally ignored by political historians, such as personal memoirs, student newspapers, and university records, coupled with scores of interviews, has resulted in a product that demands attention from all students of American political and social history whether they be specialists on radicalism or not.

Because this book attempts to establish a middle-ground interpretation of American Communism somewhere between the views of the anticommunist school led by Theodore Draper and the anti-anti-Communist school led by Maurice Isserman, it is bound to provoke considerable discussion, perhaps even spirited criticism, for neither group will like it much. But the inevitable debate will only enhance its significance and serve to focus the attention of the scholarly community on one of the most important works to come along in many years.

KENNETH E. HENDRICKSON, JR.
Midwestern State University

DANIEL F. RICE. *Reinhold Niebuhr and John Dewey: An American Odyssey*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1993. Pp. xxvii, 358. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$19.95.

A generation ago it was commonplace to assume that Reinhold Niebuhr and John Dewey marked out between them the significant intellectual terrain of mid-twentieth-century America. They stood for the two poles of respectable social and political opinion: Niebuhr the religious realist, preacher of sin and limits; Dewey the secular idealist, advocate of science and progress. By the 1950s historians could join the main wave of liberal opinion in plotting a desired turn from Dewey's sunny-side-up liberalism to Nie-

buhr's tragic sense that liberals must dirty their hands if they are to seek justice in the world.

Now that historians can no longer get away with reducing intellectual life to liberal intellectual life, Dewey and Niebuhr recede together into one corner of the mid-century landscape. But positioning them in a more restricted space need not diminish their importance. It allows us to grasp the particular character of their intellectual activity, to understand what they had in common as well as what they did not. For all their differences Dewey and Niebuhr were nourished by common liberal Protestant roots that predisposed them both to labor for the broad reform of society. Each of them resisted specialization and professionalization, each sought a wide audience beyond the church or academy. They were two of the last great public intellectuals to choose vocations as prophetic moralists speaking to the whole community, calling it to live up to its most venerable traditions. It is not surprising that contemporary liberal moralists (such as Cornel West and Richard Rorty) who are trying to revive the vocation of public intellectual should return so avidly to Dewey or Niebuhr or both.

The great virtue of Daniel F. Rice's book is its insistence on "the common ground they shared," even though most of his attention still goes to "the issues that sharply divided Niebuhr from Dewey": "the character and credibility of religious faith, the limits of naturalism, scientific method and the 'human studies' (Wilhelm Dilthey's *Geisteswissenschaften*), the liberal tradition, and the nature and prospect of democracy" (pp. xi, xxiii). Thanks to Rice's methodical compare-and-contrast discussion of Dewey's and Niebuhr's ideas on each of those topics, we are reminded of their well-known divergences but also gain much insight into their "substantial agreement on such matters as their mutual objections to Platonic and Cartesian dualism, their overall suspicion of the Western metaphysical tradition, their sense of the social relevance of religion and a corresponding rejection of religious fanaticism and escapism, and their insistence on both the social matrix and applied praxis of thought" (p. 261).

Rice is more successful in juxtaposing Dewey's and Niebuhr's discrete ideas than he is in probing the relations between the two men or the connections between their thought and their lives. In my view he does not make enough, for example, of his telling observation that "Niebuhr rarely, if ever, argued his case; . . . he did not engage in philosophically recognizable procedures of argument, much less in serious and sustained analysis of the writings of his adversaries" (pp. 145–46). Rice might have analyzed more fully the precisely rhetorical character of Niebuhr's assault on Dewey in the 1930s, and the blend of ideological posturing and intellectual substance that marked the rest of Niebuhr's thinking (as it does everyone's if one shares Niebuhr's own view of the matter).

Rice's single most interesting claim—that Niebuhr

effected both a theological critique of pragmatism and a pragmatic critique of theology—is left undeveloped for reasons of space, and we can look forward to the author's prospective sequel tackling this complex issue. May that book be proofread more ably than this one was. The publisher should do penance for issuing a volume so littered with egregious misspellings and typographical errors.

RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX
Boston University

M. CATHERINE MILLER. *Flooding the Courtrooms: Law and Water in the Far West*. (Law in the American West, number 4.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1993. Pp. 255. \$45.00.

The Miller and Lux firm was active in the development of more than a million acres of land, most of which was in California's central valley. Formed by two San Francisco butchers (with the financial help of a pioneer California banker), the firm frequently resorted to the law to protect its extensive holdings, particularly when the water rights to those lands were in jeopardy. Many of the firm's disputes were with "junior users" of these waters, including irrigation districts that owed their origins to the development efforts of Miller and Lux. The cases were complicated by California's bifurcated water-allocation system, in which aspects of riparian law existed alongside the prior appropriation doctrine. Not surprisingly, the Miller and Lux lawsuits helped clarify some of the confusion caused by the operation of the dual systems.

M. Catherine Miller had access to the massive business and legal records maintained by the company. Even though some of the cases hinged on complex legal definitions and interpretations, the author does an excellent job of avoiding legal jargon while giving the reader a clear sense of the legal subtleties.

The book clearly demonstrates how crucial the Miller and Lux cases were to a coherent system of water allocation in California as well as the economic development of the central valley. In this important respect, the book is a valuable contribution to the history of the American West and the development of water law.

The premise of the book is that the relationships between law, economic development, and the distribution of wealth and power in the West can be demonstrated by reference to the litigious experiences of the one company. At this broader level, the book only partially succeeds. The peculiarities of California law and the situations raised in the cases seem far too particular to the times and locale and the personalities of the litigants to be applied more generally to western water law, to say nothing of economic development, wealth, and power.

Nonetheless, this case study is an important contri-

bution to our understanding of how one company influenced California water law, not only by its massive land holdings but also by its experiences in the courtroom. The conclusions call for similar studies of water litigation in other western states where the question of who controlled the water settled nearly all other issues of wealth and power.

PHIL ROBERTS
University of Wyoming

THOMAS MULLER. *Immigrants and the American City*. (A Twentieth Century Fund Book.) New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 372. \$30.00.

This volume was commissioned by the Twentieth Century Fund to argue the case for continuing the policy of open doors to the world's immigrants. Thomas Muller is an economist who served as principal research associate at the Urban Institute before becoming a Washington consultant. He focuses mainly on the political and economic issues of immigration, with attention to, but less emphasis on, social factors. Whereas government and business generally favor a more liberal immigration policy because of its positive economic impact, the broader public is uncomfortable with the prospect of greater ethnic diversity that may threaten cultural unity and tradition. Muller is clearly an advocate of liberal immigration laws, arguing that a steady flow of immigrant labor was the driving force in the growth of both the national economy and the development of American cities. At the same time he acknowledges the negative impact that higher immigration rates have had on some aspects of American cities and society.

Muller begins with a review of the history of American immigration from the colonial period through the late twentieth century. His purpose is not to offer a new interpretation of immigration history but rather to put his argument in favor of more liberal laws into perspective. After establishing the correlation between urban immigration and national economic growth, he points out that the movement for immigration restriction in the 1920s was motivated not by economic concerns but instead by eugenics, racism, and the various efforts at reform generated by the Progressives. The national origins principle of restriction lasted until the 1960s when it was again changed for largely noneconomic reasons. The disruptive decade of the 1960s, which challenged tradition and praised diversity, joined these attitudes with the rising demand for more laborers in an expanding economy and a concern for family reunification to produce pro-immigration legislation.

The third and fourth chapters on "Immigrants and the Prosperity of Cities" and "The Immigrant Contribution to the Revitalization of Cities" form the core of the book's argument that immigrants have provided key economic strength to the growth of the nation's major cities. Despite public opinion, which

often focuses on illegal immigrants, the majority of the foreign born have been educated and hard working, and they bring valuable economic resources, talent, and knowledge to the United States. Although they take jobs away from native Americans in manufacturing and increase the demand for governmental support and schools, they also create new jobs in other areas such as communications and services. Groups like the Koreans, for example, have progressed rapidly because of their cultural background, which provides a strong work ethic, experience in small business, middle-class values, and firm support of family and ethnic community. Recent immigrants are often as likely to be professionals and shopkeepers as they are to be domestics and blue-collar workers. In either case they all improve the tax base of American cities. Muller concludes that, short of better training and educational facilities for native-born Americans, "immigration remains the most pragmatic way to supplement the American work force in occupations short of dependable help" (pp. 306-07).

Muller admits that the majority of the American public opposes more liberal immigration laws. Competition for jobs, especially between immigrants and blacks, conflict over cultural values, and language and religious differences all make for a society that seems socially less stable. And yet ethnic diversity, he points out, was part of the basis on which the nation was founded. He reminds us that both Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin favored diversity as a cornerstone of social and political stability. His argument is well reasoned, grounded in solid research, and provides important evidence for further discussion by historians and students of public policy. This is an important book in the ongoing debate over immigration policy.

DEAN ESSLINGER
Towson State University

JOHN M. FINDLAY. *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 394. \$35.00.

In this thoughtful and imaginative study, John M. Findlay applies the questions and methods of both urban and regional history to the recent past by examining four planned environments: Disneyland, the Seattle World's Fair of 1962, Sun City (an Arizona retirement community), and the Stanford Industrial Park. The results are of concern to urban historians, perhaps even more important for historians of the West, and potentially most revealing to cultural historians of the postwar United States.

Despite many obvious differences, Findlay's four "magic lands" share several key qualities: privately planned, discrete districts, all were conceived roughly in the mid-1950s as homogenous antidotes to eastern urban life. By providing "spatial coherence," these

thematic sites made western cities more legible to the white, middle-class families (tourists, engineers, or retirees) they sought to attract, and thereby "helped to transform the surrounding urban landscape as well as the nation's metropolitan areas" (p. 5).

In part, Findlay offers his book as a corrective to popular (and historical) conceptions of the West as primarily important for its nineteenth-century patterns of appropriation and settlement. The rapid, highly urbanized growth that characterized the postwar West, Findlay argues, exerted greater influence on the region and the nation as a whole than the more celebrated "frontier" displacements of that earlier era.

More broadly, the author is concerned with shifting patterns and notions of urban life itself. He sees postwar Americans' interactions with "magic lands" as indicative of their broader attempts to exercise (or simulate) control over their physical and social environments during a period of pervasive and confusing transformation.

In Findlay's view, the apparent chaos that accompanied this swift urbanization was in fact an adjustment to a new kind of city: polycentric, rapidly growing clusters of urban villages in which "horizontal" communities (detached, single-family residences and low-rise commercial districts) replaced earlier, eastern notions of a centralized downtown.

Drawing heavily on the work in urban geography of Amos Rapoport, Findlay stresses the contrasting perspectives of "designers" and "users": residents (and tourists) interacted with these new environments in ways often quite different from the pronouncements and recommendations of planners, creating patterns of personal familiarity where experts saw only chaos. He also acknowledges that these magic lands, even more than the cities that emulated them, sought to exclude or marginalize ethnic minorities and low-income communities. For the most part, however, his narrative focuses on the white, middle-class "users" for whom these planned communities were primarily designed. (In fact, greater emphasis could be placed on the process of class definition for which these "lands" provided crucial postwar markers.)

Although this book is not an apologia for sprawl, it does ask us to reconsider the common laments about freeway-era cities. Some readers may object that Findlay claims too much underlying order in the unrestrained bursts of development that drove postwar urban growth. Others will welcome his effort to recapture the everyday life of cities from the perspectives of those who inhabited them. Upper-division history classes could benefit from the ensuing discussion.

At times, reading this book resembles the process it describes: the connections between one "placeless" place and another are not always apparent until the concluding chapter on "Western Cityscapes and American Culture." The author's deft examples, however, more than compensate for any cognitive

dissonance experienced en route. In the chapter on Disneyland, for example, we learn that Disney recruited "authentic Native Americans to paddle canoes full of guests" through Frontierland. But because they came from the arid Southwest, Disney's Indians had to be taught how to paddle canoes "by white employees of the park who had learned the skill at summer camp" (p. 94).

MICHAEL L. SMITH
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Davis

MICHAEL ORIARD. *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xxv, 319. \$29.95.

Anyone who glances at the shelves devoted to sports in a library or bookstore cannot but notice the preponderance of books about "the national game"—baseball—and the relative paucity of works on football. This disparity causes little discomfort among scholars; baseball has long been the chosen sport of American intellectuals. The imbalance, however, remains curious. College and professional football surpassed baseball as a television spectator sport a generation ago. Arguably, football is more distinctively American than baseball: while baseball is an Olympic sport, American-style football is played in just one other country in the world.

Michael Oriard's important book is a welcome, extremely insightful cultural history of football's early decades, between the founding of the Intercollegiate Football Association in 1876 and the birth of the modern passing game just before World War I. Oriard's title sets out his themes. Football was made prominent by the American popular press in the late 1880s and 1890s. The interaction of the sport and the press gave rise to a multiplicity of "narratives" created by football reporting, commentary, and illustrations, that both "read" the game in different ways and were themselves "read" in a variety of ways by diverse audiences.

The heart of the book is a close examination of the way newspapers, weeklies, and monthlies—and selected key commentators—covered football: the aspects of the game they emphasized and the values to which they appealed. From E. L. Godkin's "shrill attacks" to the sportswriter Caspar Whitney's "repeated call for pure amateur sport" to Richard Kyle Fox's "periodic assaults in the *National Police Gazette* on the hypocrisy of those who championed football while denouncing prizefighting as brutal" (p. 141), Oriard has provided the most comprehensive and searching effort to date to explore what the sport meant to the Americans who promoted—and denounced—it.

Oriard traces press coverage from its origins in mere notices in daily newspapers to multipage extravaganzas in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and

William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. His analysis of the conflicts between the sport's detractors and defenders, and the different grounds on which it was defended, is careful and persuasive, as is his unusually sharp use of illustrations. He offers a vivid account first of the cooperation, and then of the personal and intellectual antagonism, between the two most important football writers of the period: the amateur advocate Whitney and Yale's Walter Camp. And he has much of interest to say about how football writing reflected concerns about turn-of-the-century masculinity, gender relations, work, and racial thinking.

My single reservation about this fine book is the author's reliance on the theoretical framework of "cultural studies," the major contribution of which appears to be the unexceptional suggestion that meanings result from negotiations, and that therefore football has many meanings. The only damage, fortunately, is Oriard's occasional tendency to multiply potential meanings at the expense of deciding on one or two. My recommendation is to take the author's own hint and skip the introduction.

WARREN GOLDSTEIN
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Old Westbury

BLANCHE LINDEN-WARD and CAROL HURD GREEN. *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future*. (American Women in the Twentieth Century.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1993. Pp. xxii, 585. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

As part of a series intended to provide a decade-by-decade account of the experiences, contributions, and status of women in the United States, a volume on the 1960s presents its authors with multiple challenges. Writing history on the installment plan is itself problematic; causation and implications of major developments seldom confine themselves to neat ten-year intervals. While the 1960s invite consideration as a discrete entity to a greater extent than do other decades, the very term "sixties" constitutes a cultural and political litmus test that almost inevitably colors analysis. Moreover, the feminist movement, the movement of that turbulent decade having the greatest potential impact on women's lives, had scarcely begun when the decade ended. Attempts to deal with these challenges by Blanche Linden-Ward and Carol Hurd Green meet with mixed success.

As befits a survey, the authors cast a wide net, covering such diverse topics as higher education, work, the professions, popular culture, the arts, literature, and dress. Biological issues such as childbirth, menopause, and reproductive technology constitute a separate chapter, as do issues having to do with sexuality, psychology, marriage, and family life. A chapter entitled "Confronting Institutions" covers women's involvement with peace, environmentalism,

and proto-feminist reform of religious institutions. Bracketing these twelve chapters are two others. The first deals with efforts to prove the status of women within the existing political system through measures such as the President's Commission on the Status of Women. The final chapter focuses on the emergence of a resurgent feminist movement. An epilogue addresses the question, "When Did the Sixties End?"

In their assessment of status, Linden-Ward and Green are careful to pay attention to both agency and constraint as well as to elements of continuity and change. Throughout they strive to avoid overgeneralization and to recognize the diversity of women's lives and the uneven pace and often contradictory impact of new developments. They readily acknowledge the presence and leadership of women of color. They also underscore the role of older women as agents of change, providing a useful corrective to the popular image of 1960s activists as "under thirty."

Nevertheless, this volume remains primarily a compendium. It successfully introduces the reader to a variety of areas within which women made important contributions and experienced significant constrictions. Yet even those notable women who were compelling personalities seldom emerge as such. The range of subjects and degree of detail also seem to drain the decade of its real drama and passion. Readers are told of the intensity generated by the institutional challenges in which activists were engaged, but the power to generate a sense of that intensity and its ramifications is missing. Analysis is similarly inhibited. Chapter conclusions too frequently consist of a sentence or two consisting of on-the-one-hand, but-on-the-other-hand dichotomies. Indeed, the most extended analysis comes in the introduction where the authors argue that despite the pace of change and the alteration of relationships that occurred in the 1960s, "most women's lives and expectations remained essentially unchanged." Whether or not one agrees with their conclusion, this book nevertheless provides a useful, encyclopedic introduction to women's involvement in one of the more complex and controversial periods in recent U.S. history.

JANE SHERRON DE HART
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Santa Barbara

AMY SWERDLOW. *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 310. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Amy Swerdlow, one of the founders and leading organizers of Women Strike for Peace (WSP), has written a moving and analytical memoir/history of the organization's efforts during the 1960s and early 1970s. Founded in 1961, WSP was instrumental in peace movement efforts to curb the nuclear arms

race, oppose the military draft, and bring an end to the Vietnam War. As a participant in WSP, Swerdlow moved from the world of middle-class housewife/mother to political activist and eventually to academe. As she documents in this study, WSP used the image of middle-class, white motherhood to achieve political goals. Out of this emphasis on the maternal image came a "feminine" style of protest and organizing. For example, when several WSP members were called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1962, they were literally cheered, applauded, and presented with flowers by their fellow members, thereby making a mockery of the interrogation. In another protest, women banged their shoes against the doors of the Pentagon that had been locked in their faces. Whether on the streets or managing draft counseling centers, WSP members consistently represented the face of motherhood rather than that of seasoned activist.

This book is of major importance to both peace history (which often downplays or totally ignores women's efforts) and women's history (which often ignores peace issues). It adds greatly to the study of grass-roots peace organizing and what happens to "ordinary" women when they become educated about foreign policy. The book is wonderfully written with certain parts that will move the reader to either tears of laughter or grief.

As a women's peace historian, however, I disagree with a few of Swerdlow's points, especially in terms of WSP's place in the wider women's peace movement. First, Swerdlow defines WSP as a "movement" when it is in fact one organization in a long-lived movement whose roots reach back to the abolitionists. These earlier groups employed rhetoric, strategies, and tactics similar to those used by WSP. Swerdlow mentions earlier peace efforts, but she does not connect them with the origins of WSP, even while illustrating that many WSP leaders originated in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), founded in 1915 as the Woman's Peace Party. Second, Swerdlow defines WSP as a "feminine" group of "ordinary housewives" while at the same time showing the political influence of the Old Left, Communist, and pacifist movements on many of its leaders. It seems quite obvious from Swerdlow's evidence that these leaders purposely used their motherhood as a political tool. Furthermore, the idea that WSP was the first group to mobilize large numbers of "ordinary" women does not hold up to historical scrutiny. WILPF and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War started this work soon after World War I. Third, WSP was not the first or only group to have used maternal politics. Almost every women's peace organization from the Department of Peace and Arbitration of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to Another Mother for Peace has articulated this theme. Fourth, Swerdlow constantly insists that WSP was loosely organized with no hierarchy or structure. Yet she consistently speaks of the "key"

women (often the same women) and the "appointment" of committee "leaders" because there were no elections. Obviously, there was a self-appointed leadership, and it often issued official statements and directives to chapters. Although WSP was experimenting with organizational structure, it was not the first group to do so. In the 1920s, for example, the Women's Peace Union organized a "Working Committee" that collectively ran the organization.

My few questions about Swerdlow's interpretation of WSP's structure and uniqueness are posed to add to the discussion of women's unique contributions to peace movement history, a dialogue that is greatly enhanced by Swerdlow's work.

HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO
Fitchburg State College

E. CULPEPPER CLARK. *The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 305. \$25.00.

Like Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice* (1975), E. Culpepper Clark's book is a well-researched and crisply written narrative that draws its energy from the drama of the desegregation crisis in the postwar South. Clark lists in his bibliography virtually all of the major archival collections available (except, oddly, the Lyndon B. Johnson Library), together with sixty interviews that omit George Wallace but include most of the main actors.

The first part of the story, covering the period 1943–57, centers on the admission to and expulsion from the University of Alabama of Autherine Lucy in 1956. In retrospect this appears as an opportunity for peaceful change that was tragically lost by inept university administrators and trustees, who stalled until Alabama's populist–New Deal politics shifted sharply toward segregationist defiance following the bus boycott in Montgomery in 1955–56. The second part centers on the events culminating in Wallace's spectacular stand at Foster Auditorium in June 1963. Clark's close narrative, like Kluger's, introduces a bewildering variety of actors, most of them unfamiliar to nonspecialists. Some of them play important roles whose significance is not initially apparent—like Jeff Bennett, a lawyer and (like Clark himself) presidential assistant, whose long tenure in Tuscaloosa provides important continuity.

Clark deals sympathetically with the Kennedys and their lieutenants, whose roles in the crises at the University of Mississippi and Tuscaloosa are already familiar to many readers. In his even-handed treatment of Wallace, Clark displays the warts of the governor's virulent (not staged) racism while conceding that Wallace's plan to confront federal power was consistent, well thought out, and effective in avoiding the violence invited in Mississippi by the incompetent Governor Ross Barnett. Clark faults the NAACP for organizational rigidity and occasional strategic blun-

ders, but his sympathies, and ours, are captured by the black plaintiffs. Prominent among them are Birmingham *World* editor Emory Jackson, Birmingham attorney Arthur Shores, and, above all, the courageous young petitioners: Autherine Lucy, Vivian Malone, James Hood, Dave McGlathery, and many others, like Pollie Anne Myers, whose applications the university rejected when the detective agencies it hired unearthed evidence of "bastardy" and criminal convictions in their families.

Clark's strongest passages deal with university leadership. In his analysis, President Oliver Cromwell Carmichael (1953–57) botched the early opportunity to desegregate peacefully, and Frank Anthony Rose (1957–66), who suffered from an "overbearing style and a tendency to misstate facts" (p. 256), played only a marginal role and ultimately lost the confidence of all his constituencies. The university's trustees, loyal to the institution but dominated by archconservatives like Birmingham businessman Hill Ferguson, could not rise above the political values of the caste society they represented. The flagship at Tuscaloosa, threatened by the research pace of the branch campuses at Birmingham and Huntsville, unable to keep or recruit superior faculty during the post-Sputnik boom years, weakly led by its own administration and cynically manipulated by strong politicians like John Patterson and Wallace, emerged from the drama as a badly mauled institution, notable chiefly for its football team and Coach Paul "Bear" Bryant.

This is an important and moving story. Clark tells it well, respecting his historical actors by treating them critically but fairly, and respecting his readers by allowing them to draw their own conclusions.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
Vanderbilt University

RAPHAEL J. SONENSHEIN. *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 301. \$29.95.

This is a perceptive and well-researched, if at times plodding, repetitious, and poorly organized, account of the emergence and triumph of the biracial coalition that brought Tom Bradley to power in Los Angeles. Raphael J. Sonenshein, a political scientist and veteran of the wars he chronicles, expresses "cautious optimism" about the future compatibility of interracial alliances with the political assertion of minorities. He argues that Los Angeles' coalition of blacks and white liberals, although in many ways unique because of its roots in western reform politics, can serve as a model for progressive politics elsewhere. His richly detailed findings are based on personal experience, revealing interviews, newspaper reports, polling data, both substantive and theoretical secondary works, and mind-numbing voting returns from four sample council districts.

Sonenshein traces the coalition's beginnings to Bra-

dley's successful council race in 1963 when he became the first black elected to city office. That race and an unsuccessful one for mayor against incumbent Sam Yorty in 1969 mobilized reform-minded blacks who found allies within west L.A.'s liberal Jewish community. Both groups objected to the conservative policies of the city's white Protestant mayors and the abuses of the politically powerful police department. Bradley finally defeated Yorty in 1973 and was reelected in 1977, 1981, 1985, and 1989. According to Sonenshein, three factors accounted for the coalition's success: interest, leadership, and, most importantly, an ideology shared by "elite interracial networks."

A combination of personal preference and political realities moved Bradley from his initial progressive, anti-poverty agenda to a pro-business and, finally, more environmentally sensitive, balanced-growth emphasis. Consolidating its power, the coalition reached out to Hispanics and Asian Americans. Blacks and other minorities benefited from high-profile appointments, affirmative-action hiring programs, a higher degree of police accountability, and expanded social programs. Liberal whites got greater representation, federally financed urban renewal, and a check, albeit fragile, on unregulated growth. Meanwhile, downtown business interests received massive redevelopment projects. The only consistent opposition came from conservative whites in the San Fernando Valley who had their greatest impact during low-turnout referenda and initiatives on education, taxation, and law enforcement.

After the mid-1980s, however, tensions within the coalition became more pronounced. Already weakened by the drying up of federal funds, Bradley's pro-growth policies, and a financial scandal in 1989, the coalition had to weather the beating of Rodney King in 1991 and the riot of 1992. Sonenshein rightfully sees 1992 as a turning point, symbolized by Bradley's decision not to seek another term in office.

Sonenshein proves more adept at tracing the emergence of the coalition and charting its ups and downs than at predicting its future. In part this is because of the difficulty he has balancing his progressive partisanship with scholarly detachment. His concentration on the blacks and white liberals for these years is certainly warranted, and he makes major contributions with his discussion of factionalism among both blacks and whites, tensions within the black-white alliance, and the reasons why the Los Angeles experience was so different from that of New York. In the process he convincingly exposes the limitations of "black power" and "rainbow coalition" models for urban politics. But he largely misses the potential impact of the Hispanics. By 1990 Hispanics were the city's largest population group. And in the mayoral election of 1993, Richard Riordan's strong showing among them keyed his surprise victory over coalition candidate Michael Woo. The absence of Riordan from Sonenshein's account, aside from a somewhat dismissive reference at the end, demonstrates both

the limits of academics as prognosticators and the costs of concentrating on the high-profile racial dimension of city politics rather than the day-to-day realities of economic power. Los Angeles also no longer seems as unique as Sonenshein claims. The addition of Hispanics, and even some blacks and white liberals, to a firm foundation of conservative white voters has recently spelled victory not only in Los Angeles but also in a number of eastern and midwestern cities. These triumphs mark the emergence of a new kind of multiethnic coalition in which issues such as jobs and crime are more important than the old representation agenda largely implemented by Los Angeles' first biracial coalition.

HOWARD N. RABINOWITZ
University of New Mexico

WILLIAM R. SCOTT. *The Sons of Sheba's Race: African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941.* (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 288. \$42.50.

By the end of the eighteenth century the biblical prophesy, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (Psalms 68: 31), had become the central theme in black thought. This led to an elaborate but structured body of Ethiopianist beliefs that evolved into a socio-religious-political ideology that stressed the themes of universal black brotherhood, redemption, and resurgence.

Ethiopian symbolism in the nineteenth century was found in the writings of the first African-American historians who embarked on a campaign to challenge and correct the pseudoscientific claims of black inferiority being popularized in the country by white ethnographers. After the Ethiopian victory in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1895-96, African-American identification with modern Ethiopia crystallized.

In the post-World War I era, Marcus Garvey popularized Ethiopian redemption, with the idea of Ethiopian millennialism. The official anthem of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association was "Ethiopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers." Ethiopianism peaked just before the eruption of the second Italo-Ethiopian War when Haile Selassie I was crowned Ethiopia's emperor in 1930.

With the beginning of dry weather conducive to large-scale military operations, the long-awaited Italian invasion of Ethiopia began just before dawn on the morning of October 3, 1935. From strategically located bases along the Eritrean border, one hundred thousand Italian troops advanced on Addis Ababa. Selassie unsuccessfully petitioned the League of Nations for support.

In an appeal to African Americans in a poem entitled "Ethiopia," published in *Opportunity* in September 1935, Langston Hughes advocated that the scattered sons of Sheba's race respond to endangered Ethiopia. American blacks formed defense and aid

societies, protested to Italian authorities, organized anti-Italian boycotts, issued appeals to the world powers to protect Ethiopia from conquest, volunteered for Ethiopian military service, and sponsored fund-raising drives for Ethiopian relief. In the end, however, African Americans had no effect on the outcome of the war. And by 1941, when Selassie was restored to power, the pro-Ethiopian fervor had waned.

Since the completion of his dissertation in 1971, William R. Scott has written and given speeches about the longstanding relationship between African Americans and Ethiopians. Besides a chapter in my book on the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1895–96 (*The African Nexus* [1981]), a chapter in Robert Weisbord's book on the 1935–36 Italian-Ethiopian crisis (*Ebony Kinship* [1973]), and articles written by Rodney A. Ross and S. K. B. Asante, few other scholars have looked at this topic.

We have waited quite some time for Scott's book. He does a good job of chronicling the impact of the second Italo-Ethiopian War. In his understandable enthusiasm for his topic, however, Scott does sometimes exaggerate its importance. His contention that the war evoked a broad awakening in black American communities of solidarity and identification with African peoples world-wide may be stretching its consequences. Also confusing is his reference in the book of Ethiopia as the world's "last independent black state" (p. 82) and "last outpost of authentic black rule" (p. 208), since in 1935 Liberia, Haiti, and Egypt were sovereign countries. Despite these observations, Scott has written a comprehensive study in pan-African history.

SYLVIA M. JACOBS
North Carolina Central University

DENNIS HICKEY and KENNETH C. WYLIE. *An Enchanting Darkness: The American Vision of Africa in the Twentieth Century*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1993. Pp. 352. \$31.95.

Shortly after the American Civil War, the *New York Herald* sent a Welsh-born reporter on a special mission to Africa. Henry Morton Stanley's *How I Met Livingston* (1872) turned out to be a great success on both sides of the Atlantic. Later, in several other popular books, Stanley called Africa the "dark continent."

In the opening chapter of this interesting study Dennis Hickey and Kenneth C. Wylie argue that Stanley and later Theodore Roosevelt were both influenced in their perceptions of Africa and Africans by their experiences in the American West. The succeeding chapters discuss other and often contradictory images of Africa in the twentieth century. Rapidly fluctuating portrayals derived from a need to find some sort of "other" for nice Americans and a parallel search for "the primitive." Following this is a chapter about "American Ethnography in Africa,"

which includes a smorgasbord of Western anthropologists.

The central third of the book first treats "Travelogues and Travelers' Accounts" as a species of literature filled with "symbolic conventions" (p. 136), and then, "Dark and Violent Mystery: Africa in American Fiction." The latter chapter begins with Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, but moves on to more securely "American" writers such as Edgar Rice Burroughs and his Tarzan books, Ernest Hemingway, John Updike, Robert Ruark, and many other lesser-known authors.

The final two chapters deal with African-American responses to Africa. One discusses Alexander Crummell, George Washington Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter Woodson, Joel A. Rogers, Marcus Garvey, the Black Muslims, and many other people. The last chapter, entitled "Africa Politically Corrected," deals with Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and other matters, and concludes with heartfelt and very effective criticism of Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (rev. ed., 1982) and of Molefi Kete Asante's *Afrocentricity* (1988) and *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge* (1990). The latter two books are very controversial, since they claim that Egypt was the central transfer station of real civilization from further south in Africa and thence to Greece and thence to Western Europe.

There is a great deal of data here, and some of the analysis is both penetrating and flexible. The book deals with an intriguing and important set (or series) of puzzles. Why, indeed, did one of the New World branch offices of Western Europe arrive at these "visions" of Africa? But there are problems. One is the focus on the United States and then inclusion of full discussions about people whose consciousness about Africa came from Caribbean cultures, such as Joel Rogers, Marcus Garvey, and Walter Rodney, as well as from Western Europe, such as Joseph Conrad and Claude Levi-Strauss. Another concerns chronology, as when discussion of the twentieth century has perforce in midtext to be restarted before the Civil War. The index does not do justice to the book. In the more "literary" chapters, many readers may find themselves lost in a swamp of names and minutiae. Yet there is much thoughtfulness here about that was and remains a matter of concern for us all.

WINTHROP D. JORDAN
University of Mississippi

PATRICK J. MANEY. *The Roosevelt Presence: A Biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*. (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series, number 13.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1992. Pp. xv, 255. Cloth \$25.95, paper \$12.95.

The goal of the Twayne Biography Series has been to offer lucid, one-volume interpretive biographies of the central figures of this century. These seek to

summarize the best of existing scholarship, provide succinct records of the individuals' lives and legacies, and offer thoughtful judgments about persisting interpretive issues. And in all of these respects, Patrick J. Maney's work is strikingly successful. It combines the qualities of a useful and up-to-date introduction with an analytical content that will repay reading by established interpreters of the Roosevelt period and the modern American presidency.

For the most part, this study is conventionally organized into chapters on successive chronological periods (three on the pre-presidential years, two on the New Deal period, and three on the years from 1938 to 1945). The two exceptions are a chapter exploring Roosevelt's personality and one on his reputation and legacies. The book also covers much familiar ground, showing us again how upbringing and personal crises produced a man in whom buoyant optimism and self-confident serenity coexisted with manipulative guile, how such a man met the crisis-induced demands for national leadership, and how by doing so he inspired both love and hatred. Yet portions of the picture drawn do depart significantly from that found in other accounts. Roosevelt, Maney insists, was not exceptionally complex. He remained mysterious because he kept his inner self under wraps. But patrician self-confidence and unquestioning religious faith relieved him of the doubts that have plagued other leaders. And to an extent previously unappreciated, he functioned as a religious as well as a political leader. Invoking biblical imagery, Christian ideals, and a nationalistic civic religion, he identified both himself and his program with the hand of Providence.

Maney also challenges existing interpretive wisdom in other ways. He shows that Roosevelt was seriously deficient as a legislative leader, sees Congress as an important collaborator in the creation of the New Deal, finds an affinity in Roosevelt for the engineering cast of mind, and argues that Roosevelt still hoped to stay out of war as late as mid-1941. In addition, he argues that FDR lacked the intellectual depth of presidents such as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Herbert Hoover; that he lacked the moral fiber of a George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or Harry Truman; and that his success in the office was due largely to the particular time during which he served. Yet Maney would still include FDR among the nation's greatest presidents, in part because he provided the kind of leadership needed between 1933 and 1945, and in part because of his lasting legacies concerning the role of government, political alignments, and expectations of the presidency.

As Robert Zieger notes on the dust jacket, Maney's work both demystifies Roosevelt and reminds us of his centrality to modern American history. Deeply informed, elegantly written, and persuasively argued, it stands as a major scholarly achievement. It also contains an excellent bibliographical essay of value to

anyone interested in a presidential literature now larger than that for any other president.

ELLIS W. HAWLEY
University of Iowa

DOMINICK A. PISANO. *To Fill the Skies with Pilots: The Civilian Pilot Training Program, 1939-46*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 197. \$34.95.

Dominick A. Pisano has written a classic example of a monograph, taking a narrow topic, thoroughly researching and presenting it, and drawing implications for the broader environment of the subject of study. He does a fine job of placing his topic in the context of the Franklin Roosevelt administration, the economic crisis of the Depression, and the deteriorating international scene in the late 1930s, showing how those factors interacted with the still ill-formed world of aviation to produce a program like the Civilian Pilot Training Program (CPTP).

Robert Hinckley, a quintessential New Dealer with strong ties to Harry Hopkins, provided the idea and guided it through Congress in 1939 from his position within the new Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA). (His papers also give Pisano some of his best insights.) The CPTP sought to achieve two goals, and their conflicting claims dogged the program until its demise. First, Hinckley wanted to "air-condition" the youth of America, educating them about aeronautics and training them as pilots, using colleges, universities, and existing fixed-base operators rather than building a system from scratch. His motivation was partly patriotic, for he argued that no other nation would dare attack a "three-dimensional" country with a strong air-minded populace. He was also a true believer in the gospel of aviation, anticipating a future in which the airplane was as ubiquitous as the automobile; trained pilots were critical to making that dream come true. The second function of the CPTP was to make available a pool of pilots from which the military could draw when war came. As it turned out, the military proved rather ungrateful and, growing increasingly powerful, sloughed off civilian help.

Pisano spends a chapter on what he terms the neglected field of aviation during the New Deal, then plunges into the legislative struggle to establish the CPTP in 1939. The bulk of the story deals with the struggles between the CAA and the Army Air Forces (AAF), headed by General "Hap" Arnold, who jealously guarding its growing prestige. Although the navy worked effectively with the CPTP and drastically cut its pilot dropout rate by using CPTP graduates, the AAF wanted to control its own training programs and by foot-dragging and noncooperation pretty well undermined the CPTP's chances for effective survival. Despite a two-year extension of its five-year mandate on June 30, 1944, the CPTP never won any further appropriations and died in 1946.

Pisano partially blames the CPTP's demise on the

"crucial tactical error" (p. 132) of basing the CPTP's survival on its usefulness to the military, even though he concedes that the alternative strategy of building a broad economic base would likely not have worked either in the changed world of 1944-46. The military, glad to have help in producing pilots in 1939, was calling the shots by 1944 and no longer needed civilian programs like the CPTP. As he concludes his well-written volume, "Like so much of the New Deal, it became a casualty of war."

JOHN R. M. WILSON
Southern California College

JOHN CARVER EDWARDS. *Berlin Calling: American Broadcasters in Service to the Third Reich*. New York: Praeger. 1991. Pp. x, 238. \$21.95.

During the years of Nazi rule in Germany, the Nazi Propaganda Ministry broadcast a steady stream of English-language propaganda to the United States via shortwave radio. By 1940 much of this programming attempted to support U.S. isolationism and undermine Anglo-American relations. After the U.S. entry into the war, this programming attempted to undermine U.S. morale.

John Carver Edwards chronicles the lives and propaganda activities of eight of these pro-Nazi Americans: Frederick Wilhelm Kaltenbach, Constance Drexel, Edward Delaney, Jane Anderson, Max Otto Koischwitz, Robert H. Best, Douglas Chandler, and Donald Day. Edwards attempts to determine what would motivate these Americans to abandon their country and go to work for such a reprehensible force as Nazi Germany. The strength of the volume is the immense amount of research Edwards has put into it. As such, he has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of wartime broadcasting.

The book is at times uneven, due, in part, to the vignette format. Some of the chapters are more interesting and useful than others. The discussions of Delaney and Day are the most fascinating. Delaney, a veteran of the U.S. entertainment industries and much else, would return to the United States after the war and eventually become prominent in far-Right anticommunist politics. Day, however, was the *Chicago Tribune's* Soviet correspondent in the 1920s and 1930s, before going to work for the Nazis out of his hatred for Soviet communism. Day, the brother of *Catholic Worker* founder Dorothy Day, would make for a fascinating study in his own right.

Edwards eschews developing the obvious theme of anticommunism among these Nazi sympathizers to any meaningful extent. This limits the value of the study as a work of intellectual or political history. He prefers a more psychological explanation for their treasons, one that emphasizes how these people were mostly disgruntled losers with contempt for American-style democracy. Rather than view these pro-Nazi Americans as completely out of step with U.S. politi-

cal culture at the time, I think it might be more fruitful to locate them within the long tradition of far-Right anticommunism. That was certainly how Delaney and Day viewed themselves.

Edwards is also somewhat lax in providing more detail on the nature of the Nazi shortwave operations and the extent of the U.S. listening audience for this programming. This limits the value of his study for the history of broadcasting. Nonetheless, Edwards has provided a useful study that will complement recent works by Lawrence Soley and Holly Cowan Shulman on broadcasting during World War II.

ROBERT W. MCCHESENEY
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GEORGE H. ROEDER, JR. *The Censored Wars: American Visual Experience during World War Two*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 189. \$30.00.

George H. Roeder, Jr.'s book about the ways in which the visual imagery of World War II shaped popular perceptions reminds us of how powerful an impact pictures had even before the age of television brought the Vietnam War into our homes every evening. Equally important, Roeder demonstrates how policy makers sought, by censorship and choice of subjects to be portrayed, to shape this image in keeping with specific goals they hoped to achieve. This study helps us understand how leaders of modern states can use such imagery to generate support for their wartime policies.

Both the Office of Censorship and the Office of War Information (OWI), which worked closely with film studios and advertising media, tried to give Americans a sense of participation in a common cause. This frequently meant accepting popular prejudices, as when postal censors were instructed to intercept imported images of labor or class disturbances, and by the prohibition of photos showing race riots on military bases in the South or black soldiers dancing with European women. As one might expect, imagery was used to dehumanize the enemy, who were viewed as evil (although Roeder might have mentioned that Elmer Davis, director of the OWI, made sure that the agency did not use the type of stock caricature that the World War I Committee on Public Information used to stir up anti-German frenzy).

These goals of visual propaganda could change over the course of the war. For example, in the early years, only photographs of the dead or mutilated bodies of enemy soldiers would pass the censors. Then, as public opinion polls showed increased popular complacency with the outcome of the war, American bodies could be shown, but not those bloodied or distorted by death. American troops were always whole, whether dead or alive, and manly; pictures of the "shell-shocked" were prohibited, and U.S. sol-

diers were not shown crying until late in the war, unless they were women, and then only because of outrage at the fate of a friend.

In one of the most thought-provoking sections of the book, Roeder demonstrates how pictures helped to polarize ways of seeing and reinforced the American tendency to reduce even complex matters to simple dualisms: them and us, right and wrong. For example, in a way I had never considered before, both Nazis and Holocaust victims were shown as being very different from ourselves—a distancing device—while Russians, our allies, were pictured as being just like Americans. Roeder partially attributes American disillusionment with Russian behavior after the war to this kind of censorship or photographic representation.

Only the section comparing World War II to Korea and Vietnam seems questionable. This is possibly because the author does not seem to question what a picture can and cannot do. For example, did Americans “disremember” pictures showing Vietcong atrocities because they were deluged with pictures of American atrocities, or because they had come to fear that the pictures showed them that “we” were becoming more like “them”? Or that they had simply lost patience with the exaggerated claims of American policy makers after the Tet offensive? Similarly, one might question Roeder’s contention that if Americans had seen more of the real horrors of World War II, they would have been more reluctant to engage in war in Vietnam. Despite these few caveats, Roeder has written an intriguing and useful study of this important aspect of modern warfare.

SYDNEY STAHL WEINBERG
Ramapo College of New Jersey

FRANK KOFISKY. *Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation*. New York: St. Martin’s. 1993. Pp. xi, 420. \$35.00.

The spring of 1948 was a pivotal period, not only for the administration of Harry S. Truman but also for the future course of the Cold War, at least according to Frank Kofsky. Legislation relating to the European Recovery Program, universal military training, and selective service were pending before Congress. More important, in the author’s estimation, the private aircraft industry faced imminent bankruptcy without an infusion of federal contracts.

To sway a reluctant Congress, members of the Truman administration, most notably Secretary of State George C. Marshall and Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal, exploited tensions surrounding the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia to fabricate a threat of World War III in Europe. They consciously deceived both the American public and Congress. In an exhaustive examination of intelligence reports, Kofsky traces how, despite their public statements and testimony before Congress, officials knew that

there was no immediate Soviet military threat. The Soviet Union, in no condition to mount a military offensive, posed more of a political threat. Their ploy succeeded. With the exception of universal military training—which was not expected to pass anyway—the administration got all it wanted, especially a larger defense budget that included a 57 percent increase for aircraft procurement.

According to Kofsky, the impact of this scare was devastating. In the short run, it provoked the Soviet Union, contributing to the Berlin blockade. A genuine Soviet peace overture was allowed to pass without an American response. In a bit of hyperbole, he argues that these events were the source of the deterioration of Soviet-American relations, the nuclear arms race, and the permanent American war economy that persisted into the 1980s.

In one respect, Kofsky’s work is little more than the old revisionist critique of American policy with some new documentation. Political and business elites conspired for their own ends. The Soviet Union was merely reacting to American provocations. Most of his case rests on circumstantial evidence that, although extensive, is open to more than one interpretation. Even when the author’s argument is plausible, he often stretches to make connections and leaves questions unanswered. As he admits, a good deal of policy took place behind closed doors with no records kept. “Those who scheme to mislead and delude are hardly about to leave smoking guns” (p. 85). Furthermore, Kofsky’s writing style unfortunately tends to trivialize and undermine his case. He fills the pages with distracting clichés and personal comments.

These shortcomings aside, this work deserves serious attention. Kofsky has done a massive amount of research and has uncovered some valuable material that adds to the Cold War historical record. In an appendix, he declares that his intent was not to write “the last word on the subject . . . Far from seeking to bring the discourse to a close, what I wish to do instead is suggest how it might begin” (p. 308). This book certainly is not the last word, but it does raise questions that historians must deal with.

T. MICHAEL RUDDY
Saint Louis University

MICHELE STENEHJEM GERBER. *On the Home Front: The Cold War Legacy of the Hanford Nuclear Site*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. 312. \$35.00.

The environmental consequences of the atomic age have been most dramatically apparent in the two bombs dropped at the end of World War II, in the scores of subsequent atmospheric test explosions, in the mishaps at civilian nuclear power plants, and in the long-term challenges of storing radioactive wastes from nuclear reactors. Since the gradual declassification of government documents in the mid-1980s, however, Americans have been learning more and

more about the severe and widespread environmental contamination associated with the production of nuclear weapons materials.

The first nuclear site to disclose publicly its vast chemical and radioactive pollution problems was Hanford, the plutonium production complex in southeastern Washington State. Constructed in 1943–44 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as part of the Manhattan Project, the plant was operated by the DuPont Corporation during the war and by the General Electric Company after 1946. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) enterprise at Hanford greatly expanded its operations between 1949–55 in an attempt to keep pace with the growing demand for weapons-grade material spurred by the Cold War arms race.

Michele Stenehjem Gerber's study draws from the recently declassified AEC records to detail the environmental and institutional history of the Hanford nuclear site, which is now recognized as harboring the largest collection of nuclear waste in the United States. Gerber documents the planned and accidental releases of contaminants in the air, water, and soil of the arid, wind-swept expanses of the Columbia River basin during the first twenty-five years of the plant's operation. The quantity of these secretly discarded pollutants was enormous: some thirty-two billion gallons of low-level processing wastes were discharged into the ground between 1961 and 1965 alone, for example, while the more corrosive and toxic wastes that were stored in underground tanks and pipes eventually began leaking into the region's porous soils.

Gerber provides an excellent account of the internal, bureaucratic workings of Hanford—of what was done when by whom—and of the physical migration of the various contaminants within the local environment. The ecological and human health consequences of these actions receive somewhat less insightful attention, although Gerber clearly spells out the issues and implications at stake. In a similar vein, she tends to under use the published scholarship that would have helped to provide a broader, richer context for her overall narrative. For example, she could have strengthened her analysis by explaining more fully how knowledge of the health effects of the various wastes evolved during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s; or detailing the advances in disposal technologies and techniques available at different times; or outlining how government regulations for disposing of such wastes changed over time.

This book is nevertheless a welcome contribution to the growing historiography of the Cold War. As scholars busy themselves interpreting the thousands of federal documents that are being or will soon be declassified, the questions raised by Gerber about the role of experts and of secrecy in a democracy will hopefully attract the serious attention they so earnestly deserve.

JEFFREY K. STINE
National Museum of American History
Smithsonian Institution

JOSEPH A. AMATO. *The Great Jerusalem Artichoke Circus: The Buying and Selling of the Rural American Dream*. Foreword by PAUL GRUCHOW. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993. Pp. xxxiv, 244. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$16.95.

During the years 1981–83, American Energy Farming Systems (AEFS), a corporation based in Marshall, Minnesota, promoted the Jerusalem artichoke as the new wonder crop for American agriculture. Key figures in the rise and fall of the firm were Fred Hendrickson, a ne'er-do-well attorney with visions of alternative energy sources; James Dwire, an ambitious construction contractor; and L. D. Kramer, a televangelist and nursing home entrepreneur. Into their orbit they drew a corps of grower-salesmen and not a few academic researchers. Through an amalgamation of evangelical Christian fervor with simple human acquisitiveness, the company enjoyed a remarkable take-off. Two things, however, soon brought it back to the ground. First, the promoters possessed no technology and no facilities for converting their crop into alcohol or any other profitable product. (The Jerusalem artichoke is a noxious weed, after all. Growing it is easy; marketing it is hard.) Second, the three principals were helping themselves to the company's cash. The company went into bankruptcy, and all three men were convicted of theft by swindle.

Joseph A. Amato has done a thorough and impressive job of researching and assembling the story of AEFS. He not only used the court records and other documents readily available but also gained access to personal papers and gathered scores of candid interviews. Amato has achieved an understanding of a complex group of machinations, and he writes in a vigorous, engaging style, particularly strong in characterization. The result is a praiseworthy history of some shoddy doings.

He might have done a few things better. At times the thread of narrative pulls out of the needle; the author could have drawn the story together better across chapters and eliminated some redundancies. He gives the reader little agronomic information. Just how were Jerusalem artichokes grown, anyway? He also provides little background on the growers pulled into the AEFS web. Were they upstanding farmers or flakes? And finally, he spurns the opportunity to draw on social theory for interpretation of the remarkable events he recounts. For instance, it would be interesting to apply the extensive sociological literature on grower adoption of technological innovation to the Jerusalem artichoke "circus," as Amato calls it.

Amato's interpretations and conclusions are common-sense ones. He places the Jerusalem artichoke phenomenon into the context of its times: an energy shortage, a farm crisis, an evangelical revival, a speculative decade. He disdains cheap slurs. (It would have been easy and popular to make the AEFS

promoters into a crew of Elmer Gantrys.) He takes account of simple constants such as American boosterism and human greed. He listens to his informants but does not necessarily believe them; he explains their actions but does not absolve them.

This volume shows how profitable it can be for a careful historian to inquire into recent and nearby events. This book is instructive for historians and farmers alike.

THOMAS D. ISERN
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CANADA

GREG MARQUIS. *Policing Canada's Century: A History of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 459. \$45.00.

This book lies somewhere between being a memorable work that will guide criminal-justice thinking for several generations and one of a flood of works that will appeal only temporarily to a narrow audience. Greg Marquis's book chronicles the activities of some eighty different committees or agencies involved in policing in Canada since 1800. The Canadian Association of the Chiefs of Police (CACP) forged these various police units into a political force, and its records broadly speaking serve as the data for this sizeable work. The CACP in turn worked with a large number of police organizations in Canada, many of which also come into focus from time to time.

Four major themes guide the narrative: technological change, the links between politics and the police, the drift toward professional policing, and "practical criminology," which is an "occupational response to reforms of law and of the various components of the criminal-justice system" (p. 8). As examples of technological change Marquis traces the development of criminal identification, annual reporting of national crime statistics, the emergence of the automobile and two-way radios, and the use of computers. He also explores law reform, the growth of crime and delinquency in Canada, women in policing, unionization, organized crime, drugs and crime, the growth of ethnicity, and the absence of meaningful police input into criminal law reform. These four major themes, however, are only loosely articulated individually or collectively. Moreover, much is left out that could have provided a deeper dimension to the analysis. There is little mention of the historical literature on crime or policing, the analysis of policing is largely uninformed by sociological works, and the fundamental meanings of Canadian rights and freedoms for both citizens and criminal justice are only superficially explored.

Consider, for example, the emergence of delinquency in Canadian cities during the early 1900s. In 1901, one-fifth of those convicted of indictable offenses were under sixteen years of age (about 1,140

and "several hundred" more were between sixteen and twenty-one (p. 97). We are not told that many of these young offenders were treated as adults and imprisoned as such, or that legislation enacted in 1908 was an attempt to offer them measures more appropriate to their age. This statute defined a juvenile as anyone under the age of sixteen, established probation as the preferable way for dealing with juveniles, closed juvenile trials to the public, and provided for their confinement apart from adults. Much later, when delinquents became especially difficult in the turbulent 1970s, a new law was passed in 1982 that focused on criminal violations by those over thirteen years of age and eliminated status offenders altogether. The CACP was unhappy with the new act, although it was clearly a "get tough" law patterned after statutes in the United States.

A general theme running through much of this work is the reluctance of Canadian police to accept reform in criminal justice. They opposed bail reform, curbing capital punishment, laws establishing parole or restricting electronic surveillance, the freedom of information act, and a law codifying rights and freedoms. No doubt portions of each of these statutes were flawed and deserved careful rethinking. But the opposition of law enforcement seemed geared more to furthering working conditions among Canadian police than the welfare of Canadian society. We do not see many examples here of enlightened leadership.

Histories of law enforcement should go beyond simply reporting in fine detail the activities of police associations without further interpretation. Change in city or provincial politics from above and crime from below have had major effects on police operations elsewhere and certainly deserved fuller consideration here. But most of all, broad historical works such as this might focus on the vital part police play in safeguarding civil liberties in loosely structured democratic societies.

Civil liberties are a fundamental dilemma for the police. They alone protect as well as threaten basic freedoms. Wise chiefs in a democracy know the fine line separating these two, and responsible chiefs know how to prevent a silent glide from the one to the other. For most chiefs codifying rights and freedoms should spark little anxiety. Indeed, it will only define police duties more clearly.

THEODORE N. FERDINAND
Southern Illinois University

TREVOR H. LEVERE. *Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration, 1818-1918*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 438. \$64.95.

One of the great outdoor laboratories of the nineteenth century was the Arctic archipelago, a myriad of northern islands added to the young Dominion of Canada in 1880. While teams of government scien-

tists were busy mapping, recording data, and collecting specimens in the American and Canadian wests during this period, similar research was being carried out in the northern reaches of the continent. In fact, as Trevor H. Levere ably demonstrates, this work occupied successive generations of investigators for the 100-year period from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the end of World War I.

Science was initially secondary to British arctic exploration in the early nineteenth century. Fresh from its victory over the Napoleonic forces, the Royal Navy looked to the forbidding polar regions as a kind of training ground for its officers and crews. Equally important was the still undiscovered Northwest Passage that had eluded mariners since the late sixteenth century and the prestige that would fall to the country that finally unlocked the secret. Geography was consequently the primary beneficiary of these first expeditions; any other scientific work largely dealt with navigational needs. This emphasis, according to Levere, changed by mid-century when the expedition led by Sir John Franklin went missing in 1845, touching off the most ambitious exploration of arctic waters in northern maritime history. Although the search for Franklin ironically laid the basis for the British claim to the region—it has been said that the British had to lose Franklin to do their best work—the costs associated with the rescue effort effectively discouraged the British admiralty from sponsoring any further expeditions. Scientific activity in the region, however, not only continued but also became the paramount motive for continued exploration in the following decades; Levere suggests that the great enthusiasm for scientific work was fueled in part by the data and specimens secured during the Franklin search. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, arctic field work reached unprecedented levels of activity and increasingly involved all scientific disciplines. The search for answers, however, had less to do with international cooperation and more with national rivalries: first between a restless United States and Britain and later between an anxious Canada and other foreign competitors. Indeed, Levere concludes his study by arguing that the Canadian government in the early twentieth century eagerly turned to science, in particular the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913–18), as a way to confirm sovereignty over the region, and that the pursuit of science is one way of exercising Canadian control over the Northwest Passage today.

Levere's book is the first comprehensive examination of scientific activity in the Canadian arctic islands from 1818 to 1918, and it is truly an impressive work. Drawing on a masterful understanding of the physical and natural sciences and an exhaustive reading of the various sources, Levere has produced a richly informed assessment of the motives underlying arctic science, the investigators and their activities, and the discoveries and advances. Little is overlooked. Levere is just as comfortable discussing techniques and in-

struments as he is personalities and politics. The story is also amply supplemented by maps, sketches, and photographs that nicely complement the text.

If there is one quibble, however, it is about the suggestion that the Canadian government not only relied on science to buttress the dominion's claim to the region but also that arctic science helped create a kind of northern consciousness. The simple truth of the matter is that Canada accepted the British claim to the archipelago in 1880 largely out of a desire to keep other countries out of the region. And the Canadian government was only roused from its inactivity when threatened by outside forces. Early twentieth-century Canadian interest in the northern islands, for example, was largely a reaction to the shocking Alaska boundary settlement and not the economic potential of the region; similarly, the Canadian government agreed to finance the Canadian Arctic Expedition out of fear of American sponsorship and the complications that might accompany such support.

This concern aside, Levere is to be commended for what should quickly prove to be the standard reference work on the subject. He has tackled a formidable project and produced a fine piece of scholarship on the Arctic.

W. A. WAISER

University of Saskatchewan

CARMAN CUMMING. *Secret Craft: The Journalism of Edward Farrer*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 334. \$45.00.

Edward Farrer was an Irishman who immigrated to Canada in the early 1870s. He then made his mark as one of the most brilliant journalists in nineteenth-century Canada. There is much about Farrer that is mysterious. Little is known about his early and private life, and what is known is difficult to credit because Farrer seems to have manufactured many of the facts that were in circulation during his lifetime. We do know, however, a great deal about his journalistic activities, especially at the *Toronto Mail* and the *Toronto Globe*.

Farrer was a fine and prolific writer, described by Carman Cumming as "the outstanding journalistic craftsman of the day" (p. xi). Unlike most of his contemporaries, he did not write florid and prolix articles and editorials. His prose was reasoned, subtle, and powerful, characteristics that served as perfect camouflage for opinions that were often extreme and outrageous. During his day Farrer was regarded as something of a journalistic prostitute because of his willingness to provide superb arguments on both sides of a given issue.

Farrer was a political journalist *par excellence*. For years during the latter part of the nineteenth century he produced much of Canada's finest political writing, from both the Conservative and Liberal perspec-

tives. This apparent inconsistency should not blind the reader to one consistent position that Farrer held with seeming passion, even if his reasons and motivations are obscure. Farrer was a dedicated annexationist. He wanted Canada in the American union and did not much care what mechanism was employed to achieve that end. If cultural hatreds, Anglophone versus Francophone, could lead to the breakup of Canada and annexation, then he fomented such hatreds. If a continentalist Liberal Party could do the job, then he worked in the Liberal interest. If coercion from south of the border seemed likely to work, he advocated coercion. Late in life, when he was employed by the Liberal Party, he worked internally to shift Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal government into a continentalist position.

Using a form of fairly traditional political biographical narrative, Cumming does a superb job of telling the story of Farrer. Little in the way of Farrer material survives, except, of course, a huge amount of newspaper writing. This material is supplemented by a massive amount of archival research concerning Farrer's contemporaries and their interactions with Farrer. The result is a satisfying and well-written account of a fascinating personality. New light is shed on nineteenth-century newspaper history in Canada, an area that has not received adequate attention. Here we learn much about newspaper technology, management, and personalities. More important, Farrer was instrumental in inaugurating the process that changed Canadian newspapers from party controlled organs into independent commercial operations. This volume is also a valuable addition to the literature that relates to the annexation movement and the relationship of that movement to the Liberal Party. For example, we find here what is easily the best account of Farrer's annexationist activities in 1891. This is important because when those activities were publicly exposed during the general election campaign in 1891, the result was the rejuvenation of Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservative Party. That rejuvenation probably explains why the continentalist Liberal Party lost that election. In turn, that defeat forced the Liberals to drop continentalism, which permitted the Laurier government to develop an economic policy that was both effective and successful until it reverted to continentalism in 1911.

Cumming's book is a successful biography that is pleasant to read and makes a highly useful contribution to late-nineteenth-century Canadian studies.

DONALD SWAINSON
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FRANCA IACOVETTA. *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 12.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xxix, 278. \$29.95.

Young historians contemplating a professional career in immigration and ethnic studies are keenly aware that their initial success is largely predicated on their ability to embrace the mandatory rite of passage expected of them. The ritual is complex, but its main component is a dissertation analyzing the experience of their ethnic group. And the ritual is not complete until a university press publishes the dissertation. The present book embodies the rite of passage of a young immigration historian from Canada.

Franca Iacovetta is a second-generation Italian Canadian, with a healthy, reverent, and passionate appreciation for the lives of her immigrant parents. The awareness that hers is a ritual of piety and passion does not preclude her ability to abide by the canons of rigorous research, scholarly interpretation, and lucid writing expected of those who undergo the ritual. Iacovetta emerges from the rite both as a passionate ethnic Italian and a credible scholar, no minor achievement for a second-generation ethnic woman.

As with any ritual enterprise, this one follows certain mandatory requirements, important only insofar as they provide the opportunity for introducing new, personal, and original elements into a time-honored ritual. Future historians who undergo the ritual will not be allowed into the sanctum of ethnic studies unless they show the ability to incorporate all the previously incorporated elements while showing their creative faith as well.

Iacovetta's book is a community study of Italians in Toronto, but it is much more than that. The author pays homage to the difficult life of immigrants in the Italian south before their departure, with an emphasis on social solidarity among peasants and deserved harsh words for ineffective and even oppressive formal institutions. As the bulk of Italian immigration into Toronto occurred after World War II, the process was monitored and promoted by agencies in Canada and Italy. Canada played reluctant host to southern Italians. It is questionable, however, whether the Canadian prejudice toward southern Italians was a transplant of northern Italian prejudice, as Iacovetta suggests.

Most Italians came to Canada for economic reasons. Many intended to return to Italy, although in the end they did not, a process paralleling that in the United States over half a century before. Securing a job was the main concern of most immigrants. Family life, the role of social institutions, and adaptation to the new society were all subsidiary aspects of the main drive to have a stable if not high-paying and socially glamorous job. Some of the most eloquent pages of Iacovetta's book are a tribute, both touching and rigorous, to the hard lives of the generation of her immigrant parents.

Iacovetta's original contribution to scholarship is especially evident in the chapter "From Contadina to Woman Worker." She argues with a degree of credibility that the role women played in the south,

including their economic role, has been underrated. Women were not "passive and powerless victims," but active agents both in and outside the family, with an "impressive capacity to argue, manipulate, disrupt normal routine, and generally make life miserable for men in order to achieve certain demands" (p. 83). In Toronto, where women generally followed men after a period of family separation, many of them entered the job market in low-paying manual work. By this time the host society was more open to women in the marketplace than the United States had been during its major period of Italian immigration, and the allegedly repressive patriarchal world had been undetermined even in southern Italy. Regardless of the differences between the American and Canadian experiences, Iacovetta's conclusion is most important: there was and is a difference between the real and attributed role of southern Italian women. In southern Italian culture, the male is the only recognized spokesperson for the family, but he is not the exclusive agent, and often not even the most important agent.

The celebration of a rite of passage is seldom perfect. Omissions are possible. This book has no bibliography, an error for which both Iacovetta and McGill-Queen's University Press bear responsibility. The book is a solid piece of work, both as a scholarly endeavor and as a passionate search for identity by one of the many children of immigrants who intend to spend their lives trying to understand the lives of their immigrant parents.

DINO CINEL

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LATIN AMERICA

ERROL HILL. *The Jamaican Stage 1655–1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 346.

Errol Hill's book is an extensive survey of drama in colonial Jamaica—where theater was perhaps the most prominent in British America—from the English conquest in 1655 to the end of the nineteenth century. Relying extensively on Jamaican newspapers, the author devotes meticulous attention to such topics as theater buildings, the various acting companies, Jamaican professional and amateur actors, the plays staged, the choice of repertoire, the quality of performances, the recruiting of local musicians, and the cultural impact on the audiences.

Hill identifies three streams in the development of drama in Jamaica: the early stage, when itinerant companies arriving from England, mostly via North America, performed on the island; the productions by resident amateurs who aspired to fill the cultural gap caused by the absence of professionals; and the performance elements found in the popular tradi-

tions of expression among the Afro-Caribbean laboring classes.

At the center of the author's interest is the process, begun in the last decades of the nineteenth century, of the Jamaican theater turning to African traditions of performance. The earlier period, dominated by European imports and tastes, is thus treated as a prelude to the emergence of native forms. In this phase, only European formal theater—which had little bearing on the lives of the majority of Jamaicans—was considered art, while Afro-Caribbean informal enactments, rooted in the community's traditions, were seen as mere folkways. In the 1840s, even those who fought for the liberation of slaves wanted to suppress these folkways because they were seen as an obstacle to the progress of civilization, meaning Europeanization.

The book is a fascinating study of cultural plurality and interactions. Hill searches for the common points between European and Afro-Jamaican performance traditions by reaching to the origins of the theater in both cultures, such as, for instance, storytelling. He devotes much space to the performance-oriented activities of the black underclass, both slave and free, expressive of customs and religious traditions: playing percussion instruments, improvising songs, and performing masquerades, dance, and pantomime. These forms, after emancipation, gradually led to the creolizing of African folkways into a new, more authentically Jamaican product.

Since this is an ongoing process, Hill ends with a section devoted to the perspective of the emergence of an indigenous Caribbean drama, with its own identity, a process he sees as parallel to the struggles for national identity of its peoples. He suggests that native dramatists use the existing substantial body of Afro-Caribbean traditions capable of responding to the cultural needs of the people but stresses two elements that culturally unify these people: the experience of black enslavement and the acculturation by Europeans. Pointing out that it was from such cultural fusion that Derek Walcott's and Sylvia Wynter's plays emerged, Hill encourages the Caribbean theater to find its own authentic voice and idiom grounded in these traditions.

The shortcomings of the book are very minor. Hill's concept of drama is justifiably broad; some readers, however, might have doubts about his linking of the concept of the origin of drama as a rite asserting the well-being of a tribe to the view of drama represented by Hamlet; similarly, his insistence on the ties between shamanism and modern theater lacks documentation.

This well-written and valuable monograph adds much to our knowledge and understanding of Caribbean culture and confirms Hill as one of the leading authorities in this field.

MICHAL J. ROZBICKI
Saint Louis University

JOSÉ M. HERNÁNDEZ. *Cuba and the United States: Intervention and Militarism, 1868–1933*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 266. \$37.50.

Perhaps no era in Cuban history is more obscured by stereotypes and myths than the struggle for independence in the last third of the nineteenth century, and for the republic of the first third of the twentieth. The reasons for the paucity of first-rate historical studies of these years, José M. Hernández argues, are only partially explained by the limitations Cuban authorities have placed on the investigator. Far too many Cuban (and even foreign) historians subscribe to the myth of national liberation and the parallel faith in a pantheon of heroes who fought a glorious campaign and achieved the independence that fell victim to the machinations of U.S. imperialists and their Cuban lackeys. Just as wrongheaded are those Cubans and North Americans who believe that the U.S. intrusion retarded the militarism that ultimately befell the republic after the aborted revolution of 1933 and the rise of Fulgencio Batista.

The making of Cuban militarism is much more complicated. Some Cuban revolutionaries were haunted by the knowledge of the militarism that occurred in independent Spanish America. Their intention, brilliantly articulated by José Martí, was an independent Cuba where the military was subservient to civilian authority, even in wartime. Nationalistic Cuban historians have generally argued that the United States imposed the militaristic tradition on the country. In reality, Hernández contends, had Cubans been free to shape their own destiny, they would have chosen not a government of "consent but military power" (p. 59). Publicly, the liberators professed magnanimity to the defeated and faith in civilian rule, but they coveted what Spanish America's military victors had achieved decades before: power.

How they went about getting it and how the U.S. government abetted their cause even as it disbanded their army, gave jobs to their enemies, placed their political opponents in power, and imposed a second military government to forestall their forcible seizure of power constitute the substance of this book. Six of the eight chapters deal with the critical decade commencing with U.S. intervention in the war. In the aftermath of the second occupation, the liberators gained power and patronage. With tacit U.S. approval, they implanted militarism in the Cuban polity.

Neither nationalistic Cuban historians nor apologists for the U.S. intrusion will agree with Hernández's single-minded preoccupation with the origins of Cuban militarism. That Cuban liberators pursued the spoils of war with the same determination as independent Spanish America's first generation of rulers is undeniable. The Cubans' circumstances in the formative years of independence, as Louis A. Pérez, Jr., has so amply documented, displayed one fundamental difference: the intrusive presence of the United States, a reality that called on their consider-

able adaptive capabilities. If Cuban militarism served U.S. interests, it also enabled Cuba's artful and conniving veterans to survive, prosper, and, it can be argued, outwit those North Americans who arrogantly presumed to guide them.

LESTER D. LANGLEY
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ROBERT M. LEVINE. *Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. xvii, 398. \$34.95.

This is a richly detailed book that chronicles the successive waves of Jews from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Germany that flowed into and through Cuba during the twentieth century. The immigration was prompted by pogroms, anti-Semitism, economics, and the Holocaust, and was aided by the relatively relaxed and easily corruptible immigration procedures of the island nation. As a result, Cuba became a refuge for Jews in times of crisis. By interweaving the Jewish experience in Cuba with the island's turbulent history, Robert M. Levine reflects not only on the Jewish diaspora but also on the arduous task of building a nation in the face of a constant flow of immigrants, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Interestingly, the concomitant growth of Cuban nationalism did not generate ferocious opposition to immigrants, although the former did provide Fidel Castro with an effective tool to unify Cubans in a revolutionary project that precipitated another exodus after 1959.

Jewish immigration to Cuba intensified in the early twentieth century and by 1910 three communities had emerged—Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, French and Ladino-speaking Sephardim, and English-speaking Jews from the United States. They were joined in the 1930s by German Jews and in the 1940s by approximately 600 concentration camp survivors and displaced persons. Linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural differences militated against the emergence of a unified Jewish community. In addition, a high percentage of the Jews reaching Cuba, especially in the 1930s, regarded it as a way station on their voyage to the United States. Those who stayed in Cuba both before and after this period were generally Ashkenazim, many of whom migrated to rural towns and villages where the pressures to assimilate were greater than in Havana.

The Sephardim were more likely to cluster in Havana, and by the 1950s they had achieved a degree of economic stability. American Jews were primarily industrialists, developers, financiers, sugar entrepreneurs, and department store owners, who socialized more with Cuban elites than with other Jews. Levine estimates that by 1950 there were 300 Jewish-owned businesses in Cuba, 60 percent of which sold fabric or ready-made clothes. Many of these businesses evolved from family operations that in the 1920s and 1930s

produced goods at home that undercut the prices of comparable items imported from the United States. As such enterprises expanded they provided jobs for newer Jewish immigrants, in spite of efforts such as an immigration law passed in 1933 that required 50 percent of all employees of any enterprise to be Cuban-born.

The 1930s also witnessed the emergence of groups linked to European falangists and fascists that encouraged anti-Jewish sentiment, promoting the image of Jews as leftists and Communists. An attempt in 1936 to organize the Jewish communities to combat anti-Semitism failed, according to Levine, largely because of historic divisions among the communities. Anti-Jewish propaganda, together with unemployment and internal Cuban government politics contributed to Cuba's refusal in 1939 to admit 937 refugees aboard the USS *St. Louis*, causing them to be returned to Europe where some died in concentration camps. Levine highlights the failure of the United States in this episode, and in other instances, to respond effectively to the Holocaust. That same year Cuba outlawed the Nazi and fascist parties and moved against an extensive German spy network.

Although anti-Semitism grew in the late 1940s, according to Levine it was never a major factor in Cuba. He also does not regard it as important in the rupture of relations between Cuba and Israel in 1973 and Cuba's subsequent championing of a United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism. Rather, Levine concludes that Castro's motives were aimed at increasing Cuba's influence with the Islamic nations and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Pragmatism again appears to have dictated Castro's discreet overtures to Israel in 1990 as part of the effort to cope with Cuba's economic dislocation in the face of the loss of Soviet aid.

Nevertheless, the policies of the Castro government caused a massive exodus of Jews from Cuba after 1959. Levine estimates that, at the outset of the revolution, between eleven and fourteen thousand Jews resided in Cuba. By 1963 the number was 2,586 and by 1990 only 305, the majority of whom were over sixty years old.

Levine deftly chronicles multiple diasporas to and from Cuba over a period of 100 years. As a maritime and commercial entrepôt nestled close to the United States and with relatively lax immigration regulations, Cuba was a logical destination for Jews fleeing repression and economic hardship. Levine also amply illustrates the impact of Cuba's lush tropicality and Afro-Caribbean culture on the new arrivals. Although the Jewish immigrants tended to retain their cultural identity, they were open to Cuban influences. Jewish literature recorded the immigrant experience in Cuba in generally positive terms, as does Levine.

The strength of the book lies in the extensive research that links the daily lives of individuals to major events in Cuba, the United States, and Europe. Levine has a talent for writing history without losing

sight of intimate details that cause the book to be infused with a warm humanity.

The richness of the data causes the reader to wish that the author had drawn more comparisons to other migrations. One also wishes that Levine had explored further the theoretical implications of multiple identities within immigrant communities on cohesion and political and economic mobilization, or the lack of it. Although the Jewish communities never blended into one, they did have strong cultural, ethnic, and religious identities that allowed them to work together for their mutual benefit in times of crisis. This helped make the Jewish immigrant experience in Cuba somewhat less onerous than comparable cases. It also suggests factors that cause some immigrant communities to be highly resilient in other cultures without losing their own identities. Given the upsurge of international migration and studies of it in the late twentieth century, further exploration of the implications of Levine's case study is clearly warranted.

MARGARET E. CRAHAN
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ROBERT E. QUIRK. *Fidel Castro*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. xiii, 898. \$35.00.

For thirty-five years Fidel Castro has haunted the United States: a breathing, living reminder of the limits of U.S. power. Not a pleasant presence, to be sure, one to which North Americans have had a great deal of difficulty accommodating themselves and, it seems increasingly clear, one to which North Americans may never reconcile themselves.

Cultures cope with the demons that torment them in different ways and, indeed, the practice of exorcism assumes many forms. Fidel occupies a place of almost singular distinction in that nether world to which the United States banishes its demons. He is the man North Americans love to hate: political conflict personalized, loaded with Manichean insinuations, frustrations of decades of unsuccessful attempts to force Cuba to bend to U.S. will vented on one man. Robert E. Quirk may pronounce on the last page of his massive biography that Fidel Castro "has become irrelevant," but obviously Quirk's publisher does not believe so. Neither does the History Book Club, which chose the biography as one of its monthly selections in 1993. And in that most remorseless measure of public interest, the marketplace, Fidel Castro apparently still sells books.

If sales mean anything at all, then it is clear that fear and loathing of Fidel run deep and wide indeed. Fidel Castro has been a veritable cottage industry in the United States. Few heads of state have been the subject of more biographies during their lifetime than Fidel Castro, something all the more astonishing considering that the country over which he presides is hardly more than the size of Florida, with a popula-

tion of 10 million people. Biographies have been written by academics, journalists, and at least one psychiatrist. Two biographies were marketed as "juvenile literature." There is a study of "the early Fidel," Fidel in prison, and Fidel's "final hour."

Nor is the fascination with Fidel limited to biographies. *Playboy* magazine has published at least two feature interviews with the Cuban leader. Then there is Fidel in fiction: an "unauthorized autobiography," a play, and, the ultimate fantasy stuff, "Fidel Castro assassinated" and a "bullet for Fidel." He was once featured on the old Mike Wallace television series "Biography" and has been interviewed on a number of occasions on "prime-time" television by Lisa Howard, Maria Shriver, Barbara Walters, Ted Turner, and Diane Sawyer.

Taken in the aggregate, the fixation on Fidel approaches something of an obsession. He is reviled and vilified, denied any saving graces or redemptive qualities. For some he is evil, to others he is a madman, a megalomaniac, a menace. Not all the biographies share these views, of course, but in the main these are the principal elements of the Fidel genre.

Quirk's biography fits squarely in this genre. He accomplishes the task with the skill of a scholar and the eye of the historian, thereby raising the genre to a higher level of erudition and rigor. Quirk begins his assault against Fidel the child, and Quirk's young Fidel is a nasty piece of work indeed. He was a sore loser, "spoiled," and given to "rude language" and "vulgarity" (pp. 5-6). He was "strong and aggressive," with "a mercurial temper," susceptible to "tantrums," with few "real friends," and he "never had a girlfriend" (pp. 12-13, 15).

This may strike some as all too psychological, but Quirk has a larger purpose: the faults of the boy develop into the flaws of the man. "Like Peter Pan, the young Fidel Castro had not wanted to grow up, and as an adult he never quite put behind him the nature and habits of the child" (p. 16). Fidel was "never an original, creative thinker" (p. 21). Ernesto "Che" Guevara—not Fidel Castro—was the real force behind the July 26 movement. Fidel showed "no inclination to take risks," was prone to procrastination, did not like to think about "practical problems," and could not "make difficult decisions" (pp. 161, 165).

Quirk's Fidel in power is worse. When a problem "seemed too formidable, he ran away from it" (p. 232). He was "unable to discipline himself" (p. 254). Fidel the boy "spent hours he should have devoted to his homework manipulating toy soldiers through make-believe engagements"; Fidel the man later "deployed the country's work force as though it were a vast army" (p. 635). (What is Quirk suggesting: had Fidel only done his homework he might have grown up to do something really useful with his life?) During the late 1980s, as conditions in Cuba worsened, Fidel fled the capital to get "away from the unpleasant duties of the president's office" (p. 827).

This is a breathtaking indictment. True to the

genre, Quirk's Fidel Castro has no redeeming qualities, and in proclaiming that Fidel "has become irrelevant," Quirk delivers the *coup de grâce*: Fidel Castro is a non-entity, he does not exist. The exorcism is complete.

Would that it were all so simple. That Quirk's book lacks balance is not surprising. That it lacks perspective is startling. If Fidel is now "irrelevant," was he ever "relevant"? Ironically, the years during which Castro is especially susceptible to criticism—the last ten years—are hardly treated at all. One of the more unedifying aspects of this 898-page book is the meager attention given to the post-1970 period. The first eleven years of Fidel in power account for 500 pages; the last twenty-three years are treated in fewer than 150 pages, much of which is less biography than narrative on Cuban domestic conditions and foreign policy.

All of this suggests, of course, that possibilities exist for yet more Fidel biographies to come. He will no doubt continue to cast a spell over North Americans. It may be that the spell must be broken before one can reasonably expect balanced biographies, but perhaps when the spell is broken Fidel will no longer sell books.

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.
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VIRGINIA GUEDEA. *En busca de un gobierno alterno: Los Guadalupe de México*. (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie Historia Novohispana, number 46.) Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1992. Pp. 412.

The Guadalupe, a clandestine political organization based in Mexico City during the Hidalgo and Morelos revolts in the early nineteenth century, were led by a cadre drawn from the highest levels of Creole society in New Spain. The *Ayuntamiento* (city council) of Mexico City, along with the *Colegio de Abogados* (lawyers' guild), provided the principal, formal institutional settings for the intrigues of the Guadalupe, whose primary purpose was to give Mexico City elites the ability to communicate with and to influence the rebel insurgencies that raged outside of the capital between 1810 and 1814. The Guadalupe organized their efforts around existing networks of social relations: family, friends, lovers, clients, and employees. Social gatherings (*tertulias*), family reunions, and other such meetings enabled conspirators and their auxiliaries to evade government surveillance and to plan and execute their missions. Women such as Leona Vicario and Antonia Peña played central roles in preparing, dispatching, and receiving correspondence between the Guadalupe and insurgent leaders such as Ignacio López Rayón and José María Morelos. This included the preparation of a daily report describing all events of interest and significance in

Mexico City such as troop movements and political developments. By arranging safe and secret passage out of the capital, the Guadalupe facilitated the defection of individuals who sought to join these insurgencies. The organization then saw to the welfare of families left behind in Mexico City. The Guadalupe smuggled printing presses to insurgents, who were usually much less able than royalists to disseminate their political program through the print media. By conspiring to ensure the triumph of Creoles in the *Ayuntamiento* and other elections held in Mexico City between 1812 and 1814, the Guadalupe also functioned as a primitive political party.

The success of the Guadalupe as a secret organization makes the writing of their history an especially difficult task. Indeed, viceregal authorities only discovered the organization after correspondence kept in the archives of insurgents was captured following the defeat of Rayón in 1812 and Morelos in 1814. Virginia Guedea makes good use of documents scattered among such diverse archives as the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, and the García Papers in the Benson Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Although many tantalizing questions about the Guadalupe remain unanswered, her study represents a significant advance over the more tentative works of Wilbert H. Timmons and Ernesto de la Torre on this same theme. If this book exhibits any deficiencies, it lies in Guedea's failure to demonstrate more precisely and more convincingly that the Guadalupe did seek "un gobierno alterno," an "autonomist" solution to Mexico's political crisis in the early nineteenth century. Also missing is an effort to tie this analysis of the Guadalupe concretely to the broader literature and body of theory that relates the workings of these kinds of secret political societies to state-building and political modernization processes. Even if the purpose (and the meaning) of the Guadalupe remains murky, advanced students and scholars of late-colonial and early national Mexico will still find this to be useful and interesting reading. Taken together with other works on late-colonial Mexico City elites such as those by Doris Ladd (*The Mexican Nobility at Independence* [1976]) and John Kicza (*Colonial Entrepreneurs* [1983]), this study of the Guadalupe contributes to a fuller appreciation of the complexity and resourcefulness of Creole elites and the kin and clan networks they maintained during the era of independence.

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HELEN DELPAR. *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 274. \$38.95.

Helen Delpar here explores the cultural relations between the United States and Mexico in the period 1920–35, immediately after the Mexican Revolution. This interesting overview divides the period into two phases. The first, 1920–27, is one in which the focus of U.S. intellectuals on Mexico was largely political; the social achievements or potential achievements of the new governments took precedence over other developments. During the second, 1927–35, art, literature, and culture generally became more significant. Delpar further divides her study into three major themes: Native Americans, Mexican art, and cultural exchange in the areas of literature, music, and the performing arts.

Delpar ranges widely if not deeply through the numbers of Americans, faced with the increasing industrialization in their own country, who sought in Mexico a deeper connection with the natural world. Interested in the new Mexican emphasis on *indigenismo* fostered by postrevolutionary governments, and intrigued by a country in which almost two million people spoke a native tongue as their first language, U.S. intellectuals found Mexico an attractive arena of study. Anthropologists and archaeologists joined Mexican scholars such as Manuel Gamio in the exploration of the Mexican indigenous world, both present and past. Gamio, trained at Columbia University, was at times a reverse migrant, coming to the United States to gain intellectual tools with which to explore his own country. Indeed, Delpar's study includes important sections on the ways in which Mexican artists, intellectuals, and scholars came to the United States and interacted with their counterparts north of the border in encouraging the "vogue of things Mexican."

A particularly intriguing part of the story involves the influence of Mexican government policies toward the country's indigenous population on John Collier. Collier toured some of Mexico's most remote areas in 1930 and made several other visits south of the border. In 1933, he was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs in the United States, and developments he had observed in Mexican policy and practice influenced his own thinking. He was intrigued by the ways in which land reform had affected indigenous communities and liked to point out that "Mexico and Canada had given their Indian populations educational opportunities and the right to live as they chose" (p. 123). He maintained ties with Moisés Sáenz, head of Mexico's Dirección de Antropología and later of the Inter-American Institute of the Indian in Mexico City. Although Mexico's policies did not prove universally popular with Native Americans north of the border, that Collier was influenced in his policies and attitudes by the Mexican experience is indisputable.

Although the organization of the book occasionally leads to repetition, it is both readable and interesting. It will stand as an excellent guide for those who wish to study further the fruitful intellectual, artistic, and

occasional policy interchanges between the two countries.

LINDA B. HALL
University of New Mexico

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR. *Rafael Carrera and the Emergence of the Republic of Guatemala, 1821–1871*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 630. \$65.00.

This massive study is the result of over two decades of research into the life and times of one of Guatemala's and Central America's most enduring and legendary strongman rulers. Rafael Carrera was an illiterate mestizo who rose to lead a complex peasant rebellion against Liberal rule in Guatemala in 1838–39 and ended up as the master of most Central American political conflicts for an entire generation, before his death in 1865.

Something of an embarrassment to Guatemala's Liberal intellectual traditions and historiography, this arch-Catholic "Life President" was long vilified by the cultural and social elite of his own country. His figure began its long road back to respectability in the mid-1960s, however, with critical work by Guatemalans, and then ever more favorable treatments by a handful of foreign historians, first Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., himself in an important article from the early 1970s, and later as a heroic man of the people in E. Bradford Burns's synthetic treatment of nineteenth-century Latin America (*The Poverty of Progress* [1980]). In the present work, Carrera has found his most capable interpreter, if not the redeemer some may have hoped for.

The book, as befits a text of nearly 600 pages, is actually three stories in one: the Liberal/Conservative conflict of the 1820s and 1830s that opened the way for Carrera's rise; the era of his rule from 1839 to 1865, culminating in the Liberal revolution in 1871; and a broad treatment of social and economic trends during this second, mid-century period. The basic outlines of part 1 were perhaps best known earlier, while Woodward's novel contributions in parts 2 and 3 are more evident. In assessing the nature of Carrera's rule, as well as in the excellent conclusion, the author is careful to distance himself from both the "neo-populist" view of Carrera as defender of the poor and the Liberal dismissal of him as a mere tool of arch-Conservative "obscurantism." He shows how adept the dictator was at using "moderate Liberal" support to balance his better-known relationship to the church and Conservative political figures, and how much some of his policies came to resemble Liberal initiatives of the late 1860s and early 1870s. He also shows that perhaps Carrera's greatest legacy and innovation was to be found in his institutionalization of the central political role of an army whose officer corps came out of nonelite social circles, a

pattern that would live on long after the strongman's disappearance.

The third section, although departing from the political narrative line employed earlier, includes an extraordinary array of documentary evidence, not all clearly related to the biographical focus, of course, but useful to those in search of broader social and economic themes. Whether commodity price data, export levels, government tax revenues, or salary levels of public employees, the material is gathered together here for the first time and will no doubt prove key for the work of historians of nineteenth-century Guatemala in the future. Some readers, however, may find this section difficult. In addition, the political narrative of the first two parts is heavily laden with extensive sections of would-be participant or "eyewitness" accounts, taken from the published combatants/politicians/historians. Quite beyond the questions of textual length or reliability, given that the vast majority were partisan and occasionally rabid Liberals, the way these materials are used here suggests a certain earlier historical or biographical style of writing that not all readers will feel comfortable with analytically.

Woodward has presented the field with all that is known, and perhaps knowable, about the figure of Rafael Carrera. His even greater achievement is to show how the political process overseen by Carrera laid the basis for a new Guatemalan state, neither the throwback to colonial times nor the great leap forward to direct popular democracy suggested by the more partisan accounts, but rather one whose mixed bag of virtues and vices would be built on even by those who, at the time and thereafter, held the "Life President" in the greatest contempt.

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KNUT WALTER. *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza 1936–1956*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 303. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

In this book, Knut Walter subordinates the usual biographical data on Anastasio Somoza in order to concentrate on his role in shaping Nicaraguan political institutions. The caudillo strengthened the institutions of state, particularly the Guardia Nacional, and concentrated effective power in the hands of the executive, himself. According to Walter, Somoza enforced peace and order and promoted exports, all to the delight of the elites. Those achievements echoed the positivist programs of nineteenth and early twentieth-century caudillos throughout most of Latin America. Indeed, Somoza may well have been the last Latin American positivist chief of state. Walter does not say so. He virtually neglects comparative history. When he does make a rare foray into it, comparing Somoza to Lázaro Cárdenas and Getúlio Vargas for

example, he probably creates more confusion than clarification. Greater attention to comparative history would have deepened the understanding of Somoza and Nicaragua's experience with him, while at the same time providing an opportunity to include analysis and conceptualization.

This chronological, narrative history focuses on three periods: 1937–43, during which Somoza defined his relationships with capitalists, labor, the traditional political parties, and any opposition; 1944–47, a period of crises and the reconstruction of a political coalition; and 1947–56, the cooption of the Conservative Party and an emphasis on a more dynamic export-oriented economy. The third period witnessed an export boom, which Walter characterizes as “typical of a capitalist export economy that responded principally to stimuli from abroad” (p. 204). The Somoza family, the elite, and the minuscule, fledgling middle class benefited. In other words, some economic growth occurred but little economic development was apparent, if one believes that development embraces the economic well-being of a majority of the citizens.

The author rarely refers to the population at large. At one point he summarily dismisses it with this curious conclusion: “There existed no desire or respect for property among the lower classes” (p. 20). My own understanding of the Nicaraguan past differs. Peasants and folk communities were extremely desirous and protective of property. Litigation, rebellion, and resistance amply testify to their sensitivity to property issues.

The author concludes, “It is my contention that the Somocista regime laid the foundation of the modern Nicaraguan state by implementing a number of important changes in the Nicaraguan political system” (p. xvii). Subsequent Nicaraguan history seems to challenge his conclusion. Any historical debate would require a definition of the murky adjective “modern” and an explanation of the caudillo's proclivity to behave like a “traditional” patriarch. After all, Somoza enjoyed referring to himself as “father” (p. 215). Is it possible to amalgamate politically the patriarchal with the “modern”? The question thus becomes, did Somoza lay the foundation of the modern state or did he strengthen the foundation of the traditional (and patriarchal) state? And then there would be the devil's advocate to suggest that a legacy of the “Somocista regime” might have been to return Nicaragua to its pre-1858 anarchy.

Walter's book provokes thought. The relatively detached and impartial view of so controversial a figure as Anastasio Somoza, the wealth of detail, the organization of the text, and the clear writing commend the book.

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STEVE ELLNER. *Organized Labor in Venezuela 1958–1991: Behavior and Concerns in a Democratic Setting.* (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 247. \$40.00.

This book is certainly the best work on the modern Venezuelan labor movement to date. Steve Ellner examines the role of organized labor from 1958 to 1991. The first three chapters present a historical overview of the movement during the period under examination. They show how Acción Democrática (AD), Venezuela's largest political party for most of the period, managed to control labor despite frequent challenges from other groups, most notably the Social Christian Party (COPEI). Subsequent chapters focus on the Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela (CTV), the country's most important labor confederation, examining its functioning, its ideology and international relations, its efforts to establish forms of worker control, and the formulation and implementation of labor legislation. Two chapters treat the oil, steel, and textile industries.

Ellner's arguments rest both on an examination of the labor press and secondary works and on numerous interviews with labor leaders. Thus, frequent quotes illustrate specific points. He carries on a vigorous dialogue in the footnotes and the text with other students of Venezuelan labor. In addition, he makes constant reference to books about Latin American labor movements for comparative purposes.

Ellner's most important contribution probably consists of his strong challenge to standard arguments about Venezuelan “exceptionalism.” According to those who back this position, political stability in that country can be largely accounted for by solid labor support for the democratic process. For example, Venezuela is one of the few Latin American nations not to experience a repressive military dictatorship in the past few decades, and it has maintained a pluralistic electoral system where opposition parties have been able to win elections. Oil prosperity has allowed governments to provide for a relatively high standard of living for workers in general and organized labor in particular.

Ellner strongly rebuts this line of argument. He cites the fact that real tensions exist beneath the surface of apparently smooth labor-government-system harmony. He firmly emphasizes that the crisis of the late 1980s has broken many of the old-time alliances that existed in the previous two decades. Although not denying that oil prosperity had an important influence on keeping relative labor peace until the late 1980s, he holds that conditions have changed. Furthermore, he shows that labor's supposed influence on government policy has been largely theoretical, and real input into fundamental decisions has either not existed or resulted in few truly meaningful advances for the working class as a whole.

Why then have forces more progressive than the

right-of-center AD not taken control of the labor movement or at least the CTV? First, repression has taken a decided toll. Second, when the going got tough in the 1980s, Causa-R, a militant and radical movement based in the steel industry, quickly emerged. The fact that its candidate finished third in the recent presidential elections indicates that the old forms are breaking down.

Ellner's study will prove of interest to scholars of Latin American labor. It is a carefully crafted piece of work. The staggering detail that the author has gathered may daunt some readers, but it clearly shows the amount of research that he has done. This book no doubt will stand as a major statement about the Venezuelan labor movement in the past thirty years.

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HILDA SABATO and LUIS ALBERTO ROMERO. *Los trabajadores de Buenos Aires: La experiencia del mercado, 1859-1880*. (Colección historia y cultura.) Buenos Aires: Sudamericana. 1992. Pp. 284.

During the past two decades, scholars have produced a substantial body of innovative work on Argentine working-class and labor history. For the most part, however, research in this area has generally focused on the experience of the Argentine workers in the post-1880 period. Now Argentine historians Hilda Sabato and Luis Alberto Romero have given us a rich and engaging study of Buenos Aires' rural and urban workers between 1850 and 1880, the crucial period of Argentina's transformation from a postcolonial to an integrated, modern, export-driven capitalist economy. The authors trace the evolution of the Buenos Aires economy during that period in order to understand how a free and unified labor market—a prerequisite component in the construction of capitalism in the Argentine littoral—was created. They demonstrate how, with the active participation of the state, an anarchic, precapitalist, and semi-capitalist labor market was transformed into a stable, geographically mobile, and occupationally adaptable "free" capitalist labor market. Throughout the study, Sabato and Romero remind us that a labor market is composed of flesh-and-blood human beings. They therefore painstakingly detail the profound social consequences wrought by the creation of this labor market, revealing how the daily working lives of both rural and urban working men and women were transformed.

The work's nine chapters are organized into four broad sections. The first section provides a detailed analysis of Buenos Aires province's evolving demographic, production, and occupational structures; the second profiles the transformation of the Buenos Aires labor market; the third section investigates the

relationship of workers to that market giving special attention to the varieties of labor contract forms imposed by and the skills required by Argentina's expanding agro-export capitalist economy; the final section presents a portrait of the working life of a broad cross section of Buenos Aires workers.

The many issues the authors address include questions about the ethnic and national origins of rural and urban workers, how individuals were linked to the labor market, how work was organized, as well as "what possibilities [workers] had to achieve and conserve their autonomy" (p. 7). Sabato and Romero acknowledge that, for the most part, they are not formulating new approaches or questions; rather, they rightly claim that their principal contribution comes by virtue of directing these questions to a period of Argentine history that has been sorely neglected in the main body of Argentine labor and working-class historical study.

The authors paint a picture of a vigorously evolving pre-1880 economy that was nevertheless dependent on a labor force deemed to be both scarce and undependable by the Buenos Aires elites. Consequently, the government and propertied classes embarked on a variety of collaborative efforts to enlarge, channel, and discipline the work force into Argentina's expanding agrarian export capitalist economy. Using an impressive array of sources (including police records, correspondence, memoirs, and travelers' accounts), the authors document how the process of constructing Argentina's capitalist labor market was rife with violence and coercion. Sabato and Romero chronicle the process through which Buenos Aires' workers—both in the city and *campo* as well as immigrant and *criollo*—had by 1880 been increasingly proletarianized, homogenized, subject to static and often declining wages, and increasingly divested of personal autonomy.

Despite the work's title, it offers much more than a history narrowly focused on the labor market. It provides a solid summary of Argentina's mid-nineteenth-century economic and social evolution, exploring the complex interdependence of urban and rural society as well as the interplay of the domestic and international economy. From their sober demystification of gaucho life to their portraits of urban female domestic laborers, from an analysis of the dynamics of the supply and demand in the urban labor market to a description of the division of labor on a provincial sheep farm, the authors greatly enhance our understanding of the crucible of forces that coalesced and drove Argentina's mid-nineteenth-century development.

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DAVID ROCK. *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact*. Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 320. \$35.00.

Despite its title, this book does not purport to analyze the political system of Argentina or its anchorage in the country's social structure. It is instead a description of the Argentine nationalist Right. "Authoritarian Argentina" is thus a bit of a misnomer. The book's subtitle is more precise. This quibble aside, David Rock's study is thorough, meticulous, and remarkably balanced. There are other studies of the nationalist movement, its protagonists, and their ideas, but only this one spans a full 100 years, from the 1880s to the present day. In it the reader will find a complete description of a strictly reactionary and defensive set of ideas that stirred the passions of small but influential groups of intellectuals and political activists along several generations.

The intellectual components of Argentine nationalism are partly imported and partly homespun. Rock shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that, contrary to common misconceptions about the proto and neo-Nazi hues of the Argentine authoritarian Right, the foreign ideological input came from Latin Europe: primarily from Spain and France, and secondarily from Italy and Portugal. The oldest and longest shadows were cast by Juan Francisco Donoso Cortés, Joseph-Marie de Maistre, and Louis-Gabriel-Ambroise de Bonald. More recently, the main inspiration came from Charles Maurras. At home, the main sources are the patriarchal structures of the provinces and the colonial mores of hispanidad. Native and foreign sources have militant, counterreformist Catholicism as their common thread. Reading Rock's well-crafted account, it is possible to conclude that the nationalist movement has three marked and seemingly contradictory characteristics: persistence, marginality, and influence beyond its bounds.

Of the three features, marginality is the one that, at face value, makes the most sense. After all, Argentina underwent a process of rapid and massive change; urbanization, economic growth, and immigration are processes that normally bring along more secular, tolerant, diverse, egalitarian, and democratic points of view. Nativist, fundamentalist, religious, elitist, and authoritarian doctrines are but the wailing cry of groups on whom history is about to roll. Such would be the expectation of modernization theories. But the riddle of Argentina is that events did not turn out that way. Instead of a linear, progressive, and ultimately unstoppable process of development, Argentina had fitful spurts, repeated crises, and reversals. As a consequence, reactionary ideas were offered the opportunity, time and again, to reemerge. Their spawning grounds were, and remain, the severe design failures in the economic and political structures. Reactionary nationalism found an echo in total institutions like the army and the church. But it met its limits and counterpoints in the open and modern nature of Argentine society itself.

The checkered history of the interactions between Argentine society—modern, dynamic, with a remarkable capacity for rapid mobilization—and the Argentine state—in both its democratic and authoritarian modes—reveals a serious gap: the absence of mediating political institutions capable of articulating and composing social demands in a rational, sustained way and, above all, able to process and modulate conflict. These mediating institutions, which are at the very core of mature democratic systems, were in Argentina, time and again, avoided, circumvented, or summarily dismissed. Modern Argentina thus became a nation of movements rather than of parties, movements that sought to displace each other totally and to swamp the machinery of the state. Slowly but steadily, modern historians—and social scientists as well—are attempting to provide a satisfactory answer to that riddle. Rock's book is a milestone in this process. He provides most of the answers that a historian may wish to seek about a movement and an ideology that are, when seen in the light of comparative politics and theoretical sociology, quite perverse. The term is not at all "value neutral," but it is more than a subjective judgment. The influence of right-wing nationalism in the political culture of Argentina has been large, destructive, and debilitating. What is remarkable about this study is the way Rock combines dispassionate precision with a refusal to mince words. The book completes, supplements, and corrects other good studies on the subject, notably Sandra McGee Deutsch's analysis of the Argentine Patriotic League (*Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900–1932* [1986]) and Cristian Buchrucker's work on nationalism and Peronism from 1927 to 1955 (*Nacionalismo y Peronismo: La Argentina en la crisis ideológica mundial* [1987]).

Rock locates the origins of the nationalist movement and deploys its main set of ideas. He then proceeds to study the ideologues and their coteries and sects. Finally, he tackles the larger issues pertaining to the influence and persistence of such groups and ideas to this day. In my opinion, the single most valuable contribution lies in Rock's effort to link the more remote authoritarian tribes to the horrors of recent Argentine history. Insofar as Argentina has not yet solved the core problems of institutional and political mediation, Rock's book is more than a superb piece of scholarship: it is a warning, and a diagnostic tool as well.

The documentation is impressive throughout and the text is generally free of inconsistencies and mistakes. There are only occasional and minor ambiguities or errors of attribution, visible only to the overly zealous or pedantic eye. Thus, rank traditionalists are credited, in the early years of the century, with a nostalgic view that, in truth, belongs to a liberal cosmopolitan in a moment of disillusionment: Miguel Cané (p. 52). Charles Maurras, and not Maurice Barrès, is said to first promote the word *métèque* in French political discourse (p. 19). Finally, the complex and fertile thought of Carl Schmitt (whose

flirting with the Nazis was quite brief, and whose influence extended to such circles as the Frankfurt school) is reduced to the texts of a Nazi theorist referred to as "Karl Schmidt" (p. 217).

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DIANA QUATTROCCHI-WOISSON. *Un nationalisme de déracinés: L'Argentine, pays malade de sa mémoire*. (Amérique Latine—Pays Ibériques.) Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1992. Pp. 420. 165 fr.

A free English rendering of the title of this book would be "Rootless National Identity: Argentina, a Country Diseased about Its Historical Memories." The term "rootless" means that there is no shared understanding of this country's historical development, while "diseased" suggests the long, inconclusive struggle to impose one set of conceptions of this development over another.

In Argentina the "liberal" or "official" school of history competes with the "revisionist" school, and the battle between them reflects the broader conflict during much of the twentieth century between the "liberal" and "nationalist" states. Thus, periods of liberal dominance have been accompanied by the supremacy of the interpretation of history that exalts the liberal heroes of the later nineteenth century such as Bartolomé Mitre or Domingo F. Sarmiento; the nationalist approach, by contrast, has exalted anti-liberals such as Juan Manuel de Rosas, the dictatorial governor of Buenos Aires between 1829 and 1852.

Diana Quattrocchi-Woisson's excellent study shows that in Argentina the struggle to command the interpretation of history is a contest for the "collective memory," and thereby an attempt to gain political dominance. As a result, "historical memory" becomes an "affair of state" (p. 151). Moreover, the contest over historical interpretation expresses a profound national cleavage, illustrating the quest for identity by a nation in crisis. The understanding and interpretation of history become instruments to define the present and the future, since "innovation within society often presents itself in the form of a return to the past, and this return to the past can lead to many new enterprises" (p. 366).

The book relates the rise of "historical revisionism" during the 1930s and 1940s. This movement became a manifestation of the growing disrepute of the liberal state in Argentina following the Depression and the fall of constitutional democracy in 1930. According to the revisionists, the liberals who had achieved the country's great transformation after 1860 (making it one of the richest nations in the world) had done so by allowing it to develop as a colony that lacked a true national identity. To create such an identity, it was essential to reevaluate, or "revise," the figure of Rosas. Rather than the bloody tyrant depicted by the "official" liberal historians, the

revisionists saw Rosas as the symbol of resistance to foreign domination and therefore an authentic representative of national identity. The revisionists were convinced that if their own view of national history could displace its rival, imposing itself on the consciousness of the masses, a nationalist revolution would follow that would uproot the liberal order.

This issue is well known, but Quattrocchi-Woisson introduces a large quantity of new data and many new interpretations. I had understood the revisionism of the 1930s as almost exclusively right-wing and heavily influenced by European models. Quattrocchi-Woisson shows, by contrast, that an important segment of the movement had more democratic origins some years before the 1930s. The author presents a detailed and fascinating account of the competing "official" historians led by Ricardo H. Levene, who struggled in vain for "objectivity" and "impartiality," but too often produced only arid and unreadable apologies. The book contains interesting biographical detail of the historians on both sides of the debate, along with discussions of some of their main works. An important part of the book is the discussion of the relationship between the revisionists and General Juan Perón after 1943. To some extent Perón, as a nationalist and a populist, may be seen as the great consequence of the revisionist campaigns. Even so, once he gained power Perón held the revisionists at bay, preventing them from dominating the universities and refusing to make revisionism into a new "official" history. As Quattrocchi-Woisson suggests (but analyzes more briefly), the greatest impact of the revisionism occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s. At that time its simplistic, rhetorical, but inflammatory message helped to kindle the notorious "dirty war" as a contest between the Peronist guerrillas and the Argentine military. Both the contenders in this struggle evoked Rosas by embodying an authoritarian conception of society.

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PAUL E. SIGMUND. *The United States and Democracy in Chile*. (A Twentieth Century Fund Book.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 254. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$13.95.

Paul E. Sigmund's fondness for Chile, his extensive contacts with its academics and political leaders, his frequent visits (more than twenty in less than thirty years), and his impressive command of the literature dealing with Chilean politics and U.S. foreign policy toward Chile, place him in a privileged position with respect to his subject matter.

His book is a useful review of the U.S. government's Chilean policy over the last thirty years. Looking back at key episodes and junctures in U.S.-Chilean relations, he offers new evidence and light in

connection with issues (such as efforts to keep Salvador Allende from assuming office, the Allende government's nationalization of the U.S.-owned copper mines, and so forth) on which he and others have written earlier, but equipped with less-complete material. His treatment of these matters is clear and generally persuasive. So too is his discussion of aspects of more recent U.S.-Chilean relations (the United States's initial ties to the military regime, the breakdown of these relations, and the U.S. government's encouragement of opposition groups during the mid and late 1980s).

In discussing U.S. policy toward the Allende government, Sigmund concedes that the imposition of an invisible blockade (he calls it a credit squeeze) actually predated the nationalization of U.S.-owned copper mines, correcting an assertion he had made in an earlier book (*The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964–1976* [1977]). For the most part, however, he continues to press points he has argued steadfastly for many years. Most of these stand up remarkably well in the light of ensuing events and a fuller public record.

Unfortunately, Sigmund misses the opportunity of comparing U.S. policy toward Chile with its impact on other ideologically hostile and economically vulnera-

ble regimes in the 1970s and 1980s. It is too bad, for example, that he does not attempt to identify the circumstances under which external economic pressures can decisively affect a country's economy and/or politics. Ironically, it seems, during the 1960s and early 1970s, when analysts and activists were more critical of these pressures, their influence appears to have been less than in the 1980s and 1990s, when it is readily conceded, if not also accepted, by most actors and observers.

This book will be more popular with informed citizens and amateur policy analysts than with scholars specializing in either U.S. foreign policy or Chilean politics. It has been written as a descriptive narrative to set the Chilean record straight, but not to reflect on the economic and political impact of economic leverage, the interplay between external pressures and internal political dynamics, or the dilemmas of reconstituting and consolidating "real" (full or unrestricted) democracy and not just restored civilian rule. These are the questions with which academic analysts are now grappling, and they are likely to feel their absence in Sigmund's otherwise impressive handling of his subject.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

JOHN R. GILLIS, editor. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 290.

JOHN R. GILLIS, Introduction: Memory and Identity; The History of a Relationship. RICHARD HANDLER, Is "Identity" a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept? DAVID LOWENTHAL, Identity, Heritage, and History. DAVID CRESSY, National Memory in Early Modern England. JOHN BODNAR, Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland. ERIC DAVIS, The Museum and the Politics of Social Control in Modern Iraq. Yael ZERUBAVEL, The Historic, the Legendary, and the Incredible: Invented Tradition and Collective Memory in Israel. KIRK SAVAGE, The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument. THOMAS W. LAQUEUR, Memory and Naming in the Great War. G. KURT PIEHLER, The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War. DANIEL J. SHERMAN, Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France after World War I. RUDY J. KOSHAR, Building Pasts: Historic Preservation and Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany. HERMAN LEBOVICS, Creating the Authentic France: Struggles over French Identity in the First Half of the Twentieth Century. CLAUDIA KOONZ, Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory.

MARY FULBROOK, editor. *National Histories and European History*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. x, 299. \$49.95.

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B. SCHROEDER-GUDEHUS, editor. *Industrial Society and Its Museums 1890–1990: Social Aspirations and Cultural Politics*. Assisted by E. BOLENZ and A. RASMUSSEN. Langhorne, Pa.: Harwood Academic. 1993. Pp. ix, 104.

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HARTMUT LEHMANN and GUENTHER ROTH, editors. *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press or German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C. 1993. Pp. xii, 397. \$49.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

J. Arch Getty and Gábor T. Rittersporn's reply to my letter in your volume 99, June 1994: 1040–41, raises an entirely new issue and one of vital interest to the whole historical profession. It can thus hardly pass without further comment.

For what they are urging is that no one not directly involved in archival research may criticize the material so produced, or even its interpretation. A remarkable, even revolutionary, claim.

To advance it is to lay oneself open to challenge, and one can use the present instance as a test case. Apart from anything else, it implies a very high level of competence and accuracy in the mere recording and transmission of the data.

Getty has previously time and again misquoted documents readily available to him—books published in the West. Getty and Rittersporn now imply that I wrote in my letter to you that there were labor "camps not controlled by the NKVD." Since I wrote no such thing, your readers have an easily checkable example.

In the Moscow context, I stated in my letter that a number of "Western and Russian" (my italics) scholars shared my view of the Zemskov figures as correct but incomplete. I know that this is so in the high Russian archival circles in which Getty moves. Will he now say that he has not heard of this interpretation being advanced there?

I will not comment on Getty and Rittersporn's criticisms of the substance of my letter, consisting as they do of mere assertions, including ones that contradict the plain sense of their own tables. On one of the few factual points, however: they say, quite wrongly, that the First Special Department of the

NKVD was not in charge of mass executions. Under L. F. Bashtakov, it was responsible (for example) for Katyn in 1940, for the Orel executions of September 1941, and for the shooting of a number of officers and others near Kuibyshev in October 1941. Bashtakov was later tried for carrying out this last act without any court order at all. (For these three actions, see *Voennye Arkhivy Rossii*, vol. 1, pp. 124–25; *Izvestia TsK KPSS*, 11 [1990]: 125–29; *Stalin's Prosecutor*, by Arkady Vaksberg, English edition [New York, 1991], 226–27.) The department, which seems to have come into separate existence in June 1938, indeed also kept records (its whole role has long since been known from the KGB defector book *Empire of Fear*, by Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov [New York, 1956], 70–71). Nor is there anything mysterious about execution camps, which are widely attested in the literature. One account available in English (*Moscow News*, no. 48, 1988) is of such a camp near Glukhaia Hill, off the Vladivostok-Khabarovsk railway, in 1937: it held 200–300 prisoners for two or three days; then they were shot in time for the next intake, this being the camp's sole purpose.

Such errors, due to defective knowledge (even of published documents), well illustrate the fallacy of "archivalist" omniscience. It is fortunate that its present advocates are not in a position to give as much trouble as their *Dead Sea Scrolls* equivalents.

ROBERT CONQUEST

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

THE AUTHORS REPLY:

There is, of course, nothing at all revolutionary about expecting serious criticism of any research to be informed by the major sources on the topic. Certainly, everyone has a right to criticize and to believe whatever tales one likes. But criticism comes in all weights and levels of import. It is to be welcomed when it is based on an acquaintance with the qualitatively and quantitatively most important sources. It is now possible to study the massive internal records of the Stalinist prison administration, a source base that most specialists would consider essential to any quantitative assessment of victims. It follows that criticism so forthrightly based on disregard of the main

sources can only be regarded as, well, less than serious.

It is clear that we do not share with Conquest a common approach to documents. As an exercise, consider the question of the total number of executions during the Stalin period. Pretend for a moment that we have no direct sources on the question (which was true until quite recently), and imagine what the best evidence on the question might look like. What documents would we most want to have? Such a list could begin with, say, a top-secret report compiled by the secret police and the Ministry of the Interior giving the number of executions annually from the early 1920s until Stalin's death. These two agencies, which were fused before World War II, carried out virtually all executions either through their regular detachments or the extra-legal troikas. What a find such a document would be!

As it happens, we now have this document. It is GARF fond 9401, opis' 1, delo 4157, ll. 201-05, and was discussed in our article. Its figures were publicly confirmed by the then-head of the KGB in 1990, and its orders of magnitude are now supported by researchers from the Moscow-based human rights Memorial Society, who have tracked down its antecedents in the state security archives. Oddly, in his letter to the *AHR* of June 1994 (p. 1039), Conquest takes issue with our use of the word "documented" to describe the figures given in this report. One can, of course, question the authenticity and provenance of any archival document (although Conquest has not done this). But if figures from a secret police document cannot be considered in some sense to be "documented," what can?

At any rate, against this archival source Conquest weighs a series of unsubstantiated statements from various political actors during and after the Gorbachev period. One of them "reports her high figures," "supported by others." Another "similarly tells us," and yet another "stated clearly" that the numbers were higher. Not one of these "sources" has produced, published, or cited a single document to support his or her claims, although all have attested that such documents exist and have assured us that they have seen them. Again, we stress that our results are preliminary and that subsequently unearthed documents may show them to be wrong. But until and unless such documentation is available for study and verification by scholars, it is premature to insist that the data in the known documents are not reliable.

Conquest's remarks on execution camps illustrate his attempts to criticize documentary findings with antiquarian points. Of course, the question is not whether victims were killed in prisons, labor camps, or execution camps but rather whether those executions were conducted by agencies under the control of and included in the reporting from the NKVD that we cite. Based on currently available documentation, there is no reason to believe that they are not.

Our article, beginning with its title, emphasized the preliminary nature of its findings. We are aware that some Russian scholars and "archival circles" have doubted the completeness of our figures, although they have been confirmed from several sources and archives. In most cases, this criticism comes from persons who have not worked in the GULAG records preserved in GARF. More than this, though, the general levels of magnitude in our article have been clear from Zemskov's work for five years (*Argumenty i fakty*, 1989, no. 45, p. 7), and drafts of our article have circulated in Moscow "circles" since the autumn of 1992. To date, no one has published or cited any document indicating different orders of magnitude than those given by us for penal repression in the pre-war Soviet Union.

Specialists now have a feast of source materials on this question. It is difficult to understand why Robert Conquest continues with such enthusiasm to offer the crumbs and morsels that we have had to content ourselves with for the last forty years. We invite him to table, secure in the belief that evidence is more satisfying than character assassination.

J. ARCH GETTY,
GÁBOR T. RITTERSPORN, and
VIKTOR N. ZEMSKOV

J. ARCH GETTY ALSO REPLIES:

Robert Conquest has in these pages referred to "Getty's own estimate (1985) that Stalin killed 'thousands' and imprisoned 'many thousands.'" It is time to clear up this bit of nonsense that Conquest has peddled in journals and reviews on both sides of the Atlantic. The exact passage in my 1985 *Origins of the Great Purges* is from the introduction and refers to an entirely different matter: "In the period of this study, many thousands of innocent people were arrested, imprisoned, and sent to labor camps. Thousands were executed. Nothing in the following pages is meant to minimize, justify, or excuse the terror, notwithstanding the terminology and rhetoric that close reliance on contemporaneous texts forces one to use. Certainly, any attempt to excuse such violence would be pointless and morally bizarre" (pp. 8-9).

How Conquest transformed a moral statement into an "estimate" is strange at best; at worst, it is misleading to the point of dishonesty. I never made an estimate of the numbers of Stalin victims until our *AHR* article in 1993. In my 1985 book, I simply observed that "Lacking evidence, all estimates are equally worthless . . ." (p. 258).

J. ARCH GETTY
University of California,
Riverside

TO THE EDITOR:

Ronald P. Formisano's article "The Invention of the Ethnocultural Interpretation" (*AHR*, 99 [April 1994]:

453–77) accuses historians of attacking an argument of their own imagining. The “so-called ethnocultural interpretation” of American voting behavior, says Formisano, never really did exist. It was created by self-interested critics who “reduced to caricature” certain ideas and approaches developed by “the new political history” (pp. 453, 455).

One wonders at the point of this article. Formisano does not attempt anything like a comprehensive review of recent work on nineteenth-century politics. Nor does he offer, to this reader’s eye, any new information, new questions, or new ideas for research. Instead, he takes on the critics who traduced him and his fellows ten and twenty years ago. But are his charges true?

The “invention” supposedly began when critics fastened on Lee Benson’s formative statement about ethnic and religious influences on politics in Chapter 8 of *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, a statement and chapter Formisano says were really “not central to Benson’s analysis” (p. 455). Indeed? Benson’s first seven chapters debunked previous readings of Jacksonian politics. Chapter 8 (“Ethnocultural Groups and Political Parties”) declared that “the present study rejects” ideological and “economic determinist” explanations of American voting. Benson then advanced his own “sweeping proposition” about “sources of political differences” from the 1820s to the present (*Concept*, p. 165). This was no casual offering. How could a sweeping proposition about all American politics *not* be central to understanding its Jacksonian phase? And did not such a proposition invite further investigation?

Formisano complains that those who questioned the ethnocultural thesis’s applicability to the South unfairly attacked his and Benson’s work. How so? No one faulted Benson or Formisano for studying northern states. But when their studies yielded a hypothesis about Jacksonian politics in general, it was certainly pertinent to test it elsewhere. Benson himself called New York a “test case.” Formisano seems to want it both ways—to claim for the ethnocultural thesis only the status of a suggestion yet to exempt it from the scrutiny that serious suggestions deserve.

The ethnocultural explanation of the Civil War, Formisano charges, was yet another critical fabrication. Hostile responses to new books and essays about the Republican Party’s rise to power “gave the false impression that these works dealt with ‘Civil War causation’ when in reality they dealt with the realignment of the 1850s in the North” (p. 467). This would seem a distinction without a difference, unless one argues that Lincoln’s election in 1860 had little to do with causing the Civil War. As it happens, one of these works that critics falsely portrayed as dealing with Civil War causation (an article by Joel H. Sibley) had “Coming of the Civil War” in its title, while another, Formisano’s own book on Michigan, claimed “a small but decisive contribution to the endless combat among historians over the causes of the Civil

War” (*The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861*, p. 5).

The error some reviewers made in saying that Lee Benson had performed multivariate analysis of voting data serves Formisano to further illustrate critics’ entrapment in their own constructions. There was, of course, no multivariate analysis in *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. Who said there was? Benson did. He said it was his “main method” of determining who voted for whom (p. ix). Critics just took him at his word.

My small part in this “invention” was to remark that Formisano had stretched some propositions about ethnocultural voting into a universal law of American politics. The citation for this comment, says Formisano, stuck to two pages in his Michigan book containing “not a word about a universal law or even ethnocultural voting” (p. 456).

My paragraph cited two passages in Formisano’s book. The first traced party competition in Michigan to a fight over alien suffrage. It did make claims about ethnocultural voting, sustaining my contention that Formisano had located ethnocultural conflict at the origins of Jacksonian partisanship.

Formisano’s other passage warned that historians who stress the role of “the Bank War, states rights, or similar issues” in party formation are “wrongly extending the issue-orientation of limited segments of the electorate to all of it.” Since “political knowledge, issue orientation, and articulate belief-systems do not extend significantly beyond elite groups into the electorate,” the source of popular partisanship must lie elsewhere. “It is time,” said Formisano, invoking the authority of political scientists, “that historians confronted the brute fact that ‘large portions of the electorate do not have meaningful beliefs, even on issues that have formed the basis of intense political controversy for substantial periods of time’” (*Birth*, pp. 11–13).

Whence this “brute fact”? Formisano cited political science research from the 1950s and 1960s. On its face, this evidence said nothing about nineteenth-century politics. Formisano offered no other proof, nor did he explain why historians must accept claims about present-day voters as dictums about historical ones. Called by whatever name, his “fact” was really a law—an unsubstantiated pronouncement purporting to govern the whole of American political history.

Yes, there was an “ethnocultural interpretation” of American voting behavior. Formisano says so himself: new “political historians” stressed “cultural, ethnic, religious, and racial rather than economic conflict” in politics (p. 454). His Michigan book, with its chapter “Ethnocultural Groups and Parties,” was a salient case. Formisano decries misleading labels. Yet the “ethnocultural” tag he spurns was at least as accurate as the “economic determinism” he and his fellows so relentlessly attacked.

Formisano taxes the profession for neglect as well as abuse. He “gets the sense” that students no longer

read the older works of the "new political history." Benson's *Concept*, once influential, is now inexcusably "ignored" (pp. 456, 458). For this, Formisano levies blame and seeks redress in a litany of critical transgressions. His real grievance is not that critics "invented" the ethnocultural thesis but that they rejected it.

Complaining of "Distortions and Reductions," Ronald P. Formisano laments the absence of "a more responsible historiographical ethic" (pp. 453, 465). Publication of this piece in the *American Historical Review* would seem to prove his point. "The Invention of the Ethnocultural Interpretation" exemplifies the very failings it condemns.

DANIEL FELLER

University of New Mexico

RONALD P. FORMISANO REPLIES:

Daniel Feller's current version of his "small part" in the invention of the ethnocultural interpretation contradicts what he wrote earlier about my 1971 *Birth of Mass Political Parties*, to wit: "Benson's successors took the argument one step further, arguing that the second party system was not only sustained by ethnocultural conflict, but originated in it. In the hands of some proponents, this thesis was broadened into a universal law of American political behavior: voters have always affiliated with parties according to ethnocultural identities and antagonisms, rather than on the basis of class, occupation, or economic grievances and aspirations" ("Politics and Society: Toward a Jacksonian Synthesis," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 10 [Summer 1990]: 139–40). As support for his statements, Feller offered pages 82–83 of my 1971 book. I replied that no such law could be found anywhere in it, and that "Feller himself must have had a problem locating it because the citation—like a dart thrown by a blindfolded man—stuck to two prosaic pages discussing the Michigan population of 1835—not a word about a universal law or even ethnocultural voting" ("The Invention of the Ethnocultural Interpretation," *AHR*, 99 [April 1994]: 456). Feller's letter changes nothing.

I was perhaps unkind to Feller in my joke about the dart; there is, indeed, a slight connection between his citation of pages 82–83 and his *first sentence quoted above, but not the second*. Still, Feller exaggerated grossly at my expense. The paragraph cited discussed specifically a fight over alien voting that precipitated Democratic and especially Whig organization in Michigan to contest an 1835 election for constitutional convention delegates. Although alien suffrage was the principal issue dividing parties at that point, and it reverberated in other northwestern states, I never claimed that the entire party system originated in ethnocultural conflict—as Feller glibly charged.

Where is Feller's license for having written that I proposed what would have been even more absurd, that voters at all times everywhere have been motivated by ethnocultural identities (in a book on ante-

bellum Michigan!)? His footnote with pages 82–83 also referred to a *different* passage in my book that Feller found objectionable. In his letter, Feller shifts our attention to that separate matter, namely the level of voter information and issue orientation in the Jacksonian and pre-Civil War periods. Feller now quotes selectively from three pages, unrelated to his original claims, on a complicated subject, but let's cut to the chase. Even if we accept Feller's argument on its face, the alleged "law" is now quite different, namely, "the brute fact that large portions of the electorate do not have meaningful beliefs, even on issues that have formed the basis of intense political controversy for substantial periods of time." In his letter, Feller practices alchemy: "Called by whatever name, his [Formisano's] 'fact' was really a law—an unsubstantiated pronouncement purporting to govern the whole of American political history." Feller's new invention of a law out of a few scattered words illustrates the truth of my observations in "The Invention." So, too, does his persistent misreading of Benson's *Concept*, and his erroneous claim that Benson's Chapter 8 on ethnocultural groups was "central" to that book. Chapter 8 was bracketed by two similar chapters focusing on specific variables: Chapter 7, "Class Voting in New York," and Chapter 9, "Religious Groups and Political Parties." In two later chapters, 13, "Outline for a Theory of American Voting Behavior," and 14, "Interpreting New York Voting," Benson synthesized the earlier chapters and built outward to integrate many variables. In a 1962 *AHR* review of *Concept*, before the "invention" I described emerged, Charles Sellers wrote that "Benson is far too sophisticated to propose a simple-minded 'ethnocultural interpretation' in place of a simple-minded 'economic interpretation.' Instead he moves far toward developing our first comprehensive, historically oriented theory of American voting behavior" (*AHR*, 67 [April 1962]: 744–45). I would urge Feller to reread the book, although his doing so might only reopen a Pandora's box of more confusion.

I do admit to having committed a generalization, several in fact, and, having laid to rest Feller's "small part," perhaps something worthwhile might be said. In 1971, I thought that historians in describing voters' motivations tended to rely excessively on letters, diaries, and newspaper editorials reflecting elite attitudes. Descriptions of rank-and-file voting thus often rested on *inferences* about voters and not direct evidence. In addition, I wrote, "Researchers in elite sources have overestimated the information and interest possessed by mass publics which generated intense elite engagement" (*Birth of Mass Political Parties*, p. 12). Since the 1960s, influenced by the new political history, historians have become more self-conscious in confronting what is still a tough problem—studying voter motivations in the past.

The political science on which the early new political history relied has evolved and changed. I would

now qualify some (but not all) of my 1971 assertions regarding political knowledge, issue-orientation, and articulate belief-systems among voters (though least of all the latter). Yet consider one of the latest defenses of voter rationality, Samuel L. Popkin's *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (1991). Popkin explains voter behavior in terms of "a theory of low-information rationality," a theory that credits voters with no more concrete political information than did the political science of the 1950s and 1960s but that casts a wide net for the kinds of information voters acquire from their daily lives, campaigns, and other sources. In one important respect, Popkin echoes the early new political history in relying heavily on cognitive psychology, "without which there is no satisfactory way to answer important questions about how people assess meaning and use information." Popkin's analysis "requires an understanding of the role of symbols and stories; to understand people not as naive statisticians, but as symbol processors and naive theorists" (Popkin, pp. 9, 15). More crudely, the early new political history groped at such an understanding.

Finally, we have learned that *any* political science, no matter how contemporary and up-to-date, can be time bound, and that *no* political science can provide magical access to the mid-nineteenth-century electorate's mentalities. By all means, let us continue to use, with respect for the past, any and all strategies that can aid explanation. We know, too, that nothing can substitute for saturation in a wide variety of sources. So much depends, in that highly decentralized, heterogeneous society, on when and where. Yet many of our generalizations about nineteenth-century voters now rest on far firmer ground than twenty-three years ago.

The space granted me by the editor and mercy itself (to readers) necessitates no further response to Feller. This exchange will have been useful if it prompts anyone who missed it to read "The Invention of the Ethnocultural Interpretation."

RONALD P. FORMISANO
University of Florida

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Nadav Safran, formerly a Middle East expert at Harvard University, was kind enough to find "nuggets" of information and insights in my *Politics and Strategy of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East* [AHR, 99 (February 1994): 275-76]. Yet Safran missed in the book what he called a "systematic analysis leading to firm conclusions."

Safran's attack came from the side of the so-called orientalist, or traditional Middle East experts, most of them American-trained. They talk only politics

and diplomacy, sometimes culture, and look for "firm conclusions." But most of them missed the issue of the bomb, as Safran did to a large extent in his life work. The reviewer's problems with a major, if not a crucial, clue to Middle Eastern history and politics were exposed in his attack on my methodology.

The analytical framework I chose for my book represented exactly what Safran never did: the proper examination of nuclear weapons within their domestic, regional, and international historical-cultural-political context. Moreover, it exposed Middle Eastern history as very volatile, and thus "firm conclusions" of the kind Safran expected from me were in my view ahistorical, except for the role of nuclear weapons as a very important factor leading to war and peace. Accepting a conventional Israel, that is, 4.5 million alien Jews in their midst, was a political, cultural, and a strategic impossibility for 170 million Arabs; a rather rational and understandable approach from an Arab point of view, which was appreciated as such by Israel's David Ben-Gurion. Accepting a nuclear Israel was an agonizing process for Arabs. It may be one of the reasons for the current peace process in the region—and for the difficulties therein. It must be studied historically, and Safran should have known something about history's tricks and contradictions and lack of fine and easy "analytical frameworks."

The pursuance of the nuclear option by Israel began almost at its birth, owing to the combined lessons of the Holocaust and Israel's War of Independence. It was the source of much friction between Israel and earlier U.S. administrations, and it remained a source of temporary arrangements that may or may not be acceptable to future American presidents. Hence the "opacity" that covers up the issue—among many other, important reasons discussed in my book in great detail, including the deterrent value of "opaque" nuclear threats, applied to hardly recognized, changing boundaries and subjected to much controversy within Israel's own elite. The nuclear issue was one source, among others, of the 1967 war; it played interesting roles in the 1973 war and in the peace process afterward. It influenced the Gulf War in 1991 and combined with previous and later U.S.-Soviet efforts to establish a new regional order in the Middle East, related to their own arms control and arms reduction efforts.

Thus the book offers a revisionist history of the Middle East in regard to a highly sensitive, "opaque" matter, which foreign scholars such as Safran missed in their own works.

SHLOMO ARONSON
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Nadav Safran does not wish to reply.

THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

For many years, in both printed works and lectures to scholars, students, and laymen, I have stressed the need for as strict an objectivity as one can manage in the scholarly study of Armenian history. In the face of some opposition to that attitude, I cited the benefits that would derive from adherence to it. What can I say now that the preeminent historical journal in the United States has allowed Justin McCarthy of the University of Louisville to review Donald Miller and Lorna Miller's *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*, one of the gentlest (if such a word can be applied to descriptions of such a horrendous act) books on the Armenian Genocide (*AHR*, 99 [April 1994]: 605-06)?

McCarthy is nowhere identified as an Ottomanist who has, for whatever reasons, consistently denied that a genocide occurred. His stance is reproduced yet again in the review, that is, this was wartime, of course Armenians died, but then again, so, too, did Kurds and Turks. If McCarthy had read the book in question without prejudice, he would have recognized that one of its most important contributions was the recognition by the survivors themselves not only of this fact but also of the attitude and help of some of their Turkish neighbors who, appalled at what their government was attempting to do, saved their lives.

The review is also an assault on your readers who have helped develop or have examined and used in their own works items in the growing number of oral history repositories in the United States. The reviewer's comparison of the Armenian Genocide survivors' memories with those of adults who maintain that they had been abused as children certainly must ring hollow in their ears. What a cynical argument, based on a few instances, to have used in a scholarly review!

McCarthy's last paragraph, concluding that the Millers have produced yet another nationalistic tract, is an interesting example of scholarly projection, much more applicable to his apologetics for Turkish revisionism than to the book's narration and theme.

Although no one expects or necessarily wants a reviewer who shares the author's viewpoints, rather than present the reader with a review of the Millers' book McCarthy has chosen to attempt a refutation of a historical event. *Plus ça change* . . .

LEVON AVDOYAN
Washington, D.C.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY REPLIES:

Levon Avdoyan seems more concerned with the reviewer than with the review. As he states, I am an Ottomanist, a historian of the Ottoman Empire. I have no argument with that statement; it is surely not unusual that an Ottomanist be asked to review a book whose subject is a part of Ottoman history. That identification is the last wholly accurate assessment in his letter. He alleges that in my criticism of *The*

Survivors I have projected Turkish nationalism through "apologetics for Turkish revisionism." If only because I hold all nationalisms abhorrent at worst and ridiculous at best, I feel I must protest. However, rather than give a detailed catalog of my historical judgments, I will only say that Avdoyan has misstated my positions. I assume that he does not really know what I consider to have been the events of World War I. Those who insist on reading between the lines should have at least an idea of what the writer really believes.

Upon rereading the review, I noticed neither "apologetics for Turkish revisionism" nor "refutation of a historical event." Would not Avdoyan have better served the authors of *The Survivors* by attempting a refutation of what I actually wrote?

The problem with the Millers' book is not the "side" they have taken in a historical debate. The problem is that the authors have not done what they should with their material. In particular, I noticed two methodological difficulties with the Millers' use of the memories of Armenians who had been children during World War I: the Millers did not consider important questions of reliability, and they ignored the inherent inadequacy of testimony taken from only one side of a struggle.

Concerning the reliability of child-abuse memories: the Millers' interviews are exactly that, memories of the abuse of children during World War I. It is proper to consider the psychological principles behind such memories. Studying all the aspects of remembered abuse does not in any way insult those who have suffered. If anything, it helps us understand the real problems of real abuse. Oral history has always been much concerned with the mechanics and possible inaccuracies of memory. Avdoyan does not seem to have noticed that, despite my criticisms, I believed that the children had indeed suffered. I wrote, "despite possible embellishments, it is obvious that these children suffered horrors."

Concerning the applicability of the children's memories to our understanding of history, I felt that the Millers should have considered that the children's memories were only of what had been done to them and their families, not what members of their families might have done to others. The possibility that the memories of the children did not tell the whole story should have been considered, especially since the memories of Muslims who suffered at the time were remarkably similar to the memories of Armenians, except that they labeled Armenians as the perpetrators.

If the Millers had simply narrated the remembered experiences of Armenian children, my only criticisms would have been methodological. They did not do so. Instead, they wrote a history of the Armenian-Muslim conflict in Eastern Anatolia. I stated that any such history should at least consider the views of those who disagreed with the authors. Both the text and the bibliography indicated little or no effort to consult

much of the literature on the Armenian-Turkish conflict. On many topics, not even the standard histories in English had been consulted. Reviewers should mention such things. It was the omission of conflicting views that led me to compare *The Survivors* to nationalist histories, which also tend to consider only the sufferings and triumphs of their own people.

In summary, the Millers ignored opposing points of view, did not issue the sorts of caveats that are seen in good oral histories, and did not seem to know or utilize the basic texts of the field on which they wrote. I would hope that any reviewer, including ones who shared the historical view of the Millers and Levon Avdoyan, would have made the same criticisms.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY
University of Louisville

TO THE EDITOR:

I was puzzled and dismayed by the review of my book, *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours: Designing the Decent Society* (1993) [AHR, 99 (June 1994): 868–69], written by Richard F. Teichgraeber III. Unlike most AHR reviews, which devote the bulk of their attention to informing readers of the content of the book in question and then go on to offer a paragraph or two of criticism, Teichgraeber's review includes only a short paragraph describing the book's contents and devotes over three-quarters of the review to his criticisms and his own musings.

This would not be so amiss if the summary of the book were accurate and informative, but alas it is neither. The book tries to show that the common conceptual denominator behind Adam Smith's major works is an approach I have termed "the institutional direction of the passions," an approach that grew out of various currents of early modern thought. Smith's social science, I demonstrate—motivated in good part by his desire to provide guidance to potential legislators—was intended to preserve, reform, or design institutions that would produce in the majority of men those virtues, above all self-control, that Smith saw as fundamental to a decent society. The first part of the book provides the economic, political, institutional, and intellectual contexts most essential for understanding Smith's work. The second part discusses his view of markets, merchants, and politicians, his social-psychological analysis of the formation of benevolence and self-control, his sociology of religion, his views on the institutional and political prerequisites of commercial society, the centrality of the unanticipated consequences of social action in Smith's thought, and his conception of the roles of the intellectual. The third part of the book deals briefly with criticisms of Smith's work by subsequent thinkers and explains why Smith's rhetoric of "natural liberty" came to be misunderstood by subsequent liberals. Lastly, I offer some brief suggestions about the possibility of reappropriating Smith's approach to issues

of public policy. Almost none of this, I am afraid, can be gleaned from Teichgraeber's review.

Even more troubling is Teichgraeber's charge that I fail to acknowledge my intellectual debts to recent Smith scholarship. This accusation is entirely unfounded, as any unbiased perusal of the book will indicate. In the introduction, I state, "This book gathers the fruits of a rich harvest of Smith scholarship which I review in the Guide to Further Reading . . . I have profited from the labors of more recent Smith scholars such as Jacob Viner, Nathan Rosenberg, Donald Winch, Istvan Hont, Knud Haakonssen, and Laurence Dickey." The most relevant works by these authors are then listed in the accompanying footnote. Thereafter, their works (and the works of two other scholars mentioned by Teichgraeber) are cited repeatedly in the notes (Viner eight additional times, Rosenberg seven, Winch four, Hont four, Haakonssen ten, Dickey three, Duncan Forbes seven times, and John Robertson twice). Finally, their works (and those of many others) are discussed in the twenty-page essay, "Guide to Further Reading."

While these scholars have made important contributions to understanding one or another element of Smith's work and historical context, none has provided the work of synthesis and analysis attempted in my book, which draws out the full implications of recent scholarship for understanding Smith's larger project and tries to do so in a way accessible to nonspecialists as well.

Perhaps what Teichgraeber meant by his charge was that I did not cite often enough his own book, *"Free Trade" and Moral Philosophy: Rethinking the Sources of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"* (1986). (It is cited three times, primarily for its illuminating chapters on Hugo Grotius and Francis Hutcheson.) Are wounds to our *amour-propre* grounds for the professional dereliction his review displays?

JERRY Z. MULLER
Catholic University of America

RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER REPLIES:

My criticism of *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours* was not, as Jerry Muller believes, that he failed to acknowledge his intellectual debts to recent Smith scholarship. I said that he had not given that scholarship "due credit"—a serious and yet more subtle charge than he appears to have understood. As for Muller's claim that my review displays "professional dereliction," I don't know of any rule that says the bulk of AHR reviews should simply inform readers of the content of the book in question. After acknowledging that his study should prove useful to readers unfamiliar with the historical context of Smith's thought, I simply pointed out that Muller has added little to what contemporary students of Smith already know. And I take it that judgments about interpretive originality and rigor form an important part of the territory of any serious professional review.

Muller's letter says nothing that would cause me to alter or qualify my overall judgment of his book. I am happy to be reminded that he has cited my work on Smith. But I'm afraid that it is his *amour-propre* that has been wounded, not mine.

RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III
Tulane University

TO THE EDITOR:

Misunderstandings and distortions abound in Charles Hartman's review of my book *Liu Tsung-yüan and Intellectual Change in T'ang China, 773–819* [AHR, 99 (June 1994): 952–53]. This response intends to address briefly some of his major contentions. At the core of Hartman's criticism of my book is the assertion that serious methodological problems centering on the handling of original T'ang texts call into question much of my interpretation of the origins of the T'ang-Sung intellectual transition. I actually agree with most of the methodological principles mentioned in his review and have followed them in my own research. One apparent difference in perspective exists between us, though. As a historian, I am primarily concerned with a writer's outlook on life and with the larger intellectual and social realities reflected in his works. Hartman, in contrast, seems to be more interested in individual texts. My book explores the ideas of Liu Tsung-yüan and other mid-T'ang writers for an important historical reason: literary figures constituted the leading force in the T'ang secular (that is, non-religious) intellectual community, and it was their intellectual redirection that initiated the momentous process resulting in the so-called neo-Confucian tradition.

In his review, Hartman suggests that my book manipulates T'ang texts and imposes modern Western notions on them. To this charge, I plead not guilty. Contrary to Hartman's accusation, I recognized that all of Liu's writings were relevant to our understanding of him and have examined each of his works carefully. I always tried to make sure that I understood Liu's works in their own right and did not cite them out of context. However, it is important to point out that the central topic of my book is not Liu's writings; it is the various aspects of his mind and their links to the historical circumstances surrounding his life. In presenting the results of my research, I thus had to treat Liu's works in terms of their degree of relevance to the issues I wished to address. This is a standard practice in most historical writing; my book is not unusual in this respect. Peter Brown quotes only segments of St. Augustine's works in his *Augustine of Hippo* (1967). In Benjamin Schwartz's *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (1964), Yen's translations of Western works receive more attention than his own writings. Yet one cannot deny that both are valuable works on seminal intellectual figures in human history. Furthermore, my

interpretation of medieval Chinese intellectual history is essentially derived from my close, and I believe faithful, reading of original sources; it is not based on any Western conceptions. To support my thesis, a great amount of documentation was given, although I saw no need to translate entire texts. (Hartman criticizes me for translating "only two complete texts.") Regarding the only example he cites to substantiate my alleged mishandling of T'ang texts ("Record on the Western Balcony of the Lung-hsing Temple in Yung-chou"), I am afraid that his reading of this particular text stands on very shaky ground. The length limits on this response do not allow me to discuss this issue in detail. Simply put, it is methodologically risky to interpret this essay as Liu's invitation to the T'ien-t'ai monk Chung-hsün to become his master. The language of the text does not support this reading, and Hartman's paraphrasing is not faithful to the original. Other references to Chung-hsün in Liu's works, I believe, cannot corroborate Hartman's view either.

The most surprising element of Hartman's review is his assertion that I wrote a history of ideas "without connection to actual events." The truth is that my work represents a constant effort to explain Liu's thought and mid-T'ang intellectual changes in light of T'ang political and social situations. Chapter 1 of my book, for instance, contains a section that is probably the most systematic account in English of the social background of T'ang literati. Using this account as my basic point of reference, I have attempted to illustrate both the social origins and implications of Liu's ideas. Finally, it is deeply regrettable that Hartman did not do the readers of the AHR the courtesy of describing my interpretation of the T'ang-Sung intellectual transition; his review unfortunately denies them the opportunity to know about and reflect on this problem.

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CHARLES HARTMAN REPLIES:

My review made two major points, neither of which Jo-shui Chen seems yet fully to understand. First, the historian faces special problems when he uses literary texts as historical documents. Literary texts are not raw data like census figures or birth records but artifices of language. Liu Tsung-yüan wrote in many literary genres, and each possessed its own set of artistic conventions and unique functions in T'ang society. A chance remark in a letter or a passing reference in a conventional social poem carries different historical weight than a formal essay or a memorial. The careful historian must acknowledge and adjust for these differences. Chen observes that I am concerned with individual texts. Correct. And I am concerned because the fullest possible understanding of individual texts is basic to all scholarship

on both literature and history. I have no doubt that Jo-shui Chen has read all of Liu Tsung-yüan's writings with great care and erudition and that he may indeed understand each as an integral, artistic whole. But that understanding is not present in his book.

Second, the concept of an "intellectual" is Western and modern. Of course, nothing prevents a scholar from writing a history of "intellectuals" in T'ang China. But he must first himself understand the methodological difficulties and cross-cultural tangles that such a study entails and then frankly tell his

readers how he has addressed these problems. In his book, Jo-shui Chen does neither.

The first duty of a book reviewer is to judge the book the author has written, not the book the author thinks he wrote, wishes he had written, or hopes he might one day write. Jo-shui Chen's remarks do not persuade me to change the opinions I expressed in my earlier review about the book he has written.

CHARLES HARTMAN
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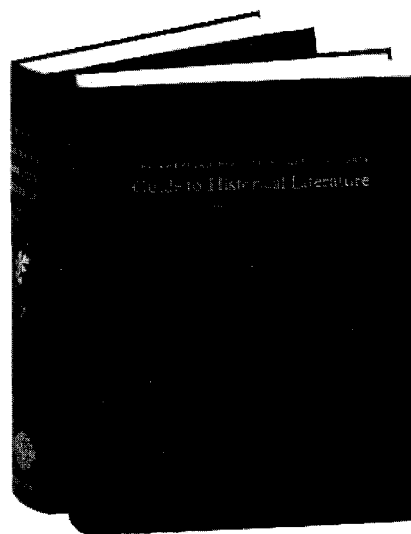
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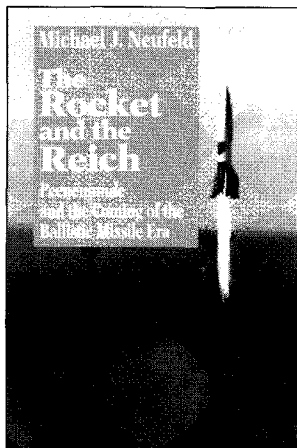
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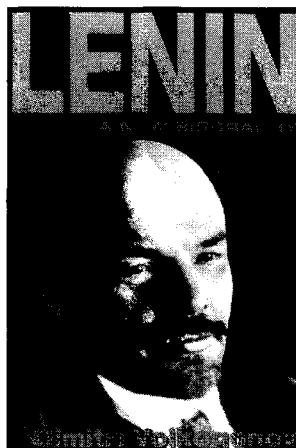
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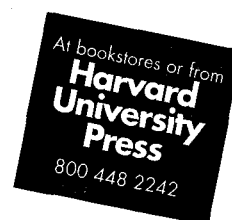
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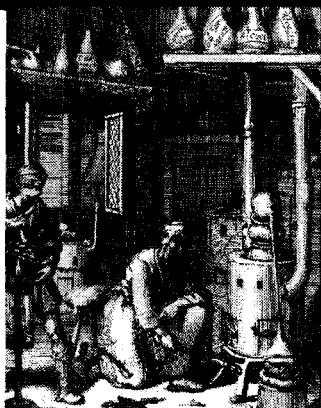
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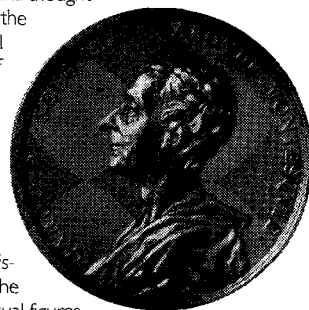
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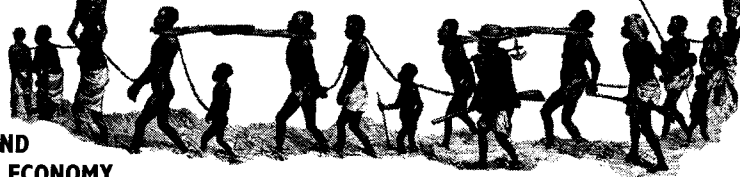
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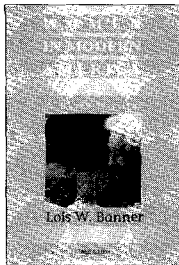
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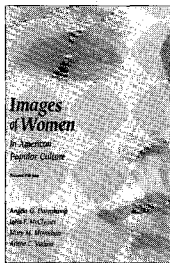
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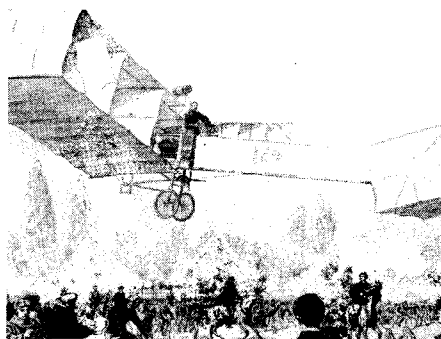


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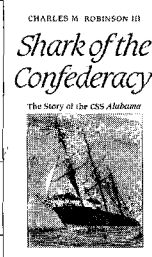
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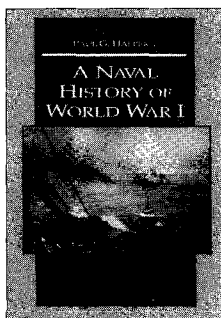
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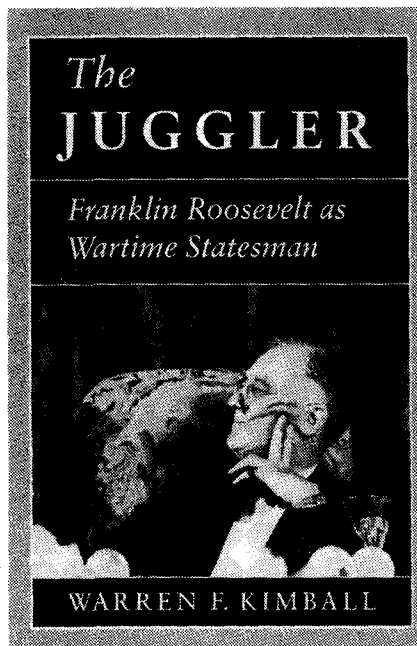
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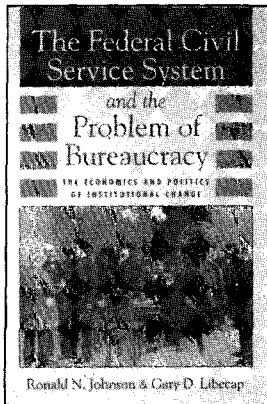
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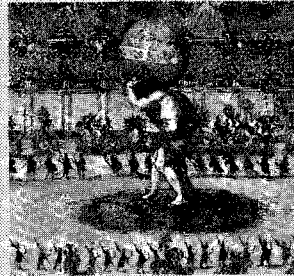
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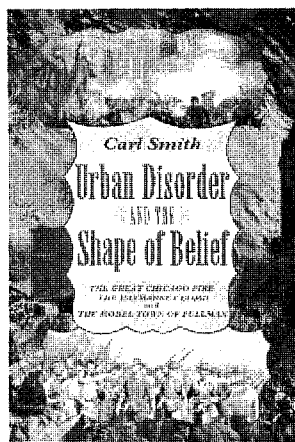
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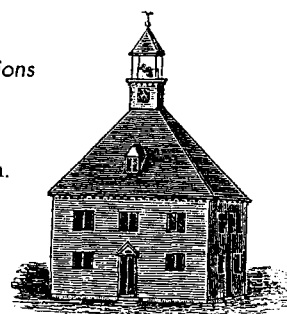
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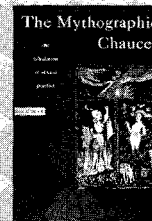


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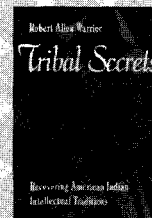


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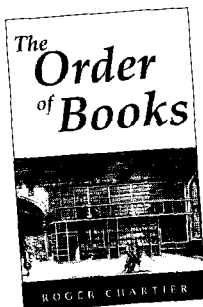
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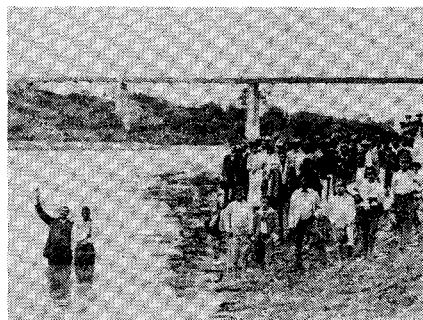
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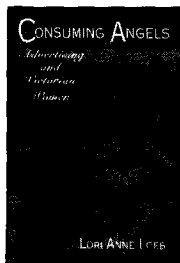
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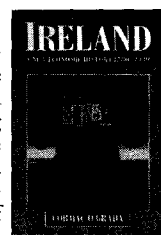
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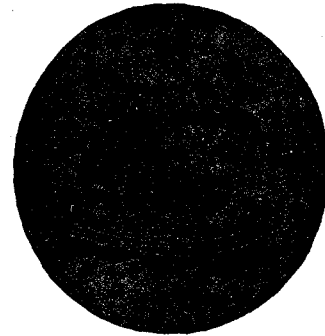
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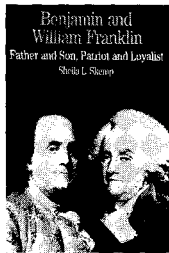
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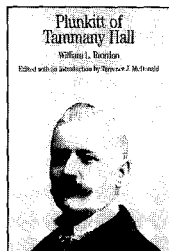
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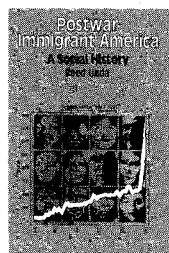
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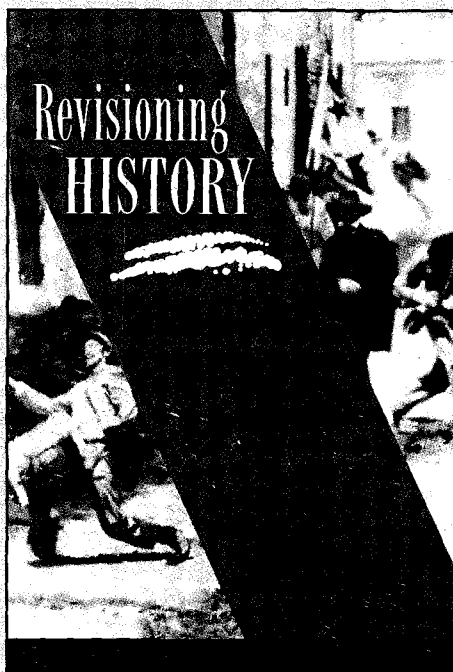
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